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PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AS A SUPPLEMENT TO THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY."

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

VOL. IX.—1907-08.



EDITED BY

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AND

(FROM PAGE 145)

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CALCUTTA:

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA.

BOMBAY: BRITISH INDIA PRESS.

LONDON: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH,

TRÜBNER & Co.

NEW YORK: WESTERMANN & Co.

CHICAGO: S. D. PEET.

LEIPZIG: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME IX.

No. 1.— TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

IN February 1904 Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna most kindly sent me photographs of two Sanskrit inscriptions on copper-plates, which had been found some years before at Ūnā, a town in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Kāthiāwād, in the Junāgaḍh State.¹ Both inscriptions are of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Mahēndrapāla** or, as he is called in one of them, **Mahēndrāyudha**, of Kanauj, and record grants to a temple of the Sun by two foundatories of his, **Balavarman** and his son **Avanivarman II. Yōga**, who belonged to a **Chālukya** family. One is dated in the [Gupta-] Valabhī year 574, corresponding roughly to A.D. 893; the other in the [Vikrama] year 956, corresponding to about A.D. 899. In March 1904 I gave a short account of the contents of these inscriptions, in *Nachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, and I have since tried to secure impressions of the originals. Not having succeeded in doing so, I now venture to publish the texts from Mr. Ojha's photographs.

A.— Plates of Balavarman ; Valabhi-samvat 574.

These are two plates, each of which is inscribed on one side only. They contain 36 lines of on the whole well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters.² The language is Sanskrit; it is generally easy to understand, but line 17 contains a revenue term which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain. Lines 7-9 give two verses on the vanity of fortune, *etc.*, and the necessity of works of piety, and lines 22-29 six of the ordinary imprecatory verses; the rest is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāsāmanta* **Balavarman**, the son of **Avanivarman [I.]**, of the **Chālukya** lineage, a feudatory, who had obtained the five *mahāśabdas*, of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahēndrāyudhadēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P. Bhōjadēva*. From **Nakshisapura**, Balavarman informs the various officials and others that, after fasting on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha, he gave the village of **Jayapura**, belonging to the **Nakshisapura** group of eighty-four which

¹ See *Indian Atlas*, quarter sheet 13, S. E., Long. 71° 5', Lat. 21° 49'.

² Since no facsimiles can be published, it would be useless to give full particulars regarding the forms of individual letters; but I may mention here that the conjuncts *ry* and *rtā* are denoted by (well-known) special signs which contain no superscript *r*.

he had acquired by his own arm (*svabhujôpârjita-Nakshisapura-chaturastitâ*), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name **Taruṇādityadēva**, which stood on the banks of the river **Kapavirikā**. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of **Sihavāhalaka**, on the south the village of **Rā[jyastha]la**, on the west the village of **Pēḍhillaka**, and on the north the village of **Amvullaka (Ambullaka)**. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses—four Brāhmanas, four merchants, and four *Mahattaras*. They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by the date *śrī-Valabhi-saṃvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6*, the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signatures *sva-hastô=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmanah ||* *sva-hastah śrī-Dhika*, where (the second) *sva-hastah* is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhika. Who this **Dhika** was, does not appear from the present inscription; but the grant B. makes it probable that he was a high official of the king **Mahēndrāyudha (Mahēndrapāla)**, whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

B.—Plates of **Avanivarman II. Yōga**; [Vikrama-saṃvat 956.]

These are **three plates**, the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits; and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67; the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāsāmanta* **Avanivarman [II.]**, surnamed **Yōga**, of the **Chālukya** race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (*mahā-mahī-putī*), the brothers **Kalla** and **Mahalla** (v. 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv. 5 and 6). Kalla had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v. 7); and this chief had a son whose name ended with *dhavala*, and whose full name perhaps was **Vāhukadhavala** (v. 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain **Dharma**, conquered kings who were well-known *riṣādhirāja-paramēśvaras*, and defeated a **Karnāṭa** army (vv. 10 and 11). His son was **Avanivarman [I.]** (v. 12), and his son, again, was **Balavarman** (the donor of the grant A., above). Balavarman defeated a certain **Vishadha** (v. 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (*uru-dhakkā*); and, by slaying **Jajjapa** and other kings, 'freed the earth from the **Hūṇa** race' (v. 17). His son was **Avanivarman [II.]**, also called **Yōga** (v. 18), who routed the armies of a certain **Yakshadāsa**¹ and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv. 19 and 20), and put to flight **Dharaṇivarāha** (v. 21).

In lines 45 ff. this *Mahāsāmanta* **Yōga** (i.e. **Avanivarman II.**), a feudatory of the *Paramabhottāraka* **Mahārājadhīrāja Paramēśvara Mahēndrapālādēva** who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.* **Bhōjadēva**, informs his officials and others, as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious **Dhika**,² he gave the village of **Amvullaka (Ambullaka)**,³ which

¹ Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of **Yakshadāsa**, **Avanivarman** took away from him the musical instrument (*tūṅga*) called *Sagarakeśhōbha*.—In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that **Yakshadāsa** may have ruled the Madra country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved *m* instead of *y*, the actual reading *muditha-bhūmih* in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to *guditha-bhūmih*, not to *Madra-bhūmih*.

² The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that **Dhika** was an *antopala* or 'frontier-guard' of **Mahēndrapāla's**, and that **Avanivarman II** was a subordinate of his (as his father **Balavarman** had been before him). See the end of the grant A.

³ This village (**Ambullaka** or **Ambulaka**) is mentioned also in the grant A.

belonged to the *Nakshisapura* eighty-four (*Nakshisapura-chaturāsiti*) in the *Saurāshṭra maṇḍala*, to (a temple of) *Tarunādityadēva*, located near the river *Kaṇavrikā* in the vicinity of the village of *Jayapura*.¹ The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of *Viyaraka*, on the south the village of *Jayapura*, on the west the villages of *Sēṇḍuvaka* and *Kōrinṭhaka*, and on the north the village of *Vavulika*. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 68, ends with the date *samvat 956 Māgha-sudi 6*, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The *Chālukya* chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large *Bilhari* inscription, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 266, mentions a *Chaulukya* *Avanivarman* whose daughter *Nōhālā* was married by the *Kalachuri* *Chēdi* king *Yuvarāja I. Kōyāvarasha*. That *Avanivarman* may have been a contemporary² of *Avanivarman II. Yōga* of our grant B.; but—even assuming that the terms *Chālukya* and *Chaulukya* might be used synonymously³—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were *Sadhauva* and *Simhavarman* (not *Balavarman* and *Avanivarman*).

For *Balavarman*, a feudatory of *Mahēndrāyudha* (*Mahēndrapāla*), the grant A. furnishes a date in about A.D. 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather *Vāhukadhavala* (?) lived about the middle of the 9th century A.D., and was almost certainly a feudatory of *Mahēndrapāla*'s predecessor *Bhōjadēva* (*Mihira*) of *Kanauj*, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 843 to A.D. 881. Now in the inscription No. 77 of my *Southern List* this *Mihira* (*Bhōjadēva*) is stated to have been defeated by the *Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa* *Dhruvarāja II*. This at any rate would show that he was at war with the *Rāshtrakūṭas*; and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of *Vāhukadhavala*'s (?) exploits related in the grant B. In my opinion, the *Karṇāṭa* army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the *Rāshtrakūṭas*. As regards (the king) *Dharma* who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king *Dharma* who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known *Pāla* king *Dharmapāla*, and I see no reason why *Dharma* should not be identified with that *Pāla* king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of *Kanauj*.

Balavarman himself defeated a certain *Vishadha*, and by slaying *Jajjapa* and other kings 'freed the earth from the *Hūna* race.' Who *Vishadha* was, it is impossible to say. Wars with *Hūna* kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,⁴ and we know of a *Hūna* princess, *Āvalladēvi*, who was married by the *Kalachuri* *Karṇa* in the 11th century; but in recording the name of *Jajjapa* our grant B. for the first time discloses the name of an individual *Hūna* king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The Kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of *Avanivarman II. Yōga*, for whom we have a date in about A.D. 899, are *Yakshadāsa* and *Dharaṇivarāha*. The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the *Chāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati* *Dharaṇivarāha*, known to us from his *Maṇḍalā* plates⁵ which were issued from *Vardhamāna* (or *Wadhwan* in

¹ This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.

² A daughter of the *Kalacuri* *Yuvarāja I.*, *Kundakadēvi*, was married by the *Rāshtrakūṭa* *Amoghavarsha III.* *Baddiga*, for whom we now possess dates in A.D. 937 and 939.

³ In Nos. 354 and 356 of my *Northern List* certain chiefs are described as both *Chālukyas* and *Chaulukyas*.

⁴ See my note on the grammarians' *ajayaj-Jarṭā Hūna* in *Notizien d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1903, p. 305 ff. The *Pāla* *Dēvapāla* humbled the pride of the *Hūnas* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 163, v. 13); according to the *Kharṇa* plates of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* *Kakkarāja II.* *Amoghavarsha* of A.D. 972 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the *Hūnas* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 265, l. 32); the *Paramāra* *Utpala* (*Mūñjarāja*) took away the life of the *Hūnas* (*ibid.* Vol. XVI. p. 23, l. 41); his younger brother *Sindhurāja* conquered the king of the *Hūnas* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 235, v. 16); etc.

⁵ See my *Northern List*, No. 353.

Kāthiāvād) in A.D. 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a *Rājādhirāja* Mahipālādēva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty.

The place **Nakshisapura**, the nine villages mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river **Kaṇavrikā** I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify. The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the **Nakshisapura group of eighty-four**, which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B. belonged to the **Saurāshṭra maṇḍala**. The name **Surāshṭra** we know to denote the southern part of Kāthiāvād; and since the two chiefs Balavarman and Avanivarman II. describe themselves as feudatories of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahēndrayudhadēva or Mahēndrapālādēva (of Kanauj), it follows from these inscriptions that towards the end of the 9th century A.D. the kingdom of Kanauj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kāthiāvād. Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the *Rājādhirāja* Mahipālādēva, who in the Haḍḍāla plates of A.D. 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Chāpa *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dharaṇivarāha, must be identified with the *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahipālādēva of Kanauj (whose Asmī inscription is dated in about A.D. 917), the successor of Mahēndrapālādēva, and cannot have been one of the Chūḍasamās of Girnār-Junāgaḍh.

In the grant A. the king, known to us from the grant B. and other inscriptions as Mahēndrapāla, is called **Mahēndrayudha**. This name of course at once recalls the names **Indrāyudha** and **Chakrāyudha**, the former denoting a king who according to the *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa* was ruling the north in Śaka-saṃvat 705=A.D. 783-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahōdaya (Kanauj) was given, after the defeat of Indrarāja (i.e., in my opinion, Indrāyudha), by the Pāla Dharmapāla, and who was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa,¹ the grandfather of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj. It may also be mentioned that in Rājāsēkhara's *Karpūra-maṇḍari*² a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanauj, the capital of **Vajrāyudha**, the king of Pañchāla.' That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Rājāsēkhara, who was Mahēndrapāla's *guru*, a name with the somewhat unusual ending *ayudha*, such as Vajrāyudha, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanauj king. Most probably Mahēndrapāla himself was known to Rājāsēkhara also by the name Mahēndrayudha.

The date of the grant A., *śri-Valabhi-saṃvat* 574 *Māgha-suddha* 6, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression *Valabhi-saṃvat*. In the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings themselves the year of a date is ordinarily preceded by only *saṃ*, rarely by *saṃvat*; and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term *Valabhi-saṃvat* was the Vērāval inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva-Bpihaspati of *Valabhi-saṃvat* 850 (No. 503 of my *Northern List*). In the Mōrbī plate of Jāinika (*ibid.* No. 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply *saṃvat*, while in line 17 the year is described as a *Gupta* (i.e. Gupta) year.—It is curious that in Kāthiāvād we should find the Gupta-Valabhi, Vikrama and Śaka eras employed in dates of the same period and in almost the same localities.

A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAN; VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

1 Om⁴ [||*] Jyāś=ch=śbhuyadayaś=cha || Svasti [||*] Nakshisapurāt-parama-
bhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj[ā]dhi-

¹ Of Nāgabhaṭa Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jōlhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A.D. 816 (*saṃvat-sara-śa* [16] 872).

² See Dr. Sten Konow's edition, pp. 74 and 266.

³ From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

20 pratishô[dhô] na karaṇiyah pālayitavyas=cha || yataḥ sām[ā*]nyam bhūmidāna-
phalam=avēty=āyam=asmad-dā-

Second Plate.

- 21 yô=numantavyô śmat-prīty=ābhyarthanayā cha pālaniya iti || Tathā ch-ôktam
[bha]gava-
22 tā vyāsē[śē]na¹ Vyāsēna || ²Yān=iha dattāni purā narēndraiḥ dānāni dharmu-
ārtha-yaśa-
23 s-karāpi | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta ||
24 ³Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāpi svarggō tishṭhati bhūmidah | [ā]chchh[ā]ttā ch=
ānumantā cha [tāny=ē]-
25 va narakō vasēt || Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājanaiḥ⁴ Sāgar-ādibhiḥ |
yasya yasya yadā [bhô]-
26 mis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || ⁵Shashṭir=vvarsha-sahasrāpi ⁶shashṭir=vvarsha-
sātāni [cha] | [gavān kōṭi-prudānē]-
27 na bhūmi-harītā na śudhyati || Viṃdhy-ātaviśhv-atōyāsu(su) śushka-kōṭara-
vāsinaḥ | [kṛishṇāhayō hi jā]-
28 yantō bhūmi-dāyam harattī(nti) yō || Sva-dattām para-datt[ām*] vā ya[tn]ād=
raksha narādhipa | mahīm mahibh[ṛitām śrōshṭha]
29 dānāch=chbrēyō=nupālanaṁ || ⊙ || Ava(tru) sākshī vra(brā)hmaṇa-Dēhaḍa-suta-
Bhāvah | tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-[Kau . ?]-
30 nara-suta-Nāgōśvarah || tathā vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Jajjaka-suta-Hariḥ || tathā
vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Bhā[skara]-suta-
31 Vāsudēvah || tathā vaṇik⁶ Nōgha-suta-Isuvah | tathā vaṇik⁶ Nāga-suta-
Pā[ha]llah || ta-
32 thā ⁷vaṇi-Jēulla-suta-Nannakah | tathā vaṇak⁸ Saṃgama-suta-Dēuthah || tathā
śa(ma)hattara-Draṁ[g]iya-
33 suta-Sihah | tathā mā(ma)hattara-Gōvāsa-suta-Ajainah | tathā mahattara-Gōvāsa-
suta-Mēha[ri]pa[ka]-
34 ḥ | tathā mahattara-Dhāra-suta-Kaṇhakah || Likhitaṁ ch=aitan=mi(ma)yā kula-
putraka-⁹Datta-suta-[Dhā ?]-
35 [r]ādi[tyē]n=ōti || ⊙ || Śrī-Valabhi-samvat 574 Māgha-śuddha 6 || ⊙ ||
36 Sva-hastō=[tra] śrī-Va(ba)lavarmmaṇah || 𑀭¹⁰ sva-hastah śrī-Dhika¹¹ || ⊙ ||

B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMAN II. YOGA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 956.

TEXT.¹²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹³ ||[*] Jayaś=ch=ābhy[u*]dnyas=cha || Jayati¹⁴ jagatām prasūtir=viśv-ātmā
sahaja-bhūṣaṇam nabhasah | drutaka-
2 nakasudṛśa-dāśasutamayākha-māl-ārchataḥ¹⁵ Savitā || [1*] ¹⁶Ast=iha sārō va(ba)hir=
amtarā cha chchhidraiḥ pari-

¹ Read, probably, *vādyāśna*.

² Metre: Indravajrā.

³ Metre of this verse and the rest: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).— Read *shashṭim varsha*.

⁴ Read *rājābhīḥ Sagar*.

⁵ Read *shashṭim varsha*.

⁶ Read *vaṇig-N*.

⁷ Read *vaṇig-J*.

⁸ Read *vaṇik-Nah*.

⁹ The same word occurs e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 101, line 69.

¹⁰ This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhika.

¹¹ One would have expected -*Dhikarya*. See line 52 of the grant B.

¹² From a photograph supplied by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

¹³ Denoted by a symbol.

¹⁴ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁵ Read -*māl-dchitah*.

¹⁶ Metre: Indravajrā.

- 3 tô na vipatrasâkha¹ | bhêdyah parair-n-aiva mahipatinâm Vâ(ohâ)lukya-
nâmâpara-tumga-[vaim]sah |(II) [2*] ⁸Va(ba)bhûva-
4 tuti(=ta)[tra] mahâ-mahipati mah[â*]-mat| Kalla-Ma[ha]lla-samjûitan | yayôh
sitâ kirttir-upâgamad-gu-
5 naih parâm prasiddhih(m) satata[rû*] sunirmalaih || [3*] ⁹Saubhrâtrañ=cha
yayôr=âsî(sî)d-anyônyam=avibhita(nna)-
6 yô[h*] || (I) kalavappapamâmyâtam⁴ Râma-Lakshmanay[ô]r=iva || [4*] Madhyô⁶
nripânâm suvibhûyi(shi)tânâm
7 rarâja Kallah kula-ki[r*]tti-yu[kta]h | kâ[rû*]tyâ mahatyâ sthirayâ śriyâ
va(cha) kalpadrmâṇām=i-
8 va pârjâtâ[h] || [5*] Râjya[m]⁴ ma[ehra?]⁷ mahipatau gunagan-âlamikârabbhûte
sati kshîṇâ[râ]ti-pa-
9 râkram-ân[v]ita-tanau nirbhâtika⁸ śâsati | lôkânâm=abbavan=manô rati-yuta[rû*]
dharmma-pra-
10 [dh]âna[m] sadâ tushṭir=[vva(bb)ndhu]janasya gaunya-janitâ dânañ=cha
satyattisha(?)⁹ || [6*] ¹⁰Tasmân=mahîś[â*]d=vi-
11 tatôkavittih¹¹ lakshmi-nidhânâṁ śaranam guṇânâm || (I) śauryasya bhûmir=
vvasatir=mmatinâm
12 rājairabhâma(?)¹² tanayâ(yô) va(ba)bhûva || [7*] ¹³Valgattyaraggamâtuga-
mattamâtamga-duggamân | yach=cha-
13 ṇḍadanḍatasrastâh sâtrâtô=śîśriyan=vana || [8*] Ajani¹⁴ tatô=pi śrîmân[ngâ?]-
hukadhavalô¹⁵
14 mahâvu(nu)bhâvô yah | dha[r*]mmam=avann=api nityam ranôtyamô(?) |
nînasadramam¹⁶ |(II) [9*] ¹⁷Râjâdhirâ-
15 ja-paramôśvara-bhûminâ[th]ân=yas-tân=api avabhuja-vîrya-vaśâd=vijig[y]ô |
16 nistramsaubhrayavilô[ji]ripâtîtmâṅgair=avjair=ivô kshiti-talam

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 samarê puvinya || [10*] ¹⁸Kuntâ[thâ?]śâsi[ha]si-p[ra]ch[ur]a-nara-kari-prâjâ(jya)-
valgat-turamgân

¹ Read *vipatrasâkhaḥ*, i.e. both *vi-pattra-sâkhaḥ*, 'without leaves and branches,' and *vipattra-sâkhaḥ*, 'whose branches protect from misfortune.' A bamboo (*varsha*) has leaves and branches. But the Châlukya race (*varsha*) is a different kind (*apara*) of *varsha*, one that has no leaves and branches, i.e., in the other sense of the adjective, it is a race the branches of which protect from misfortune. Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of *varsha*. The word *apara* of the last Pâda is practically equivalent to *apûra*, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol. III. p. 298, line 8 of the text. *Apura* is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excels') in the verse in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 193, line 10.

² Metre: Varîśashta.

³ Read *kuladharmma-samâdyâtam*.

⁴ Metre: Sârdûlavikrîḍita.

⁵ Read, probably, *nirbhâtikam*.

⁶ Metre: Indri vajrâ.

⁷ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).

⁸ Metre: Upajâti.

⁹ Read *gatra*.

¹⁰ Read, perhaps, *sampattijam*.

¹¹ Read *vitat-ôruktittir*.

¹² I am unable to give the name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage. The verse would be right if we were to read *Râjendra-nêma*, but I am not sure about this conjecture.

¹³ Metre: Ślôka (Anushtubh).—Read the verse: *Valgat-turamgamât=tumga-matta-mâtumga-duggamât | yach-chandadanḍatasrastâh sâtrâtô=śîśriyan=vanañ ||* For *châṇḍadanda* see above, Vol. VI. p. 10, v. 20.

¹⁴ Metre: Āryâ.

¹⁵ Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be *śrîmân=Vâhukadhavalô*.

¹⁶ Read *raṇ-ôdyatô-nînatad=Dharma**. The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is *Dharma**.

¹⁷ Metre: Vasantatîlâ.â.—Read the second half of the verse: *śîśrîmha-nîdayavîlâna-ripâtîtmâṅgair=avjair=iva kshiti-talarî samarê pravîḍhya ||*

¹⁸ Metre: Sragdharâ.—Read *Kuntâpradêśîhanta*.

- 18 **Karṇāṭam** śai(sai)nyam=ājō(jau) bhayarabita-manā bhūriśō=bhu(nu)praviśya |
 ēkāki khaḍga-
 19 yashṭyā drutam=atisitayā¹ yō=rimūddhi-pravāha[m] vāh-ārūḍhō=vagāḍham kamala-
 20 vanam=iva śrattya-khēda² lulāva || [11*] ³Tasmād=amjāyata sutō śvanivarmma-
 nāmā śaura-pratā-
 21 pu-vinay-ādi-guṇautapōta⁴ | saunābhavad-bh[ri*]śam=imām=avatā dharitrīm=
 anvarthātān=nijam=a-
 22 niyata yēna nāma l(II) [12*] ⁵Avaniva[r*]mmaṇi ya[tra] sukarmmaṇi
 vyathita-śātravamarmmaṇi varmmaṇi(?) [I]
 23 yuvati-nirmita-narmmaṇi bhūpatō(tau) na janatābhair-aśa[r*]mmaṇi śa[m*]kitam ||
 [13*] Tasya⁶ sūmr=ajan=iha
 24 sukarmā mitra-va(ba)ndh[u]janamtabhira-śa[r*]mmā | kirttitō vidita-śātravamarmā
 yō janair=abhi-
 25 dhayā **Va(ba)lavarmma** || [14*] ⁷Satatam=avitath-ōktiḥ snāna-jāpy-ādi-śā(śi)lāḥ
 prapayisatasahasrā-
 26 dhina-vistiraṇasamipat | bhrijasura-⁸vihit-āśō yaḥ sad=ārabbhya vā(bā)lyātvī(t=Tri)-
 nayana-charaṇ-ā-
 27 rechchāśilavān=samprajātam(h) l(II) [15*] Prathita-karituramgam sātānistriṃśa-pāṇi¹⁰
Vishadham=avaśa-
 28 m-śāḥ sādhu jivā samikō [1*] sthīrataram=uruḍhakkā-yugmam=āśu draḍhiyan¹¹
 śruti-sukha-
 29 dam=akhiṇṇō yō=grahin-ma[m*]dra-nādam || [16*] Chatura-turaga-durggān=samīyati
 dhvasta-śatru[h*] sphuṭa-
 30 m=iha jagutisān¹² **Jajjap-ādin=nihatya** | prasabham=abhimanasakō yō vyadhata
 [ksh]jītō
 31 bhavanam=idam=ahīnō Hūpa-vamśōna hīnam || [17*] Kuvalayadala-nētraḥ
 sannat-āmsusthulā-¹³
 32 kaḥ | prakāṭam=**Ava[n]ivarmma** [n]āma tasy=[ā]tmaj[ō]=bhūt | prithula-
 kaṭir=udārah kshāma-ma-
 33 dhyas=tathā yō vidita iha jagatyām **Yōga-nāmn=āparēṇa** || [18*] **Sathgrām¹⁴**
Yāksadāsa[m*] va(ba)la-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 34 m-a[kh]ilam=api¹⁵ dhvamśayitvā pravirō yaḥ samjagrāha tūryam paṭutara-
 ninadam Śāgarakshēbha-
 35 nāma | yasy=ālamkāra-bhūtām¹⁶ jita-ripa jagrihuḥ pattayō=pi pratītōḥ
 śaṅkha-[chchha]tra-dhvanjī-¹⁷
 36 n=ahamāhamikayā mu(yu)ddha-bhūmim praviśya || [19*] Kōḍaṇḍa-dhvasta-dhārā-
 śara-kura-nakharō vi[kra]ju-āva(bu)ddha-
 37 chittō līlābhim(nn)-ānyaśō(śō)nā-samadagajaghaṭā-tumbhatnīngasthalikō¹⁸ | yasmin=
 ā[kra]mya bhūmim

¹ Read =atisitayā yō=rimūddha.

² Metre : Vasantatilakā.— Read Tasmād=ajāyata.

³ Metre : Drutavilambita.

⁴ Metre of verses 15-18 : Mālini.

⁵ Read draḍhāyān.

⁶ Read drāja-guru.

⁷ Read jagutisān.

⁸ Read sannat-dhvasasthalikāḥ pra.

⁹ Metre of verses 19 and 20 : Sragdhara.

¹⁰ The syllable pi was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin.

¹¹ Read -bhūtān.

¹² Read -śaṅkha-kumbhasthalikāḥ | yasmin=.

¹³ Read srasta-khēdam.

¹⁴ Read -guṇair=uplāḥ.

¹⁵ Read -bandhujanat-dhita.

¹⁶ Read -pāṇi.

- 38 [stbi]tavati hi nijā¹ sīghavad=**Yakṣadāsa**-[kṣhō]ṇp-ādyaiskumragair=iva² ripu-
nivahaiḥ dūrataḥ saṁ-
39 prañśō || [20*] ³Vyōmnā yāntam=adhikam mṛgay[ā*]-priyō yaḥ satva⁴ na
muñchati sa kiṁ Dharapīvarāhaḥ [1*] maty=ō-
40 ti [vō]ṇpuruhayā⁵ sahaś(s)=aiva yasya dūrān=nanāmśa⁶ matimām Dharapīvarāhaḥ
|| [21*] ⁷Khaḍga-khaṇḍita-dhaḍḍāra[m]⁸
41 ruṇḍa-muṇḍaigha-⁹maṇḍitaṁ | yatr=ājibh[ā*]ji jāti[ti] sasapāṇai¹⁰ raṇāmgaṇam ||
[22*] ¹¹Narapatim=amurḥ muktva
42 kālō kalau sati sa[m*]prati trijagati paritrātum śaktō na kśchid=ap=īha
mām | su[ja]na-niva[hō] ma-
43 tv=ēti va unatikamavi[kra]ma¹² śaraṇa-manasaḥ śrīmaṁtām yaṁ samāśrayad=
u[obchhr]ita[m*] || [23*] Tēna¹³ prava(cha)ṇḍamaruḍa[bhra]-
44 chalā[m*] vi[bhūtīm ?] [padmasath ?]itāmvu(bu)kaṇikā-ta[ra]lātan=āsū[n]¹⁴ |
vidy[u*]dvilāsa-va(cha)palāñ=cha vichi[m*]tya la-
45 kshmiṁ prāvartyata sphuṭam=ayaḥ kṣhitidāna-dha[r]mmaḥ || [24*] Sa cha
mahāśānta-śrī-Yōga ēvam=u[kta ?]vān patha¹⁵
46 ¹⁶sapramṇ=ēv=ābhisaṁvadhyaḥ svān=anyāms=[cha] gāmibhāvi-bhūpālāmś=cha
samanuvō(bō)dhayaty=astu
47 vaḥ saṁviditam yath=āsmābhiḥ pratāpaprāṇata-samastasānta-śō(mau)limāl-āroḥita-
charaṇayū-
48 galasya śāsadhakarānikar-āmalyaśa[ḥ*]pravāba-dhavalita-dharāvalayasya
saṁhitābhya-
49 dhikaprādān-ānandita-vaṁdivrind-ōpagīyamāna-samastagunagaṇasya paramabhaṭṭāra-
50 ka-mah[ā*]rājādhirāja-parami(mē)śvara-śrī-Bhōjadi(dē)va-pādānu d h y ā t a p a r a m a-
51 bhaṭṭāra-ka-mahār[ā*]jādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Mah ē m d r a p ā l a d ē v a - p r a s ā-¹⁷

Third Plate.

- 52 pāda-prasād-āṅgāpta¹⁸ tanti(nni)yukta-tam[trāmra?]pāla¹⁹-śrī-Dhīka-pratīva(ba)ddhais=
ta-
53 d-anumatya cha Śau(sau)rāshṭramaṇḍal-āntaḥpāti-Nakshisapurachaturā(śa)śīti-
prati-

¹ Read *nijāḥ sīghavad*.² Read *-ādyaiḥ kuramgair= iva ripu-nivahair*.³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.— The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dharapīvarāha, for whose identification see above, p. 3 f., was put to flight by, or fled before, Avanivarman. But I am not sure about every detail of the verse.— The first words of the verse perhaps are either *vyōmn=āpi yāntam* or *vyōmna prayāntam*.⁴ Read *sattvaḥ*.⁵ I cannot correct this.⁶ Read *-nandita matimām*.⁷ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁸ Read, probably, *-daḍḍāra* (in the sense of 'elephant').⁹ Read *-muṇḍ-ogha*.¹⁰ Read *śaṣṭa-pāṇau*.¹¹ Metre: Haripī.¹² Read *Trivikrama-vikramam*.¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.¹⁴ Read *-taralāśa=atathāśān*.¹⁵ Read *yathā(?)*; but the words *ēvam=uktarān yathā* would be quite out of place here.¹⁶ Read *sarvāt=ēv=ābhisaṁvadhyaṁnān=svān=anyāms=ch=dyāmibhāvi*.¹⁷ These two *akṣaras* (the first two syllables of the word *prasāda*) are quite out of place here. In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected *-Mahēndrapālādēvasya*, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with *pratāpaprāṇata*, were a single compound, qualifying *Mahēndrapālādēva*.¹⁸ Here, in my opinion some words have been omitted. As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yōga had received from Mahēndrapāla.¹⁹ The two *akṣaras* in brackets are quite doubtful. I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be *-tadāntapāla*.

- 54 va(ha)ddha¹-Amvulak-ābhidhāna-grāmaḥ sa-vṛikṣhamālākulaḥ sa-simāparyan[t*]aḥ
 55 sa-bhōgubhāgaḥ sa-hiranyādānaḥ sa-daṇḍadaśāparādhaḥ sabbhajaśānavēṣṭikāḥ²
 56 sakala-rājakiyānām=ahastapraśhēpanima(ya) ā-chamdr-ārkeṣh(rkk)-ārnṇava-kṣiti-
 sarit-pur[rv]jāta-sama-
 57 kālīnaḥ³ ih=aiṇa Jayapura-grām-ābhyāsē Kaṇavirikā-sarid-upakaṇṭhō nivish[ṭ*]a-
 Ta[ru]ṇa-
 58 dityadēvāya khaṇḍasphuṭita-suka(dhā)-dugdha-kō[r]chchaka-snapanā-vilēpana-pushpa-
 dhūpa-dīpa-t[ai]la-nō(nai)vō-
 59 dya-dārik-ādy-upakṛitayō m[ā*]tāpitṛōr=ātmanaś=ch=[ai]hik-āmushmika-punya-yaś[ō]-
 bhividdhayaḥ bhūmicchhidra-
 60 nyāy[ē*]na pravi(ti)pāditas=tad=ayam svadha[r*]mmadāya-nirthi(rvvi)śēpra(sha)ḥ
 pālāya(yi)tavyō śnuna(ma)ntavyaś=cha || yaśya(sya) ch=ā-
 61 ghāṭānāni pūr[rv]jātō Viyāraka-grāma-simā | dakṣiṇatō Jayapura-grāma-
 sīnā(mā) || aparataḥ Sē-
 62 pḍuvaka-Kōripṭhaka-grāma-simē | uttarataḥ Vavulika-grāma-simā | tad=ē[na]m
 chaturāghāṭānō(nu)-pari-
 63 kṣipta-grāmāni bhūmijātō bhōjayataḥ kṣha(kṛi)ṣhataḥ karsha[ya]taḥ pratidīśa-
 tō(tō) rā(vā) na knīścha[n=ā]lp-āpi paripam-
 64 thanā vyāśō⁴ vā kāryaḥ | yataḥ sāmānyasānapalām=avity=⁵āemat-prityā pālānya
 ita(tī) || Tathā d(ch)=ō-
 65 kṭāni Vyāśō(sē)na | ⁶Va(ha)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājāni(bhi)ḥ Śa(sa)gar-
 ādibhiḥ [i*] yaśra⁷ yanyā yadā bhūmīsasa tasya ta-
 66 rā palam || ⁸[Y]ān=īha dahā[na]⁹ purā narēndrair=ddānāni¹⁰ |
 mīmārsagmāsakarāni | nirmālyavāna-prati-
 67 māni tāni kō nāma śā(sā)dhuḥ punar=ādadīta ||
 68 Samvat 958 Māgha-sūdi 8 [i*]

NO. 2.—VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF PURNAPALA;

THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÜTTINGEN.

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T. S. Burt from a tank at **Vasantgadh**¹¹ in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and the inscription was published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. X. p. 664 ff., from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Papḍit Kamalākānta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

¹ Read *ddh-Ambulak*. In line 16 of the grant A. the name is spelt *Ameullaka*.

² Read *sōtpadyamānavishṭikāḥ* (or *vēṣṭikāḥ*, which occurs often elsewhere).

³ Read *kālīna*.

⁴ Read *vyāśōśhō*.

⁵ Read *sāmānyam dāna-phalam=avitya*.

⁶ Metre: *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh).

⁷ Read *yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmīs=tasya tasya tadā pālāna*.

⁸ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

⁹ Read *dattāni*.

¹⁰ Read *ni dharman-ārtha-yaśas-karṇas | nirmālyavāna*.

¹¹ Vasantgadh (Basantgadh) apparently is situated to the west of Mount Ābā, but I do not find it on the map of the Rājputāna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalāta, of the [Vikrama] year 982, has lately been discovered.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 4½" high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 aksharas are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters is between ⅓" and ⅔". The characters generally differ little from the ordinary Nāgarī, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter *b* everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary *ā* is often written by a superscript line; once (in *Tvaṣṭuḥ=prastāddt=*, l. 13) we have the sign of the *upadhmāṇiya*; and once (in *bhāryām*, l. 12) the conjunct *ry* is made up of the full sign for *r* and the secondary form of *y*. Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *asy=ānvayō=pi* and *nagar-ānvayō=pi* in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verso. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as *nāma*, l. 5, *vēśma*, l. 9, *vēśmaih*, l. 14, and *vyōmā*, l. 21 (for *nāma*, *vēśma*, *vēśmabhiḥ*, and *vyōmni*), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre, in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like *Pārṇapāla*, l. 7, *saṁdhi*, l. 19, *svapāna*, l. 15 (for *Pārṇapāla*, *saṁdhi*, *sōpāna*), etc.¹

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named *Lāhiṇī*, a younger sister of the *Paramāra* *Pūrṇapāla* and widow of a king *Vigraharāja*, at *Vaṭa*² (*Vaṭa-nagara*, *Vaṭa-pura*) restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (*vāpi*), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of *Lāhiṇī* and *Vigraharāja*, while the third glorifies the town *Vaṭa* and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), *Prāchīnasa* (the poet *Vālmiki*), and *Vāṇī* (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god *Hari* (*Vishṇu*).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) *Vasiṣṭha* there was produced a youth or prince (*kumāra*) from whom the *Pramāra* (or *Paramāra*) family took its origin.³ In his lineage there was *Utpalarāja*; from him sprang *Āraṇyarāja*, and from him *Adbhutakriṣṇarāja*. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was *Mahipāla*, and from him sprang *Dhandhuka*. To *Dhandhuka* there was born from his wife *Amṛitadēvi* *Pūrṇapāla*, who ruled the *Ārbuda* territory (*bhū-maṇḍalam=Ārbudasya*).⁴ In his reign, his younger sister *Lāhiṇī* was married by king *Vigraha* (*Vigraharāja*).

Vigraharāja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named *Yōṭa*, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (*bhūpa*). In his lineage there was the king (*nṛpa*) *Bhavgupta*, who, after restoring the temple of 'the Sun dwelling at *Vaṭa*' (*Vaṭa-vāsi-bhānu*), reigned at *Vaṭa*. In his lineage, again, there was *Samgamarāja*, who ruled *Badari* in *Vamśāratha*. From him sprang *Durlabharāja*; from him, *Chacha*; and from him, *Vigraharāja*, who, as stated

¹ The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.

² In line 9, verse 18, the word is used in the plural (*Vaṭeṣu*), and in the inscription of *Varmalāta*, mentioned above, the place appears to be called *Vaṭakavasthāna*.

³ See e.g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 180, verse 13. In the present inscription we have the name *Pramāra* in verse 3, and *Paramāra* in verse 10. The name is written *Pramāra* also in the unpublished *Bhārūṇa* inscription of *Pūrṇapāla* of the 'Vikrama' year 1102, of which I possess impressions.

⁴ In the *Bhārūṇa* inscription mentioned in the preceding note *Pūrṇapāla* is said to rule the *Ārbuda-maṇḍala*. The inscription actually has *śrīmaṇḍalam prastāti*.

already, married *Lābīnī*. After his death, his widow went to her brother's home, and was settled at the town of *Vaṭa* which in the course of time had fallen into decay.

The town of *Vaṭa* (*Vaṭa-nagara*, *Vaṭa-pura*) is glorified in verses 20-25.¹ Here it will be sufficient to say that it is stated to have been founded by the sage *Vasishṭha*, that it was situated on a river named *Sarasvatī*, and that its inhabitants are described as devoted to the worship of the Sun. That the queen *Lābīnī* restored there an ancient temple of the Sun and restored or founded a tank, has been already mentioned.

The inscription (according to verses 33 and 34) was composed by the Brāhman *Mātrīśarman*, the son of *Hari*, and engraved by *Śivapāla*, the son of the *sūtradhāra* *Dēuka*, who was the son of *Durga* (*Durgārka*, i.e. *Durgāditya*), the son of the *sthapati* ('architect, carpenter,' etc.) *Nāga*. It ends (v. 35) with the date: the ninth *tithi* of the dark half of the month *Nabha*, i.e. *Śrāvaṇa*, the moon being in (the *nakshatra*) *Mrigāśīra*, of the year (given in words) 1099 in the time of *Vikramāditya*, 'in the place' (*sthānakā*) of *Chitrabhānu*. By this last expression I understand the author to say that the date fell in the Jovian year *Chitrabhānu*. This year can be combined with the *Vikrama* year 1099 only, when the latter is taken to be the expired *Chaitrādī* *Vikrama* year 1099, and *Chitrabhānu* to be the Jovian year so named according to the southern system.² For that year the date would correspond to the 12th August A.D. 1042, when the 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the *amānta* *Śrāvaṇa* ended 10 h. 46 m., while the *nakshatra* was *Mrigāśīra* by the equal space system and according to *Garga* for 15 h. 46 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise. The date is the earliest date of the *Vikrama* era that quotes a Jovian year, and, with the exception of quite modern dates, the only *Vikrama* date in which a Jovian year is quoted according to the southern system. It also is the earliest known date in which we find the expression *Vikramāditya-kālā*.

The *Pramāra* or *Paramāra* chiefs mentioned in this inscription ruled the *Arbuda-maṇḍala*, i.e. a tract of country called after *Arbuda*, the modern Mount *Ābū*. They are probably closely connected with the *Paramāras* of *Chandrāvati*, mentioned, e.g., above, Vol. VIII, p. 201. Regarding *Vigraharāja* and his ancestors I cannot offer any remark.

The places *Vaṭa* and *Badarī* in *Vamśārāṭha* (v. 14) I am unable to identify. *Vaṭa* must be an old place, being mentioned already in the *Vasantgaṇḍi* inscription of *Varmalāta* of the [*Vikrama*] year 682, and in a somewhat earlier inscription which was found at the village of *Sāmoli* in the *Bhōmaṭa* district of *Mévād*, and of which Mr. *Ojha* has sent me impressions. If not identical with *Vasantgaṇḍi* itself, it must be looked for close to it.

TEXT.³

- 1⁴ [Ma]hēśvara[m] || [P]rāchētasam tathā Vāpim-
prāsastis-sukritā mayā || [1*] ⁵Jyōtir-jyōtividām savaḥ sava-dhiyām dhishnyām
param varohchasām || bhaktānām dhanadaḥ smṛitaḥ kalushahā sa-
2 — — — — — || — — — — — [m-a]sahvṛitām matimatām dātā cha sat-
karmmanām || pāyād-vō Vasu-Siddha-Kinnara-nutas-trailōkya-dīpō Hariḥ || [2*]
⁶Vasishṭha-kōpāj-*janitah* kumārāḥ *Pramārat-Āvāpa* ya.⁷

¹ The exact meaning of verse 20 is not clear to me, and there is a doubtful passage in verse 23.

² By the northern system *Chitrabhānu* lasted from the 11th September A.D. 1039 to the 8th September A.D. 1040.

³ From impressions supplied by Mr. *Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha*. Below "Ed." denotes the text in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. X, p. 671; I quote from it only a few passages, to show what that text is like.

⁴ About 15 or 16 *aksharas* are broken away at the commencement of the line. Ed. has *Prasamyā Hari-
pātr[ā]ṇa kavind Mātrīśarmanand* : *suh[r]iddhītatārām Vdyth*; but this, with the exception of the word
Vānāḥ, is a pure invention, suggested by verse 33 of the text — *Meire* : *Ślōka* (*Anushubh*).

⁵ *Metro* : *Sārdhāvikrīḍita* — *Jyōtividām* for the sake of the *metro* for *jyōtividām*.

⁶ *Metro* of verses 3-8 : *Upēndravajrā*, *Indravajrā* and *Upajāti*.

⁷ I.e., apparently, 'from whom the *Pramāra* family took its origin.' The word *Pramārat* seems to have been formed on the analogy of *bandhātā*, *janatā*, etc.

- 3 — — — — — || 3*] Asy=ānvayē hy=Utpalarāja-nāmā¹ **Āraṇyārājō**-pi tatō
babbhūva || tasmād=babbhūv=Ādbhutakṛiṣṇarājō vikhyāta-kīrttiḥ kila vāsu.²
4 — — — — — || 4*] — — — — — ḥ śrīman=yath-ōrvv[īn] dhṛitavān=
varā[ha]ḥ³ || putrō=pi tasmān=Mahipāla-nāmā tasmād=abbhūt=Dharmdhukā⁴ ēva
bhūpaḥ || 5*] Asy=āpi kīrttiḥ surarāja-lōkē pragīyatō vai sura-kīnnaribhiḥ ||
vinānivishṭa-⁵karajāmguli-
5 — — — — — || 6*] Yēn=āhṛitā san(sau)rya-balōna
lakshmi[r=] vikhyāpya nāmar⁶ parasaṇya-madhyē || asy=āpi bhāry=Āmṛita-
dēvi-ttā(nā)mnī⁷ rūpēna sī(śi)lōna kulōna yukta || 7*] Utpāinamasyāsuvi⁸
Pūrṇapālaḥ pūrṇām=imān pālaya-
6 — — — — — || 8*] [rō=p]i vijitya śattrūm⁹ śasāsa bhū-mamḍalam=
Arbbudasya || 10Kanakakarṇika-bhūshitagāṇḍayā¹⁰ kakuchadēsa-nivēśita-
vinayā || vibudha-rājakulē=marā-kanyayā sadasi yasya yasaḥ parigīyatō || 9*]
Hatvā¹¹ yēna raṇē¹² ripūn=subahuśaḥ
7 — — — — — || [kē] || vikrāntā mada-sā(śā)liuō varā-gajā naddhāḥ svakē
mamdirē || Pūrṇapāla-¹³kulapradīpa-nṛpatau sau(sau)rya-vratē dhārmikō¹⁴ ||
attra śrī-Paramāravamśa-tīlakē rājyam sthiram śāsati || 10*] ¹⁵Asy=ānujā
Lāhiṇi-nāma-
8 — — — — — || [ya]thā tāmarassir=vvibhā || ūḍh-āpi yā Vighraha-bhūbhujēna¹⁷
Satyā yathā pūrvam=Adhōkshajāna || 11*] Asy=ānvayō=pi || || Āsī[d=] *]
dvijātir=viditō dharanyām khyāta-pratāpō ripuchakra-murddi || Yōṭaḥ¹⁸ sva-
sau(sau)ryārjita-bhūpaśabdāḥ kṣhōṇīśvarāḥ
9 — — — — — || [nṛi]pa-pradhānaḥ || 12*] Tad-anvayē khyāta-matir=nṛipō=bhūt=kula-pradīpō
Bhavegupta-nāmā || udhṛitya¹⁹ vēśman Vata-vāsi-bhānōr-Vaṭēśhu rājyam
kṛitavān=sa vīrah || 13*] Asy=ānvayē Saṃgamarāja-nāmā Vamśārathē²⁰ yō
Badarīm śasāsa || tasmād=abbhūt=Durllabharāja-bhūpaś=Chachō=pi²¹ tasmā-
10 [d=va]ra-rājaputraḥ || 14*] Babbhūva tasmād=gupinān pradhānō nṛip-ōttamō
Vighararāja-nāmā || pradānasau(sau)ryādi-guṇair=udārair=yasō(śō) yayau yasya

¹ Observe the hiatus.

² Ed. has *Vāsudhāvah*; but I suspect that the original had *vāsudhāyām* (wrongly for *vasudhāyām*).

* Ekl. has *Tasy-ātmajō bhūvalaya-pratishthah śrī-Nāthaghoṣhī vṛitavān varānyah.*

* Here this name might be read *Vamdhuka*; but in the Bhārūṇḍa inscription of Pūrṇapāla the name is quite clearly *Damdhuka*. The same name occurs in Nos. 210 and 689 of my *Northern List*. In a paper on the Chāhamānāya of Naddūla I shall show that *Dhandhu* also occurs, as another form of the name.

^b The reading is clear, but offends against the metre. Perhaps we should read *efnānivishitā*, where (as in the case of the first *d* of *Pāṇḍupāṇi* in l. 7) the final *a* would have been wrongly lengthened.

* This wrong form (for *ndma*) is clear in the original, and required by the metre. Ed. has *bhāram*.

* Ed. has *bhāryyā Gharitadāvi-nāmnt.*

▪ This is quite clear in the original; Ed., instead of it, has *tasmād-amuṣyāṁ bhūvi*. I consider it quite possible that the author really wrote *utpannam=asy-druvi* in the sense of 'as his son there was born,' incredible as this may seem to be.

* Read *tattrāṇ-*. Ed. has *vijitya rāshtram nāma 'pi bhūtam valadarpadāti*.

¹⁰ Metre : Drutavilambita.

¹¹ Read, perhaps, *sakucha*^o or *sukucha*^o. Pal. has *karapadē manibhāshitaṣṭṭṇayd*.

12 Metre: Śardûlavikrîṭita.

¹⁸ The *akṣharas na rané* are engraved below the line.

¹⁴ For the sake of the metre for *Pāṇnapāla*. Ed. has *pāṇah Pālakula-pradīpa* *ṇayā*.

10 Observe the hiatus.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 11-15 : Indravajrā, Upēndravajrā and Upajāti.

¹⁷ For the sake of the metre for -*bhābbhūid*.

¹⁰ Ed. has *yô duhvasaurvutrijjitabhadrasasyah Kāstvarah*.

¹⁹ Read *vādhritya*. The following *vāsmam* (for *vāsmā*) is clear in the original, and required by the metre.

²⁰ Ed. has *pañdyō narair=yc*

²¹ Ed. has *Vallabhardja-bhāṣa*=*Charḍ=pi.*

- vijitya lókān || [15*] ¹Dvijhvaripuvāhanō lalanakāntarāmānvitah || kulōchchaya-
kṛitōnnatir-vvidhṛitachārulakshmi-
- 11 vapah || svapaurushadhṛitāvanir=balanivishṭachakrō mahān || babhūva nṛivarōttamah
sa nararūpadhṛin=Mādhavah || [16*] ²Prōtphullasitakamala-mukhān karatala-
sukumārapanikaja-nibhā[ūg]im || Śriyam=iva kulajām rājūi-Lāhiṇim=ūqha-
- 12 vān³ sah || [17*] Bhāryān⁴ sa ch=āvāpya guṇaiḥ samōtām chitt-ōpsitām=vai⁵
bubhujō cha bhōgam || s=āpi priyam prāpya patin-tu rōmō yadvach=Chhach-
Indrēna samam varēmō⁶ || [18*] Asmin=mrītō bharttari daiva-yōgād=bhrātur=
griham s=āpi gatā viyuktā || āvāsitā vai nagarō Vaṭṭ=smin=daivāt=pra-
- 13 hīnō bahusāh kramēna || [19*] || Nagar-ānvayō=pi⁷ || || Taptam tapam⁸
Vāruṇin=āpi yatra nyagrō[dha-sakt-ā]śrama-māpavasya⁹ || sthānō=rkka.Bharggau
svanatō¹⁰ Vasishṭhō mukti-pradau sthāpitavān=varishṭah || [20*] Tadvad=Vaṭ-
ākhyam nagaram vanō=smin¹¹ Tvashṭuh=prasādāt=kṛitavān¹²
- 14 n-Vasishṭbah || prākāra-vapṛ-ōpavanais-tadā[g]aiḥ prāsāda-vēśmaiḥ¹³ sughanam
sutuṅgaiḥ || [21*] ¹⁴Śrutimantr-ōdam=akshōbhyam shadāmgāvarṭta-saṅkulam ||
vēd-ārṇavam dvijāḥ samyag-yattra tirtv=āpy=nagarvvitā[h] || [22*] ¹⁵Lōkair-
ddharṇama-paraiḥ svakarmma-nirataih sadbhiḥ sad=āvāsitam ||
- 15 vṛityartham¹⁶ [cha sa?]māgatāih pratidīśam nityam vanigbhir=vṛitam || [paṇ]-
rūlāih¹⁷ papikājanair=vyasayikāih sū(sū)rair=jjanaiḥ saṅkulam || Indra-sthānam=
iv āparam Vaṭa-puram kshōṇi-talō sainsthitam || [23*] ¹⁸Svar-udgatā yatra
sarit-Sarasvatī svapāna-pamkt-iva¹⁹ nṛiṇām
- 16 ninajjatām || supunyapushpōdakaphēna-vāhinī dvij-āśramāṇām jananevadhisṭhitā²⁰ ||
[24*] Yē²¹ sarvvaṃ palāyanitō nagarahita-ratāḥ²² nītimaritatāḥ prasānitāḥ ||
dēvān=viprān-yaṇitō kanakadhanamahivastaratnādi-dānaiḥ || khyātir=yēśhām cha
nityam tri(tri)bhuva-
- 17 valayō sad-guṇair=ēva nitā || tō=smin=paurāḥ samastāḥ sakalajana-bitā Bhānavō
bhaktimantāḥ || [25*] ²³S=ātr=āgatā Lāhiṇi-nāma-rājūi bharttur=vyiyōgādhi-
nipitāmgī || asmin=purō vipra-janaiḥ samōtya triptā [tu] tēśhām [va]chanāt=
prabuddhā || [26*] Bhā-
- 18 nōr=griham daiva-vaśād-vibhagnam Vāsishṭha-pauraiḥ sukritam yad-āsit ||
vaināsi²⁴ sarvvaṃ saha jīvitōna jñātvā griham kāritam=āsu Bhānōḥ || [27*]

¹ Metre: Prithvī.

² This apparently is intended for an Āryā verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed. omits the whole of it.

³ Read *vān=sah*.

⁴ Metre of verses 18-21: Indravajrā.

⁵ Read *ōpsitām vai*, or, perhaps, *ōpsitam vai*.

⁶ Read *varēna*.

⁷ Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed. has *Vasishṭharājō=pi atr=astō=atō=*
gam Vasishṭharājānvayō=pi (jātamatrāpā Vāruṇināpi) atra nyagrōdhasya=āśramah.

⁸ Wrong for *taptō*.

⁹ The intended reading may be *Mādhavasya*, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to.

¹⁰ Read *sva-natau*, or, perhaps, *sva-matau*.

¹¹ Read *smin=sma*.

¹² Read *kṛitavān=Pa*.

¹³ Wrong for *vēśmabhiḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁶ Read *vṛityartham*.—The *sa* in the following brackets seems to be engraved below the line.

¹⁷ There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest a satisfactory emendation; Ed. has *paurānair=ganikājanair*.

¹⁸ Metre: Vamśastha.

¹⁹ Wrong for *svapāna-pamktir=iva*, which would not have suited the metre.

²⁰ Read *janan=iva nishṭhā*.

²¹ Metre: Śragdharā.

²² Read *-ratā*.

²³ Metre of verses 20-30: Indravajrā.

²⁴ Wrong for *vaināsi* (or *vaināsikam*), which would not suit the metre.

- ¹Suslishṭa-saṁdhiṁ ruchira[m] supādam śail-śeṣṭakain cha sthira-siṁgha-karṇam² || yadvad=Dhimādris-śikharaiś-cha tadvat-kṛtvā
- 19 nikētaṁ **Vaṭa-vāsi-bhānōḥ** || [28*] Lōka-prap-aishā sukṛitā cha vāpi suslishṭasaṁdhi-ghaṣitōtpalā³ cha || sōpāna-pamktyā susubhō(bhā) subaddhā nīarō(śrē)ṇi-bhūt-ōva divaukasasya || [29*] Dēvaiḥ samastair=ri(ṇi)shibhiś-cha juṣṭā pāpāpahā vyāpya jagat-sthitā yā || jīruṇō-
- 20 dhṛitā⁴ **Lāhīṇi-puṇyahētōḥ** Śārasvatī śōsha-janasya vāpi || [30*] Nishpādyā⁵ sukṛitau kṛtvā⁶ artham datvā⁷ punaḥ-punaḥ || vaināśikam=idam ch-ānya[j*=] jñātvā lōkasya charppitan⁸ || [31*] ⁹Yāvad=gaur-llōka-dh[ā*]trī pravaḥṣi [pa?]rutō¹⁰ yāvad=arkō-ntarikshē || yāvad=vichyas=sa-
- 21 mudrē pavana-vidhunitā¹¹ samitātāḥ prōchebhalanti || yāvad=vyōmō¹² susighram pracha[la?]ti mihira-syaṇḍa(da)nasy=aika-chakraṁ || vāpy-ōkau tāvad-āstām=¹³ uḍukara-sadriṣaṁ śrēyaśō kārakaasya || [32*] || ¹⁴Kṛit=ōyam Hari-puttrēṇa Mātrīśarmma-dvijanmanā || śastir-llōka-hitā-
- 22 rthāya **Lāhinyās-cha**¹⁵ hit-aishīṇā || [33*] ¹⁶Āsich=cha Nāgāt-sthapatēs tu Durggah || Durggārkkatō Dēuka-sūtttradhārāḥ || asy=āpi sūnnḥ Sivapāla-nāmā || yēn-ōtkṛit=āyam¹⁷ susubhā prāsastīḥ || [34*] ¹⁸Navanavatir-ih-āsīd-Vikramāditya-kālē || jagati
- 23 daśasātānām-agratō yattrā pūrnṇā [1*] prabhavati Nabha-māsō sthānakē Chitrabhānōḥ || Mṛigaśirasi śasāmīkē kṛishṇa-pakshē navamyām || [35 ||*]

No. 3.—ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

The ancient royal family of the Ālupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—‘*carant quia vate sacro*’ as Horace (*Curm.* IV. 9) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr. Fleet’s *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. A few additional records of them were published by Mr. Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Ālupas or Ālujas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakēśin II.¹⁹ and Vinayāditya, of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III.,²⁰ and of the Kādamba Jayakēśin I., and the poet Bilhana mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramāditya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Ālupa, Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that it ‘seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast.’²¹ This is very improbable, because Āluvāy (Alwye) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are

¹ Ed. omits this verse.² Read *-siṁghakarṇam*.—This word *siṁghakarṇam* apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture.³ Read *-ghaṣitōtpalā*; the preceding *saṁdhi* for the sake of the metre stands for *saṁdhi*.⁴ Read *dhṛitā*.⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁶ Observe the hiatus.⁷ Read *datvā*.⁸ Read *charppitan*.⁹ Metre: Bragdhārā.¹⁰ Read *puratō(?)*.¹¹ For the sake of the metre for *-vidhūnitāḥ*.¹² Wrong for *vyōmī*, which would not have suited the metre.¹³ This *āstām* is wrongly used here for *datām* (from *da*) or *syātām* (from *as*).¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).¹⁵ The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) *ś*.¹⁶ Metre: Indrī vajrā.¹⁷ *Utkṛitā* wrong for *utkṛtā*.¹⁸ Metre: Mālinī.—Ed. omits the last Pāda of the verse and has instead of it *sa* 1699.¹⁹ See now above, Vol. VI. p. 10.²⁰ See below, p. 16 and note 7.²¹ *History of the Dekkan*, p. 51, note 3.

found in South Canara, Kaḍūr and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word Ālupa or Āluva is probably 'a ruler,' from the Dravidian root *āl*, 'to rule.'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of Vinayāditya were issued at the request of Guṇasāgara-Ālupēndra's son Chitravāha-Mahārāja, who was in possession of the district (*viśaya*) of Eḍevojāl in the N.E. of Banavāsi in North Canara.¹ According to the Harihar plates of Vinayāditya, which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (*bhōga*) of Eḍevojāl, forming part of the Vanavāsi-maṇḍala, was granted at the request of Āluvarāja,² i.e. perhaps Chitravāha-Mahārāja. The same two princes (Guṇasāgara and Chitravāha) may be meant in an inscription at Kigga in the Koppa tāluka of the Kaḍūr district,³ which states that, when Āluarasa, whose second name was Guṇasāgara, was ruling the Kadamba-maṇḍala,—Āluarasa, (his) great queen and (his son) Chitravāhana made a grant to a local temple.⁴ Another inscription (Kp. 37), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some Chitravāhana was ruling Ponbucheḥu,⁵ the modern Humcha.⁶ Finally, an inscription at Māvāḷi in the Sorab tāluka of the Shimoga district states that in the time of Prabhūtavarsha Gōindarasa, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III., a certain Chitravāhana ruled the Āluvakhēḍa six-thousand, while Rājādityarasa ruled the Banavāsi-maṇḍala.⁷

If the Chitravāhana of the first Kigga inscription was really the same person as the Chitravāha of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the Ālupa or Ālua prince Guṇasāgara was governor of the Kadamba-maṇḍala, i.e. the Banavāsi province, in or immediately before the time of the Western Chalukya king Vinayāditya, and that Guṇasāgara's son Āluvarāja Chitravāha or Chitravāhana (I.) granted two villages in the district of Eḍevojāl, which formed part of the Banavāsi province, during Vinayāditya's reign. Consequently Chitravāhana I. seems to have succeeded his father Guṇasāgara in the government of Banavāsi. In the time of Gōvinda III., however, the Banavāsi-maṇḍala had been taken from the Ālupas and was entrusted to Rājāditya, while the Āluvakhēḍa six-thousand was administered by a second Chitravāhana, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the Ālupa family. To judge from the Māvāḷi inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That Chitravāhana, whom the second Kigga inscription mentions as residing at Humcha, may or not be identical with this Chitravāhana II., but must be distinct from Chitravāhana I., whose capital was most probably Banavāsi. If this identification is correct, Ponbucheḥu, the modern Humcha, would have been the head-quarters of the Āluvakhēḍa six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as Āluvakhēḍa among the boundaries of the Poysaḷa kingdom.⁸

Mr. Rice's volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient Ālupas. These are the Chaṅgāḷvas,⁹ Koṅgāḷvas,¹⁰ Nāḍāḷvas,¹¹ Sāntaras,¹² and the rulers of Kalasa and Kārkaḷa.¹³

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., discovered a number of archaic Kanarese pillar inscriptions of the Ālupas at Udiyāvāra near Uḍipi in the South Canara

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 147. A facsimile of the Sorab plates has since appeared in *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. p. 92 of the Translations.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 302, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI. Dg. 66.

³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 38.

⁴ A further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p. 21, note 3.

⁵ The Kanarese text has *pinduvēḍe* for *Ponbucheḥ-āḷe* in the Roman text.

⁶ See p. 17 below.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII. Sb. 10, with Plate facing p. 8 of the Roman texts.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Cm. 160, line 5.

⁹ *Id.* Vol. IV. Introduction, p. 16; Vol. V. p. viii; Vol. IX. p. 19.

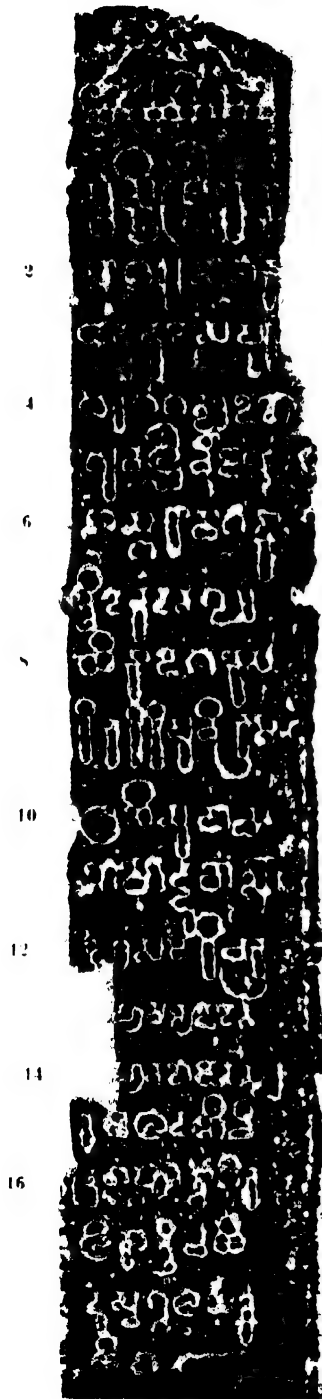
¹⁰ *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii; Vol. IX. p. 18.

¹¹ *Id.* Vol. V. p. vii.

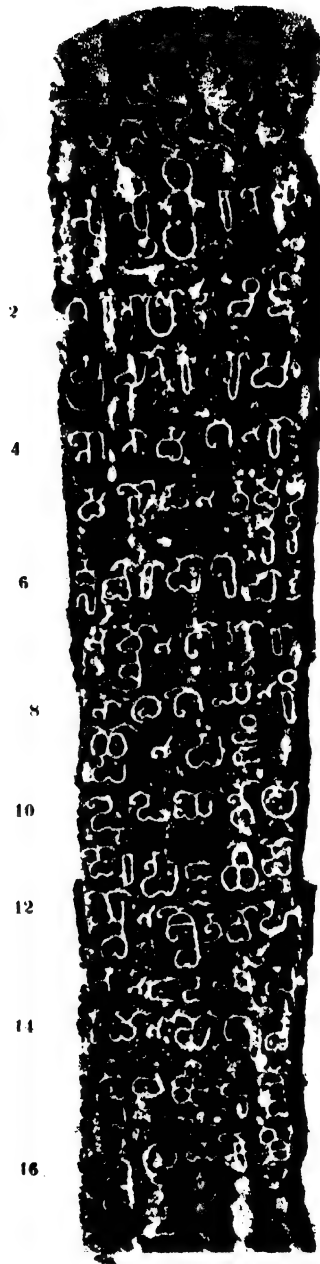
¹² *Id.* Vol. VI. p. 10; Vol. VII. p. 17; Vol. VIII. p. 6. Compare *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 458 and note 2.

¹³ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. p. 19. Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 109 ff. and Vol. VIII. p. 124 ff.

I. — Scale one-sixth.



II. — Scale one-fifth.



district. Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones. Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Krishna Sastri, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents.

The first five Udiyāvāra inscriptions are on Virakals, i.e. stones set up as memorials of deceased heroes; the remaining three refer to grants of tolls. The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period; for Nos. I. and II. mention a certain Raṇasāgara, and Nos. II. and III. one Śvētāvāhana. These two names and, in addition to them, Chitravāhana in No. I. look like those of Ālupa princes, among whom we have already found a Guṇasāgara and two Chitravāhanas. As the alphabet resembles that of the Māvaḷi inscription,¹ we may identify the Chitravāhana of No. I. with Chitravāhana II., who ruled the Ālupakhēḍa six-thousand in the time of Gōvinda III. Consequently Nos. I.-III. must be assigned to about A.D. 800. From the first few lines of No. I. we learn that Chitravāhana II. seized Udiyāvāra in the course of a war with Raṇasāgara, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne. Nos. II. and III. refer to the storming of Udiyāvāra by Śvētāvāhana, and No. II. records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of Raṇasāgara. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No. I., Raṇasāgara succeeded in ousting Chitravāhana II., but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by Śvētāvāhana, who may have been a near relative of Chitravāhana II.

The remaining Udiyāvāra inscriptions date from the reigns of the two Ālupa, Ālupa or Ālva kings Prithivīsāgara (Nos. IV.-VI.) and Vijayāditya (Nos. VII. and VIII.) alias Māramma (No. VII.). It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with Chitravāhana II., Raṇasāgara and Śvētāvāhana. But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos. I.-III., they must be assigned to about the same period.

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions Udiyāvāra is referred to by one of its older names Udayāpura (Nos. V. and VIII.), Udayapura (Nos. II., III., VI., VII.) or Udeyapura (Nos. I. and IV.). In the three last it is mentioned together with Paṭi (No. VI.), Pombuḷcha (No. VII.) or Ponvuḷcha (No. VIII.). Paṭi and Pombuḷcha are known to have been ancient names of the modern Humcha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district.² This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Ālupa kings. For an inscription at Kigga is dated while Chitravāhana (II.) was ruling Ponbuchi.³

I.—Inscription of Chitravāhana (II.) and Raṇasāgara.

This inscription (No. 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyāvāra. It records that a follower of Chitravāhana (II.) met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (viz. Chitravāhana) occupied and entered Udeyapura (Udiyāvāra) 'during the trouble of Raṇasāgara,' i.e. in the course of a war with the latter.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Raṇa-
- 2 sāgarānā śam(śam)ka-
- 3 ṭaḍu]=Udeyapuram
- 4 dhareg[ī]śan=paḍe-po-
- 5 guvalli Vijaya-
- 6 nāygarā magan=Kā-

¹ See above, p. 16 and note 7.

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 126.

³ See p. 16 above.

- 7 ltido kadan-aggha-
- 8 li kâloga-kôsa-
- 9 ri kariripu-vikraman
- 10 aṇiyu[|*] dâva-
- 11 ṇam=odḍuvon=sâ-
- 12 hasad=ari-chakra-
- 13 [vyû*]haman=ododon
- 14 [â*]havad=ode[da]n=pa-
- 15 ra-[ba]lad=aṇi Chi-
- 16 travāhanarggâgi ka-
- 17 li-kānti eṇi-
- 18 dn svarggālayakk=é-
- 19 ṇidon [|*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When during the trouble of **Raṇasāgara**¹ the lord of the earth² occupied and entered **Udeyapura**,—**Vijāṇanāyga**'s³ son **Kāltide**, (*who was*) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a cattle-rope⁴ to the array (*of his enemies*), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy's forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought⁵ (*with*) the splendour of a hero on account of **Chitravāhana**.

II.—Inscription of Raṇasāgara and Śvêtavāhana.

This inscription (No. 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Rāghavēndrabhaṭṭa's house at Udiyāvāra and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Raṇasāgara. He fell while Udayapura (Udiyāvāra) was entered by Śvêtavāhana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Raṇasāgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the 'lord of Paṭṭi,' and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the 'Pāsupata lord.' Paṭṭi (or Pombuchcha) is the modern **Humcha**.⁶ It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva maṭha.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [|*] Raṇa[sā]-
- 2 gaṇaṇā āṇu Viñjan
- 3 Pra[hā]rabbūsha-
- 4 ṇaṇā magan Kā-
- 5 makōḍan tammutta-
- 6 mūvarā Pāsupā(pa)taṇ
- 7 namvrān g=ōva[do]rā

¹ *I.e.* 'the trouble caused by Raṇasāgara.'

² *Viz.* probably the Chitravāhana mentioned in l. 15 f.

³ *Nāyga* is a *tadbhava* of *nāyaka*.

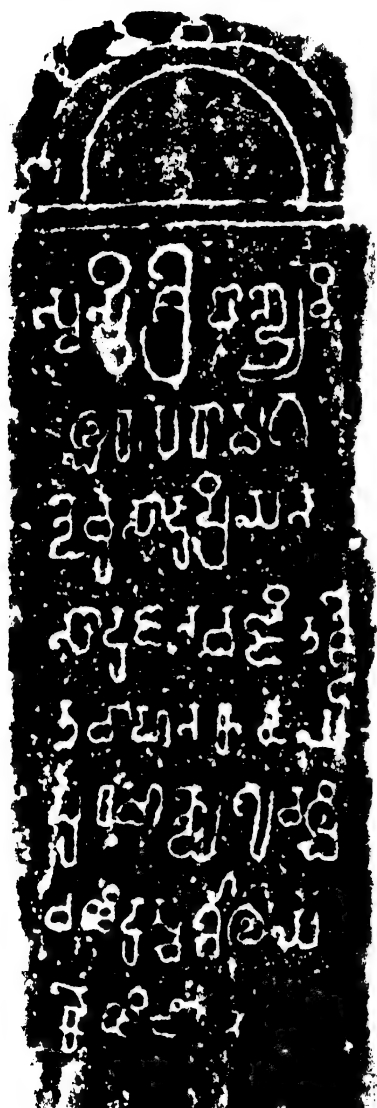
⁴ With *dāvaṇam=odḍu* compare *dāvani kaṭṭu*, 'to tie cattle in a row to a long rope fastened by two pegs,' in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*. Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 134, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Introduction, p. 19, note 1. *Dāvani* is a *tadbhava* of *dāmant*, 'a long rope to which calves are tied by means of shorter ropes' (Monier-Williams).

⁵ Here and in the four next inscriptions *eṇi* is the same as *ṇi*, 'to strike, to stab.'

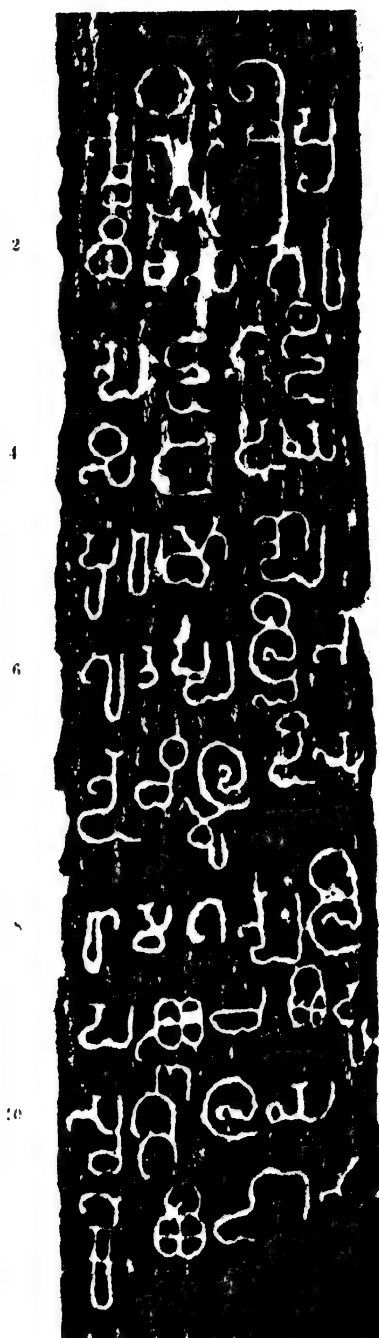
⁶ See p. 17 above.

⁷ As suggested to me by Bai Bahadur Venkayya, *namvrān* is meant for the Tamil *nambirda*, 'lord' (literally: 'our lord'); read *nambirdāy*.

III. — Scale one-third.



IV. — Scale one-fourth.



- 8 nālageyan ki(ki)-
- 9 lpon Paṭṭi-
- 10 oḍeyong=¹ḍā(va)-
- 11 doran=patt-āli-pā-
- 12 yvon Śvétatavāha-
- 13 nan Udayapu-
- 14 ramān poguva-
- 15 lli eṇidu āva/sva)-
- 16 rgga(rggā)layakk-ēṇi-
- 17 [don] [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvétatavāhana was entering Udayapura,—Ranasugara's servant, Viñja Prahārabhūshapa's son Kāmakōḍa, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Pāsupata lord of those three persons themselves,² (and) who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Paṭṭi, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*).

III.—Inscription of Śvétatavāhana.

This inscription (No. 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pāṇḍyavi-
- 2 llanasarā maga-
- 3 n=Dēvu sādū(dhu)-priyan=a-
- 4 sādū(dhu)jana-varjitan-Śvė-
- 5 tavāhanar-Udaya-
- 6 puramān=poguvalli
- 7 eṇidu svarggālaya-
- 8 kk-ēṇidon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvétatavāhana was entering Udayapura,—Pāṇḍyavillarasā's son Dēvu, (*who was*) beloved by the good (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*).

IV.—Inscription of Prithivīsāgara.

This inscription (No. 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyāvāra. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Prithivīsāgara stormed Udeyapura (Udiyāvāra) after his coronation.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pri-
- 2 thivīsāgara-

¹ Read *oḍeyong*.

² I.e. the Pāsupata priest whose adherents Kāmakōḍa, his father Prahārabhūshapa (and his grandfather) Viñja were. I owe this explanation to Dr. Fleet. With *tammūtū-mācar* compare *tammūt-aycar* and *tammūt-aruvār* in Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, p. 241. Dr. Fleet has noted the similar expression *tammūt-irbbār* or *tammūt-irbbor*, above, Vol. VI. p. 161, note 7.

- 3 n=pattam gatti-
- 4 si Ud[e]ya-
- 5 puramān-po-
- 6 gutappalli Na-
- 7 ndavilmuḍiya-
- 8 rā magan=Pali-
- 9 paḇe eḇidu
- 10 svarggālaya-
- 11 kk=ēḇidon [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Pṛithivīsāgara, having had (*himself*) crowned, was entering Udeyapura,—Nandavilmuḍi's son Palipaḇe, having struck down (*his enemies*), ascended to the abode of heaven.

V.—Inscription of Pṛithivīsāgara.

This inscription (No. 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the Āḷupa king Pṛithivīsāgara fell at the storming of Udayāpura (Udiyāvaram).

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pṛithu(thi)visāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Āḷupēndra duṣṭa-bhaya-
- 3 űkararḡge iṣṭa-bhṛityan=appa Po-
- 4 lokku Priyachelva [U]da[yā]-
- 5 puraman pugutappa-
- 6 Ili űha[pa](va)-ra[ṅga]du[-uru]-
- 7 bhaṭara [e]ḇidu Priyache-
- 8 lva chelva-ṣanpanna¹ ka(kha)la-
- 9 [ja*]na-varjṇitan dharegi(gt)-
- 10 [ṣa*]ṅgo űvadora pata-
- 11 [t]iya aḷidu suralō-
- 12 kakke űḇidan [||*] Keḷeya
- 13 Vā[e]ḇeyan nṛisida [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Priyachelva, who was the beloved servant of Pṛithivīsāgara, the glorious Āḷupēndra, the terror of the wicked, was entering Udayāpura,—(*this*) Priyachelva, (*who was*) endowed with beauty (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (*and*) having destroyed the foot-soldiers² of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth.³ (*His*) friend Vāḷeḇeya set up (*this memorial stone*).⁴

VI.—Inscription of Pṛithivīsāgara.

This inscription (No. 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and *birudas* of the Āḷupa or Āḷuva king

¹ Read *-sannpanna*.

² As Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests, *patati* is perhaps a 'adbhava, used collectively, of *padati*.

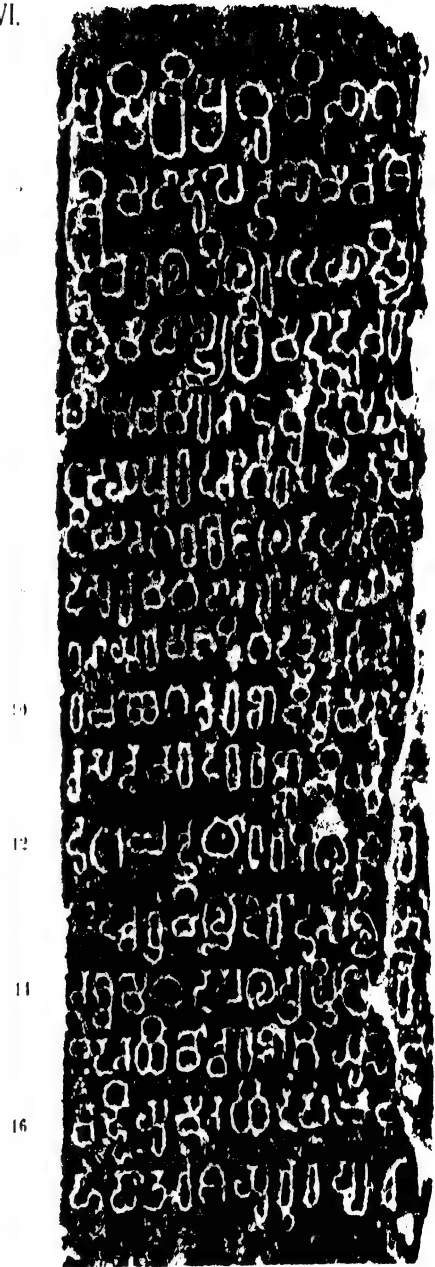
³ Viz. the Āḷupa king Pṛithivīsāgara.

⁴ Rai Bahadur Venkayya would prefer to take *ere* as synonymous with the Tamil *ira* and to translate: "Keḷeya set up (this stone representing) a chief (with) a sword (in his hand)." "

V.



VI.



Scale one-fourth.

Prithivisāgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayāditya and Uttama-Pāṇḍya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (*nagara*) of Udayapura (Udiyāvāra) and Paṭi. The last is evidently the same as Paṭṭi, the modern Humcha.¹ The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII. and VIII.) mentions two sacred places: Vārapāśi and Śivavaḷḷi. The former is of course the modern Benares. Regarding the second, Mr. Krishna Sastri contributes the following information:—

“The Shivalli (Śivaḷḷi) sect of Brāhmanas in South Canara take their name from this place. In the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol. III. p. 610, we are told that the town Oodipy (Uḍipi), ‘considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,’ is ‘formed of parts of Badagabett, Moodanilambore, Poollore and Shivully villages.’ In the *Madras Postal Directory* Shivalli figures as a village served by the Uḍipi post office.”

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Pṛidhu(thi)visāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Āḷupēndra Sōṇavaṃśō-
- 3 dbhava kulatilakan Udayāditya
- 4 Uttama-Pāṇḍya śrīmad-Āḷuvara[sā]-
- 5 r-B[ō]ygavarmara nāṭu-mudimeyu[l]
- 6 Udayapurada nā(na)gara-sahitaṃ Pa-
- 7 ṭiya nagarakke jaladuḷaiṃ sthala[du]-
- 8 laiṃ suṃkam=ardha-dāna kūdar [I*] Udaya[pu]-
- 9 ranāygarā magan=[S]ingadattanu[m] Ku[mā]-
- 10 ra Eṇeganuṃ Rāpavikrama[nātha]-
- 11 nu Saudavaradara Kappachiyu[m] [I*] [I]-
- 12 du a(ā)chandrathā(tā)rakaiṃ nilpu[d=a]ke(kke) [I*]
- 13 Idan=vakram-illāde kūdu salī[po]-
- 14 n=asvamedhāda pa(pha)la-prāṇṭi aku(kkūṃ) [I*]
- 15 Idan=aḷivon=Vārapa(ṇā)ṣiyuṃ Si(śi)va-
- 16 vaḷḷiyuman=aḷida paṇcha[ma]-
- 17 ba(hā)pātaka-śaṃ(śaṃ)yuktar=apṇar [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! During Bōygavarma's headmanship of the district,² Pṛithivisāgara, the glorious Āḷupēndra, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (*his*) family, Udayāditya Uttama-Pāṇḍya, the glorious Āḷuvaraśa, confirmed the gift of one half (*of*) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of Paṭi, together with the city of Udayapura. (*The recipients of this gift were*)⁴ Udayapurāṇāyga's⁵ son Singadatta, Kumāra Eṇega, Rāpavikrama[nātha], and Saudavarada's (*son*) Kappachi. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse-sacrifice. He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Vārapāśi and Śivavaḷḷi.

¹ See p. 17 above.

² See Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, § 183, 8.

³ As suggested to me by Hail Bahadur Venkayya, *nāṭu-mudime* is the equivalent of the Tamil *nāṭṭu mudumai*, 'the headmanship of a district.' Compare *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI. Kp. 38, where *Kundavarmmarasaṃ mudime geye* (this is the reading of the Text in Kannada characters, p. 323) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmmarasa was headman.'

⁴ The words *idd paḍedor* may be supplied from VII. l. 10, and VIII. l. 10 f.

⁵ See above, p. 18, note 3.

VII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya Māramma.

This inscription (No. 98 of 1901) is engraved on two contiguous faces of another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. Like the preceding inscription, it confirms a previous grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayapura (Udiyāvāra) and Pombulcha (Humcha). The Ālupa or Ālva king who confirmed this grant was called Vijayāditya Māramma. Like the Ppithivisāgara of the preceding inscription, he bore the surname Uttama-Pāṇḍya and traced his descent from the lunar race. Besides, he claimed the sovereign titles *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirājārāja*.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm! svasti śrī [||*] Vija[y]āditya Ālu-
- 2 pēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ādhīr[ā].²
- 3 jarājan Uttama-Pāṇḍyan-Śō(śō)maṣamāśō-
- 4 dbhava śrī-Māramm-Ālvarasar [U]³
- 5 Udayapurada naka(ga)ra-sahitain Pombu-
- 6 lohada naka(ga)rakke suṅka kāduda saṅku-
- 7 rakke [pu]ṭṭige ondaro maṣavege pa-
- 8 ṭṭi padināṅṅu palam aḍakeya pē-
- 9 ṅiṅga(ṅge) mūn[ū]ṅṅu veṣasina pōṅṅige
- 10 padina(nā)ṅṅu pala[ni] [!*] Idā paḍedor Su-
- 11 sēnavadiyara Svarṇagōśasi Muttā-
- 12 varara Adiyapasetṭiyu Maṇḍukara
- 13 Parasēbyan Sēnavadiyara Nagakumāran [!*]
- 14 Idū a(ā)chandrātāraka[ni] nilpud-akko [!*] Ida kādo
- 15 aṭṭaguna asva(śva)mēda(dha)da pa(pha)lam-akko [!*]
- 16 Idan-aḷido B[ā]raṇāsiyu Śivavaḷliyu-
- 17 ma aḷida pañchamaha(hā)pātakan=ak[ṇ](kkum) [!*]
- 18 Rapadhāri-likhita ||⁴

TRANSLATION.

Ōm. Hail! Prosperity! Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhirājārāja Uttama-Pāṇḍya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the glorious Māramm-Ālvarasa, confirmed the tolls (*due*) to the city of Pombulcha together with the city of Udayapura, (*viz.*) per double bag (*of grain*),⁵ one and a half basket⁶ (*of grain*); per *maṣave*⁷ (*of cotton*), sixteen *pala* (*of cotton*); per load of areca-nuts, three hundred (*nuts*); (*and*) per load of pepper,⁸ sixteen *pala* (*of pepper*). They who obtained this (*were*) Susēnavadi's (*son*) Svarṇagōśasi,⁹ Muttavara's (*son*) Adiyapasetṭi, Maṇḍuka's (*son*) Parasēbya, (*and*) Sēnavadi's (*son*) Nagakumāra. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who confirms this, let there be the eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice! (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Bāraṇāsi and Śivavaḷli. Written by Rapadhāri.

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Read *adhīrā*.

³ Corrected from *a*. The engraver has for the sake of clearness repeated the *a* at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ In the original the final stop is represented by a four-petalled flower.

⁵ *Sakura* is perhaps the same as *saṅkara* No. 4 in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*: 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock.'

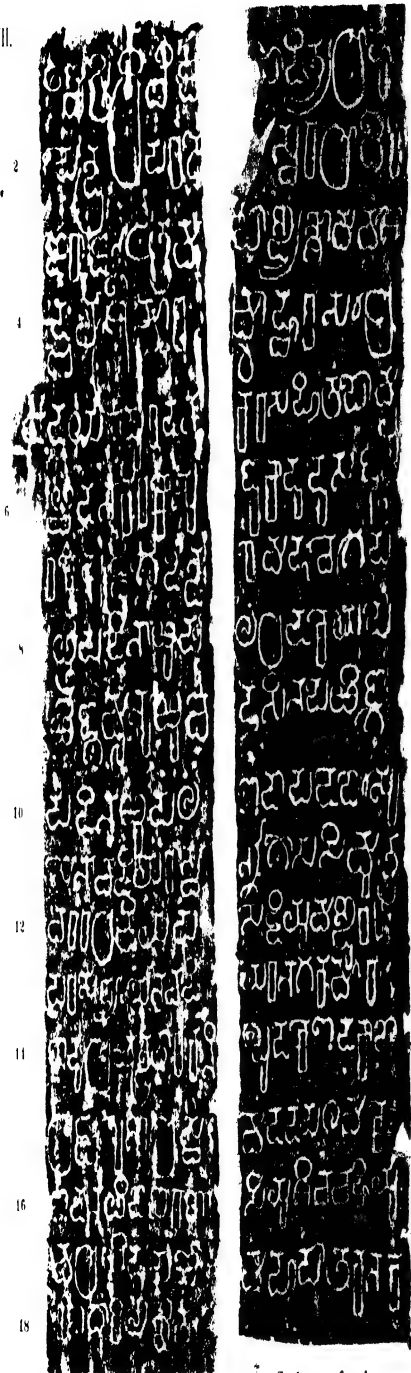
⁶ *Putṭige* is the same as *putṭi*, 'a basket.'

⁷ Mr. Krishna Sastri suggests that this may be another form of *maṣa* or *maṣava*, 'a maund.'

⁸ Originally I had taken *veṣa* for *beṣa*, 'corn.' But as the toll was not levied by measure, but by weight, I adopt Mr. Krishna Sastri's suggestion, who compares *meṣa*, 'black pepper.'

⁹ With *gōśasi* compare *gōśaṅga* in the inscription VIII. 1. 11, and Dr. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. VI. p. 255, note 2.

VII.



Scale one-fourth.

VIII.



Scale one-fifth.

VIII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya.

This inscription (No. 97 of 1901) is found on the same pillar as the preceding one (VII.). It is engraved on the same two contiguous faces as VII., but begins at the opposite end of the pillar, which must have been placed upside down when the new inscription (VIII.) was incised on it. A third face of the pillar bears six lines of writing (15-20) which appear to be connected with VIII. This circumstance enables us to conclude that VIII. was engraved at a later date than VII. When the writer of VIII. had reached line 14, he was confronted with the end of the inscription VII., and was therefore obliged to finish his copy on another face of the pillar.

The contents of VIII. resemble those of VII. The king is the same; only one of his names, Māramma, is omitted here. He is stated to have confirmed the same grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayāpura (Udiyāvāra) and Ponvuḷcha (Humcha). But the names of the local representatives receiving the grant differ from those in VII. This shows that some time must have elapsed between the incision of both records, although both belong to the same reign.

TEXT.

First and Second Faces.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Vijayādhi(di)tyan
- 2 Āḷupēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ā(a)-
- 3 dhi(dhi)rājarājan Uttama-
- 4 Pāṇḍyan-Sōmavañśōbhavan¹
- 5 Āḷuvarasar Arakellarā
- 6 nāṭu-mudi(di)moyuḷ Udayā-
- 7 purada naka(ga)ra-sahitam Ponvuḷcha-
- 8 da naka(ga)rakke sūṅkadā ardda(rddha)-[dā]na
- 9 kā[daha] avargge attagupa
- 10 asva(śva)mēda(dha)dā pa(pha)lam-akkum [!*] Idā
- 11 [pa*]ḍedor Muttavarera² Saruvigōśāsiga
- 12 Koḍalsetṭiyarā Madāmmaṇ Vija[s]e-
- 13 tṭigarā Dharmmanāygan=Maṇugasā-
- 14 ttavar Sarvvavandu Paleyarmman [!*]

Third Face.

- 15 Ī okkal=paḍod[n]-
- 16 vu [!*] Idā aḷivo
- 17 Sivavāḷḷiyu³ Vā-
- 18 rāṇāsīyuman
- 19 aḷida paṇchama-
- 20 hāpātakan=akkum⁴ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice shall be to him—Vijayāditya Āḷupēndra Paramēśvara Āḷhirājarāja Uttama-Pāṇḍya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, Āḷuvarasa—who, during Arakella's headmanship^a of the district,^b confirmed the gift of

¹ Read =Sōmavañśōbhavan.

² Read Muttavarera, as in VII. l. 11 f.

³ Read Siyavāḷḷiyum.

⁴ The α of kkuh is expressed by two different symbols behind and below the kē.

⁵ See above, p. 21, note 3

one half of the tolls to the city of **Ponvuḷoha** together with the city of **Udayāpura**. They who obtained this (*were*) **Muttavara's** (*son*) **Saruvigḍāsiga**, **Koḍalsetṭi's** (*son*) **Madāmma**, **Vijasottī's** (*son*) **Dharmanāyga**,¹ **Maṇugasāttava**, **Sarvavandu**² (*and*) **Puleyarma**. These ryots obtained (*it*). (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys **Śivavajji** and **Vārāṇāsi**.

No. 4.—TWO GRANTS OF INDRARAJA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 836.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

These two epigraphic documents were first brought to the notice of the students of Indian antiquities by the late H. H. Dhruva, who published a transcript of them with his remarks in the *Zeitschr. D. Morg. Ges.* Vol. XL. p. 322 ff. They were afterwards edited with lithographs by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr. (now Prof.) S. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Journ. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. p. 253 ff. About three years ago, when Prof. Hultzsch first thought of having the inscriptions re-edited in this Journal, no trace whatever of them could be found, and it was on a chance visit to the State Museum at Baroda in 1903 that I saw the plates exhibited there. On my informing Prof. Hultzsch of their whereabouts, he asked Rai Bahadur Venkayya to obtain them on loan through the Resident at Baroda from the Curator of the Baroda State Museum, and I re-edit the inscriptions at the suggestion of Prof. Hultzsch, and from the excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[Along with the two sets of plates, **two seals** were received from the Resident at Baroda in December 1903. As the seals had been detached from the plates, it was not possible to ascertain which seal belonged to which set. But before returning the plates and seals on the 7th December 1904, I put down some notes about them, of which the following is a copy.

[The plates measure on an average 13" by 9½". The rings bearing both the seals had been cut before they were received in my office. The **larger of the two seals** measures about 3" by 2½". The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the seal is 3½" in diameter and ¼" thick. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of **Garuḍa**—whose wings are distinctly seen—squatting on a seat which is probably meant to consist of two serpents. These appear to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands, each of which is holding a hood. What looks like his sacred thread is perhaps a third serpent. The **Garuḍa** faces to the full front and has on his proper right a representation of **Gaṇapati** in the upper corner, lower down a *chauri*, and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is a goddess riding on a lion, and below the lion a *śaśitika* surmounted by a *chauri*. On each side of the head of **Garuḍa** is a circle which may be meant for the sun and moon. Below the squatting **Garuḍa** is an inscription which is not quite distinct, but which seems to be श्रीमन्नृपवर्द्धयस्. Along the margin of the seal is a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a *liṅga* and an elephant-goad are recognisable. The emblems on the **smaller seal**, which measures about 1½" by 1½", are also cut in relief on a countersunk surface, but are not quite distinct. The central figure is **Garuḍa**, squatting, as in the bigger seal, apparently on a couch consisting of two serpents, which seem to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands. Each of the hands of **Garuḍa** appears to hold a hood. What looks like his sacred thread may be a third serpent. To his proper right at the upper corner is a projection which may stand for **Gaṇapati**, and below it is a lamp stand. To the proper left at the upper corner is another

¹ See above, p. 18, note 3.

² *I.e.* Sarvabandhu.

projection, which is perhaps intended to represent a goddess. Below the goddess is a lamp stand above a *svastika*. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the smaller seal measures 3" in diameter and $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. Two sets of impressions of each of the two inscriptions were sent to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in August 1903.—V.V.]

As regards the find-spot of the plates, H. H. Dhruva, who first edited them, says :—"On the 6th of July 1881, as a Dubla servant of Mulji Khushal, Patel of Bagumrâ, was furrowing the earth with the plough in his field, the ploughshare drew out of it these plates." This clearly shows that the plates were found at **Bagumrâ**, and consequently we must, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,¹ speak of them as Bagumrâ, and not as Nausârî, charters of A.D. 915.

Each of the two sets consists of **three copper-plates**, which are, to judge from the impressions, about 13" long and 9" broad. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. The engraving is clear and well executed. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may be drawn to *g* in *gatasya* and *svarggaṃ*, l. 13; to *ñ* in *lāñchhana*, l. 8, and *rājñah*, l. 13; to *m* in *°m=anyat=pu°*, l. 17, *°m=ānandī*, l. 37, and *grāmakūta*, l. 46; to *bh* in *bhūpaḥ*, l. 28; and to *s* in *saṃtarppanā°*, l. 57, so far as the first record is concerned; and to *k* in *kānt-ēndu-*, l. 1; to *kh* in *saṃkha*, l. 29; to *j* in *saras-āmbhōjā*, l. 5, and *jagati*, l. 7; and to *bh* in *kaustubha*, l. 2, so far as the second record is concerned. The language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; consonants are doubled after *r*; *visarga* has been (permissibly) omitted once before the following *sth* in *raksha-sthala*, l. 2 of both grants; *ṇ* has been substituted for *ñ* in *kāñchī*, l. 11 of No. II.; *visarga* followed by *s* has been at least thrice changed to that letter in *Rānarigrahas=samabhava°*, l. 33, *°palakṣhitas=sōtramgaḥ*, l. 51, and *°lakṣhais=sārdhah*, l. 55 of the second record; *anusvāra* followed by a nasal has been twice changed to that letter in *saṃmānita*, l. 18 of No. I. and l. 20 of No. II., and in *gōp-āṅganānān=nayana-*, l. 6 of No. I.; the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvāra* before *s* in *sansati*, l. 25 of No. I. and l. 27 of No. II. Lastly, the same word is spelt *lāñchhana* in No. I. l. 8, but *lāñchhana* in No. II. l. 9.

Each of these two records registers the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa, made by the Rāshtrakūṭa king **Indra III.** or, as he is described in lines 43-45 of No. II., 'the P.M.P., the prosperous Nityavarshanarēndradēva, who meditated on the feet of the P.M.P., the prosperous Akālavarshadēva,' i.e. his grandfather Kṛishna II. Indra III. had, when the grants were made, gone to **Kurundaka** from his capital **Mānyakhēṭa** for the *pattabandha*² festival. On that occasion he had himself weighed against gold, and, without coming out from the pan, gave away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drummas*, **Kurundaka** and other villages, granted afresh four hundred villages resumed by previous rulers, and finally bestowed the village of **Tenna**, according to No. II., on a Brāhmaṇa of the Lakshmaṇa *gōtra*, a student of the Vāji-Mādhyandina *sūkhā*, and named Siddhapabbhaṭṭa, the son of Śrī-Vennapabbhaṭṭa, originally of Pāṭaliputra; and the village of **Umvarā** (or Umbarā), according to No. I., on a Brāhmaṇa of the same *gōtra* and student of the same *sūkhā* as the above grantee, but named Prabhākaraḥṭṭa, the son of Rānapabbhaṭṭa. The charters are dated, in words, on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuva-samvatsara, the Śaka year 838 (expired), which corresponds to the 24th February A.D. 915.

After the introductory *ōm svasti* and the opening verse invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva with which almost all the Rāshtrakūṭa grants begin, we have verse 2 in praise of

¹ See above, Appendix to Vol. VII. p. 15, note 5.

² For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. VII. p. 27, note 2.

the god Krishna. In the verse following we find **Indrarājādēva (III.)**, the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upēndra (Vishnu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Vishnu, from Brahman his son Atri, from Atri the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the Yadus, where Krishna was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king **Dantidurga** in the **Sātyaki** branch of the Yadu dynasty, to whom of herself repaired the goddess of sovereignty of the **Chalukya** family. This means that **Dantidurga** was the first **Rāshtrakūṭa** king who defeated the **Chālukyas** and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that **Dantidurga** first reduced the lowermost, i.e. southern, country, then turned his arms against the *Madhyadēśa*, and finally conquered the city of **Kāñchī**. According to an inscription in the *Daśavatāra* cave at **Elurā**,¹ **Dantidurga** subdued the rulers of **Kāñchī**, **Kaliṅga**, **Kōsala**, **Śrīśaila**, **Mālava**, **Lāṭa**, **Takka**, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, **Dantidurga** first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of **Śrīśaila**, **Kaliṅga**, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of **Kōsala**, **Mālava**, **Lāṭa**, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of **Kāñchī**.

Verse 8 tells us that after **Dantidurga** his paternal uncle **Krishnarāja (I.)** came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son **Nirupama(-Dhruva)**, but omits the name of his elder brother **Gōvinda II.**, probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom **Gōvinda II.** was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of **Dantidurga** as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that **Gōvinda II.** did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view;² and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the **Dhulīā** copper-plate grant³ of **Gōvinda II.**'s nephew and foundatory **Suvarṇavarsha-Karka** distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date **Śaka 701**, when we must consequently suppose **Gōvinda II.** to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that **Nirupama(-Dhruva)** won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of **Kōsala** and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the **Indrāyudha** mentioned in the *Jaina Harivaṃśa*, or with **Chakrāyudha**, the ruler of **Kannauj** and contemporary of **Dharmapāla** of the **Pāla**, and of **Gōvinda III.** of the **Rāshtrakūṭa**, dynasty.⁴

Verse 11 says that from **Nirupama(-Dhruva)** sprang **Jagattuṅga(-Gōvinda III.)**, who, in his turn, begat **Śrīvallabha(-Amōghavarsha I.)**. The next verse tells us that **Amōghavarsha**

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 88.

² *Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XX. p. 133 f.

³ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 183.

⁴ In an unpublished grant of **Amōghavarsha I.** in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of **Chakrāyudha** and **Dharma** are mentioned as having gone to the **Himālayas** to do homage to **Gōvinda III.** who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that **Dharma** is **Dharmapāla**, the second prince of the **Pāla** dynasty, and that **Chakrāyudha** is the same as the **Chakrāyudha** of the **Bhāgalpur** grant, whom **Dharmapāla** restored to his lost throne. Prof. Kielhorn (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, p. 303) has already identified this **Chakrāyudha** with the **Chakrāyudha** of the **Gwalior** inscription, who was conquered by **Nāgabhaṭa**. **Nāgabhaṭa** again was a contemporary of **Gōvinda III.** (*Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XXI. p. 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, viz. **Gōvinda III.**, **Nāgabhaṭa**, **Chakrāyudha** and **Dharmapāla**, who were contemporaries. We know from **Rāshtrakūṭa** records that **Gōvinda III.** reigned from A.D. 794 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose **Dharmapāla** to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was but right to assign **Dharmapāla** to A.D. 861, the date of the **Pathārī** inscription referring itself to the reign of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** prince **Parabala** (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 525 f.). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for **Dharmapāla**. Besides, there is nothing to show that this **Parabala** is, as a matter of fact, identical with **Parabala**, the father-in-law of **Dharmapāla**.

I. raised the glory of the **Raṭṭa** sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the **Chalukyas** and thereafter assumed the epithet **Vīranārāyaṇa**. If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the **Rāshtrakūṭa** sovereignty had been shaken by the **Chalukyas** of **Vēṅgi** to its very foundations in the early part of **Amoghavarsha**'s reign. The **Chalukya** contemporary of **Amoghavarsha** I. was **Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II.**,¹ who, in an **Eastern Chalukya** record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the **Gaṅgas** and the **Raṭṭas**. The latter can be no other than the **Rāshtrakūṭas** of **Mālkṣēḍ**, and it thus appears that **Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II.** was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the **Rāshtrakūṭas**. **Amoghavarsha** I., however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the **Chalukyas**, whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the **Eastern Chalukyas** can also be seen from the **Cambay** and **Sāṅgli** charters,² in which he is said to have gratified the god **Yama** with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the **Chalukyas**. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the **Chalukyas** whom **Amoghavarsha** I. vanquished had devastated **Stambapura**, which is the same as **Tāmralipta**, identified with the modern **Tamlūk**, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the **Midnapur** district, **Bengal**.

From **Śrīvallabha**(-**Amoghavarsha** I.), who was a comet of destruction to the **Chalukya** family (v. 14), sprang **Krishnarāja (II.)**, whose fights with the **Gūrjaras** used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the **Gūrjaras**, with whom the **Rāshtrakūṭas** were often at war, ruled over Northern India and had their capital at **Mahodaya** or **Kanauj**, and consequently the **Gūrjara** prince defeated by **Krishnarāja II.** (A.D. 888-911) must have been **Mahēndrapāla** (A.D. 899-907), the patron of the poet **Rājasekhara**.

Krishnarāja II. had a son of the name of **Jagattuṅga** (v. 16), who married **Lakshmi**, the daughter of **Raṇavighraha**, the son of **Kokkalla** of the **Haihaya**, i.e. **Kalachuri**, dynasty (vv. 17-19). It is worthy of note that **Raṇavighraha** is here called *Chēḍi-īśvara*, i.e. lord of **Chēḍi**. The same fact is hinted by a verse in **Jahlaṅga's Śāktimuktāvali**, quoted by Dr. **Bhandarkar** in his paper on the **Karḥād** plates of **Krishna III.**,³ which purports to say that of rivers the **Narmadā**, of kings **Raṇavighraha**, and of poets **Surānanda** were the ornaments of **Chēḍi**. The name **Raṇavighraha** does not occur in the list of the names of the **Kalachuris** of **Chēḍi**. From a **Ratanpur** inscription,⁴ however, we learn that **Kokkalla** had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of **Tripurī**, and the others lords of *maṇḍalas*, i.e. minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, **Raṇavighraha**, being a ruler of **Tripurī**, i.e. of **Chēḍi**, and not of a *maṇḍala*, was the eldest son, and the successor of **Kokkalla**. But from the **Benares** copper-plate inscription⁵ it appears that **Kokkalla** was followed by his son **Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavaḷa**. We may, therefore, suppose that **Raṇavighraha** and **Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavaḷa** were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of **Jagattuṅga** with **Lakshmi** was **Indrarāja (III.)**, whose epithets **Raṭṭa-Kandarpadēva** and **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa** are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a *double entendre*, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of **Upēndra** by the **Rāshtrakūṭa** prince **Indrarāja III.** But who this **Upēndra** was, and how the epithets *kṛita-*

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 100.² Above, Vol. VII. p. 43 ; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 252 f.³ Above, Vol. I⁷, p. 289.⁴ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 33.⁵ *Id.* Vol. II. p. 301.

Gôvardhan-ôddhâra and *hêl-ônmûlita-Mêru*, used in connection with the kings Upêndra and Indrarâja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upêndra referred to Mahîpâla of the Pratihâra dynasty of Mahôdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhâgâlpur grant of the Pâla dynasty gave the other name Chakrâyudha.¹ But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapâla and Chakrâyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Râshtrakûta prince Gôvinda III.² Chakrâyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahîpâla, who was a contemporary of Indra III., the great-great-grandson of Gôvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,³ the word *Mêru* in the expression *hêl-ônmûlita-Mêru* signifies Mera or Mëhra, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mëhra king of North Kâthiâwâd by Indrarâja III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that Mëru probably is Mahôdaya,⁴ i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indrarâja III. specified in the Sâhglî charter. With regard to the other expression, viz. *kṛita-Gôvardhan-ôddhâra*, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the prose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the P. M. P. *Śrīman-Nityavarshanarêndradêva*, i.e. Indrarâja III., is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the P. M. P. *Śrīmad-Akâlavarshadêva*, i.e. his grandfather Kṛishna II. This indicates that Jagattuṅga, the father of Indrarâja III., did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Kṛishnarâja II. were remembered and described by old men in Indra III.'s time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Râshtrakûta sovereign intervening between Kṛishna II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Khârêpâṭan grant of Raṭṭarâja,⁵ in setting forth the Râshtrakûta genealogy, takes the succession direct from Kṛishna II. to Indra III. and refers to Jagattuṅga only further on as the father of Amôghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Dôlî and Karhâd plates of Kṛishna III.,⁶ which distinctly speak of Jagattuṅga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nêmaditya. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of the *Nalachampâ*, of the Śânḍilya gôtra, and the son of Nêmaditya (var. lect. Dêvâditya).⁷ Another *Śânḍilya-kavi-chakravartin* Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhâskaraabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of king Bhôja of Dhârâ. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhôja's *Sarasvatikanṭhâbharana*, while he himself quotes Bâṇa. The authorship of a *Madâlâsâ-champâ* is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, Pâtâliputra from where the grantees of No. II. emigrated is obviously Paṭṇâ, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and Mânyakhêṭa, the capital of the royal grantor, is Mâlkhêḍ in the Nizam's Dominions. Kurundaka, where Indrarâja III. had repaired for his *paṭṭabandha*, was first identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson with Kurundwâḍ at the junction of the Kṛishnâ and Pañcha-gaṅgâ in the Southern Marâṭha country.⁸ In No. I. the village granted is Umvarâ (or Umbarâ) near Kammanijja in the country of Lâṭa, and the boundaries specified are Tôlêjaka to E., Môgalikâ to S., Samkl to W., and Javalakûpaka to N. Umvarâ, as was first pointed

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 32.

² See above, p. 26, note 4.

³ *History of Gujardt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 130.

⁴ See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII. p. 16, note 2.

⁵ Above, Vol. III. p. 298.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 283; Vol. V. p. 193.

⁷ Weber, *Berlin Catalogue*, Vol. II. p. 1205.

⁸ *History of Gujardt*, p. 130, note 3.

out by Dr. Bhandarkar, is the modern Bagumrā, with the prefix *bag*.¹ Tōlājaka and Mōgnlikā cannot be identified, but Sankī and Javalakūpaka are Sanki, one mile S. W. of Bagumrā, and Jolwa, one and a half mile N. of Bagumrā. In No. II. the village granted is Tenna near Kammanijja, and the boundaries specified are Vāraḍapallikā (or Bāraḍa²) to E., Nāmbhitāṭaka to S., Vallā (or Balīā) to W., and Vavviyana (or Babbīyana) to N. They have been identified with Ten, Bārḍoli, Nadida, Wanessa and Baben respectively. Kammanijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is Kāmrej. All these villages are to be found in the Nausārī division of the Baroda State. The Bagumrā grant of the Gujarāt Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva II. mentions Tronnā, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Tronnā as having been bestowed upon a certain Brāhmaṇa by his grandfather Dhruva I. (A.D. 834-35). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr. Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III. gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings; this was evidently one of them."³

TEXT³ OF No. I.

First Plate.

- 1 खस्ति⁴ [॥] स⁵ वोव्याहेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । इरथ यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति⁶
- 2 विवुधवन्धुर्विध्यविस्तारिवन्धुलविमलविलोललौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । मुखसरसिज-
रङ्गे यस्य नृ-
- 3 त्वन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ [२*] स⁷ जयति
भुजदण्डमन्त्रयन्त्रोः समर-
- 4 समुद्रतदुर्ध्वरारिचक्रः । अपहृतवलिमण्डलो⁸ नृसिंहः सततसुपेन्द्र इन्द्रराज-
देवः ॥ [३*]
- 5 खस्ति¹⁰ श्रीनाथनाभिस्फुरदु[र]सरसाभोजजम्बा खयभू(१)स्तस्मादभिः सु-
तोभृदमृतकरपरिष्ठा-
- 6 नृ¹¹ इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्मादंशो यदूनां जगति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्तैर्वि-
लासैः शार्ङ्गैर् गोपाङ्गनानाञ्च-
- 7 यनकुवलयैरर्थमानवचार ॥ [४*] [त]वान्वये¹² विततसात्यकिवंशजम्बा श्रीद-
न्तिदुर्गनृप-
- 8 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलघेः¹³ स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्र[कर]-
लाञ्छन-

¹ Journ. Bo. Br. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII. p. 256.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXI. p. 396.

³ From inked estampages supplied to me by Bai Bahadur Venkayya.

⁴ The 's' is not well-formed.

⁵ Metro: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁶ Metro: Malini.

⁷ Read विवुधवन्धु⁰.

⁸ Metro: Pushpitāgrā.

⁹ Read 'वचि'.

¹⁰ Metro: Sragdharā.

¹¹ Read 'परिचय'.

¹² Metro: Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

¹³ Read 'वचि'.

- 9 माजगाम ॥ [५*] क[त्वा]खदं हृदयहारिजघन्यभागी खैरं पुनर्हृदु विमर्श
च मध्यदे-
- 10 शं [1*] यस्यासमस्य [सम]रे वसुधाङ्गनायाः कांचीषदे प[द]मकारि करिण
भूयः ॥ [६*] आ^१ सेतोः सानुव-
- 11 प्रप्रवलकपि[कुलो]नूनपुत्र[जव]ङ्गादा [कौला]साङ्गवानोचलच[र]णरणसूपुरो-
कादितान्तात् ।
- 12 यस्याङ्गां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिल[म्बो]लिमालायमानामानमैदत्तमाङ्गैरवनि-
तललुठञ्जा-
- 13 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा^२ जगन्निभभुजे[न पु]नर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं विजितु-
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तच्चा-
- 14 भवत्परमधानि पदे पितृभ्यः श्रीकृष्णराजमृपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दि-
कुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्र- 108022
- 15 भंगलीलाय[म]ानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्तिः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलगैलमलंकरिणीस्तस्मा-
दभू-
- 16 निरुपमो निरवद्यशैर्यः ॥ [९*] कीर्तिः^४ कुन्दरुचः^५ समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भ-
सितो लक्ष्म्याः
- Second Plate; First Side.*
- 17 लक्ष्म्याः^६ पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णैन्दुविश्वद्युति^७ । एकं कपितकोसले-
श्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यतु-
- 18 नयैनीदीप्यनराधिपाद्यश्च इव श्वेतातपत्रं^८ रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्मात्तेभे^९ जग-
सुंगी जग्न सम्मानि-
- 19 त[द्विज]ः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभं सुनुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११*] निमग्नां
[य]क्षलुक्थाब्धौ^{१०} रहराग्यन्त्रि-
- 20 यं पुनः [1*] पृथ्वीमिवोदरन्धीरी^{११} बीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ [१२*] समूलोन्मूलित-
स्तस्मान्दण्डनानी-^{१२}
- 21 तकाण्टकः । ^{१३}योदहहेषिणश्चण्डचलुक्थांश्चणकानिव ॥ [१३*] ^{१४}[उक्षैचलु]क्थकुल-
कन्दलकालके-

^१ Metre: Sragdharā.

^२ Read °प्रवल°.

^३ Metre: Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse.

^४ One of the two circles of the *śisarga* has been omitted.

^५ The repetition of this word is superfluous.

^६ Corrected by the engraver from श्वेतातपत्रं.

^७ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); and of the next two verses.

^८ °क्षीरी is also possible.

^९ Read °क्ष्म्या°.

^{१०} Metre: Vasantatilakā.

^{११} Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^{१२} Read °निष्°.

^{१३} Read °क्ष्म्या°.

^{१४} Read °दहहेषि°.

[illegible]

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- 22 तोस्तत्तादक्षणाचरितोजनि कण्ठराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटभीर[स]कजने[न]
कीर्त्तिः परिभ्र-
- 23 मति यस्व शशाङ्कान्तिः ॥ [१४*] ¹उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नकाञ्चनजटिलं व्याकट्टमी-
दृग्धनुः (1) क्रुद्धेनोप-
- 24 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेव विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि से[न्द्र]चापवलये यस्ये-
25 त्य[म]द्भागमे' ग[र्ज]द्गुर्ज[र]सङ्गरव्यतिकरं जीर्णं जनः श[स्त्र]ति² ॥ [१५*]
अजनि³ जनि-
- 26 तभङ्गो वैरिहृ[न्द्र]स्य तत्तादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगसुंग[दे]वः । ध्व[ज]सरसि-
27 जशंखप्रोक्तसङ्कपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्यक्तभो वीर[ल]क्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६*] ⁴[पा]-
सीत्कीप्य-
- 28 य वैद्ययान्यभवो भू[प]ः ⁵[स]हस्रार्जुनो गर्जद्गुर्ज[र]यरावयोर्जितसहोर्दण्ड-
कण्ठ-
- 29 हरः । विद्यान्तैः अवणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः साम्प्रसुधा-
रसेन लि-
- 30 खितैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्धिसयः⁷ ॥ [१७*] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कीकृतभूपा-
क्षजो⁸ राजा श्रीर-
- 31 णविग्रहः समभवच्छेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरं भिमखण्डनसुषः सर्व्यापि
पृथ्वीप-
- 32 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्ष्मये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८*] ⁹सकलगुण-
गणाब्धेर्विष्णुरद्वा-¹⁰
- 33 मधान्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुक्तुकुसुदेन्दुः
सुन्दरीचित्तहारी

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 34 हरिरिव परिणिन्दे तां जगसुंगदेवः ॥ [१९*] चतुर्दधितटा[न्त]ख्यातश्रीर्व्याधि
ताभ्यामभवदरि-
- 35 घरदो रट्टकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकल-
जनशरण्यः पु-
- 36 ष्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] ¹¹मदनममृतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च विम्बं¹² नवनलिनमृणालं
चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Read °सद्भागमे.

³ Read अस्ति.

⁴ Metre : Mālinī.

⁵ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita; and of the next verse.

⁶ The first *sa* is not well-formed and looks almost like *sa*.

⁷ Read ककुब्धिसयः.

⁸ The letter *śma* is not well-formed.

⁹ Metre : Mālinī; and of the next two verses.

¹⁰ Read °गणाब्धेर्विष्णुरद्वा.

¹¹ Read °विन्दु.

¹² Read विम्बं.

- 37 च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्जन्मिर्माणाश्चैरिणुभिरिव चकार अष्ट[म]ानन्दे वेधाः
॥ [२१*] देवो¹
- 38 'यस्तुरमुराशिरश्चनारोचिष्णुविश्वभरामाक्रामजिज्विक्रमेण समभूत्² श्रीकीर्ति-
नारा-
- 39 यणः [1*] श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः स[मं] विद्दिषां देव्य'
वक्ररुचौ मनांसि च भ-
- 40 यं सिवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२२*] 'कृतगोवर्धनोदारं [६]लोन्मूलितमेवणा ।
उपेन्द्र-
- 41 मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२३*] 'सकलजननमस्यः सोऽथ
क[त्वा] नमस्या-
- 42 श्रुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगायहारान् । उपरि पर[श]रामस्यैकुग्रामदान-
- 43 स्फुरितगुणगरिष्णस्यागकीर्त्या बभूव³ ॥ [२४*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 44 रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्त्रिवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशलो सर्वानिव यथासंवध्य⁴
- 46 'मानावाट्टपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी-
- 47 न्ममादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्दखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-
- 48 द्रवन्थाय⁵ कुहन्दकमागतेन मया मातापिचौरात्मनश्चैद्विकामुष्मिकपुण्य-

Third Plate.

- 49 यशोभिह्वये (i) लक्षणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसत्रज्ञचारिणे¹⁰ राणपभट्टसुताय
- 50 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्पणिकसमीपे उम्बरानामग्रामः यस्य पृ-
51 र्वतः तोलेजकं दक्षिणतो मोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीर्णाम उत्तर[तो]
जवलकूपकमे-
- 52 वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सोदंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशा[प]राधः सीत्यद्यमान-
- 53 विष्टिकः¹¹ सधान्यहिरण्यादेयोभ्यन्तरसि[द्ध्या] पूर्वदेवब्रह्मदायरहितः¹² शकनृप-
काला-
- 54 तीत[सं]वत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु¹³ षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु [यु]वसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Read 'रमु'.³ Read समभूत्².⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁵ Metre: Mālinī.⁶ Read बभूव.⁷ Read 'संवध्य'.⁸ This *md* appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim.⁹ Read 'वन्थाय'.¹⁰ Read 'सत्रज्ञ'.¹¹ Read 'विष्टिकः'.¹² Read 'ब्रह्म'.¹³ The inner stroke of *sh* in *shas* is wanting.

- 55 श्रीपद्मवन्धोस्वये¹ तुलापुत्रपमाह्वय तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुलन्दकादीन्धामान्
 56 अन्यान्यपि² पूर्वपुष्पीपालवि[सु]प्तानि चत्वारि धामयतानि विंशतिद्रव्य-
 लक्ष्मिणा-
 57 र्हेः सह विप्रेभ्यो विमुच्य³ वसिष्ठसुवैद्यदेवान्निहोपातियि[सं]तर्पणार्थम्(१)-
 58 द्यौदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोऽप्योचितया⁴ ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुञ्जतो [भो]जयतः कषतः
 59 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वाग्यस्मै न केनचिदस्यापि परिपंथना कार्या [१*] तथा-
 गामिभिरस्म-
 60 'हृश्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विषीषीयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायो-
 तुमन्त-⁵
 61 व्यः [१*] यथाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति स पंचभिर्नृपापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च
 भगवता व्यासेन ॥ ४-
 62 ष्टि⁶ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२५*] सा-
 63 मान्योय⁷ धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भा-
 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्
 64 भूयो भूयो [य]ाचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*] श्रीचिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य
 सूनुना कृता प्रशस्तेयं श्री [॥*]

TEXT OF No. II.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति । स वीव्याहेधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य
 [का]न्तेन्दुकलया कमं-
 2 लंकृतम् ॥ [१*] जयति¹⁰ विबुधवन्धुर्व्विन्ध्यविस्तारिवक्षस्थलविमलविलोललक्ष्मी-
 स्तुभः कमं-
 3 तुः¹¹ । सुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य मृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्म[र]भरपरिताम्यन्तारकास्ते
 कटा-
 4 स्त्राः ॥ [२*] स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्भूत[दु]र्हरारिचक्रः ।
 अपहृतवल्किम-¹²

¹ Read °वन्धोस्वये.² Read ब्रह्म°.³ Read °आह्वय°.⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); this verse was left incomplete for want of space⁵ Read विबुधवन्धु°.⁶ Read °मान्यान्यपि.⁷ Corrected by the engraver from °वाग्म्ये°.⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁹ Metre: 6/8inf.¹⁰ Read कंसकेतुः.¹¹ Read वलि°.¹² Read °वलि°.

- 5 ण्डलो नृमिहः सततसुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ [१*] अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभि-
स्फुरदुरसरसांभोज(1)-
- 6 जन्मा [स्व]यंभूस्तस्मादभिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द^१ इन्दुस्ततोपि । त[स्मा]-
हंशो यदूनां
- 7 जगति स ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विलासैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्ग[नानां] नयनकु-
वलये-
- 8 रर्यमानद्यचार ॥ [४*] तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
नृपतिः
- 9 पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलघेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शं[स्व]चक्रकरलाङ्क-
- 10 न[म]ाजगाम ॥ [५*] कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारिजघन्यदेशे स्वीरं पुनर्मृदु विमर्यं
च मध्यदेशं ।
- 11 यस्यासम[स्य] समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः काणचीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः
॥ [६*] आ सेतोः मा-
- 12 'नुवप्रप्रवलकपिकु[लो]न्ननफुल्लवङ्गादा 'कैलासाङ्ग[वा]नीचलचरणरणन्नपुरो-
- 13 द्रादिदान्तात् । यस्यान्नां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिलन्मौ[लि]मालायमा-
नामानमैरु-
- 14 त्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७*] जित्वा जगन्निजभुजेन पुनर्जि-
गीषोः स्वर्गं
- 15 विजितुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः ।(1) तत्राभवत्परमधास्ति पदे पितृव्यः
श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-
- 16 तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८*] दिक्मुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभंगलीलायमानघनविस्तृत-
[का]न्तकी-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 17 तैः [1*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिणोस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्यः
॥ [८*] कीर्त्तः कु-
- 18 न्द्ररुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्ण-
- 19 न्दुविम्वयुति^२ । एकं कंषितकोसलेश्वरकरादाष्टिन्नमन्यत्पु[न]र्येनोदीच्यनरा-
धिपाद्य-
- 20 श इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥ [१०*] तस्माज्जिभे जगन्मुक्तो जन्म सम्मानि-
तद्विजः । सोपि श्रीवत्स-

^१ Read 'परिस्पन्द'.

^२ Read 'काष्ठी'.

^३ Read 'प्रबल'.

^४ Read 'इवानी'.

^५ Read 'विभ'.

[illegible]

18
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३४ ॥ विष्णुस्तममन्त्रवैद्यो भूतकालिमास्यमात्रादिपुनर्विम्बनमन्त्राद्यो विष्णुस्तम
 ३६ ॥ विष्णुस्तममन्त्रवैद्यो भूतकालिमास्यमात्रादिपुनर्विम्बनमन्त्राद्यो विष्णुस्तम
 ३८ ॥ विष्णुस्तममन्त्रवैद्यो भूतकालिमास्यमात्रादिपुनर्विम्बनमन्त्राद्यो विष्णुस्तम
 ४० ॥ विष्णुस्तममन्त्रवैद्यो भूतकालिमास्यमात्रादिपुनर्विम्बनमन्त्राद्यो विष्णुस्तम
 ४२ ॥ विष्णुस्तममन्त्रवैद्यो भूतकालिमास्यमात्रादिपुनर्विम्बनमन्त्राद्यो विष्णुस्तम
 ४४ ॥ विष्णुस्तममन्त्रवैद्यो भूतकालिमास्यमात्रादिपुनर्विम्बनमन्त्राद्यो विष्णुस्तम
 ४६ ॥ विष्णुस्तममन्त्रवैद्यो भूतकालिमास्यमात्रादिपुनर्विम्बनमन्त्राद्यो विष्णुस्तम
 ४८ ॥ विष्णुस्तममन्त्रवैद्यो भूतकालिमास्यमात्रादिपुनर्विम्बनमन्त्राद्यो विष्णुस्तम

[illegible]

- 21 भं सूनं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११*] निमग्ना ययलुक्थाक्षी^१ रहराज्य-
त्रियं पुनः [१*] पृथ्वी[मि]वीर-
22 क्षीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥ [१२*] 'समूलोन्मूलितस्तस्यान्दण्डेनानीतकण्टकः ।
योदहद्वे^२
23 पिण्डचण्डलुक्थायणकानिव ॥ [१३*] उच्चैयलुक्थकुलकन्दलकालकेतोस्तस्मादक्ष-
24 णचरितोजनि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैरसकृज्जनैः कीर्त्तिः परि-
25 भ्रमति यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥ [१४*] उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजालजटिलं
व्याकृष्टमी-
26 दृग्धनुः क्रुडे[नो]परि वैरवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि
सेन्द्रचापव-
27 लये यस्येत्यमव्दागमे^३ गर्जद्गूर्जरसंगरव्यतिक[रं] जीर्णो जनः शन्मति^४
॥ [१५*] अ-
28 जनि जनितभंगो वैर[तु]न्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगन्गदेवः ।
ध्वजसर-
29 सिजगंखप्रोक्तसङ्क्र[पाणि]र्विभवविजितविष्णुर्व्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६*]
आसीत्कीप्यथ
30 ह्येद्वयान्वयभवो भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गर्जद्गूर्जयरायणोर्जितलसद्दीर्घकण्डकण्डू-
31 रः [१*] विद्यान्तैः श्रवणेषु ना[क]मदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाचरैः सिद्धैः^५
सान्द्रसुधारसेन लिखि-
32 तैर्व्याप्ताः ककुब्भित्तयः^६ ॥ [१७*] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोकलभूपा-
लजो राजा [श्री]-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 33 रणविग्रहसमभवश्चेदी[च]रः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरन्ध्रमण्डनमुपः रार्व्वीपि^७
पृथ्वीप-
34 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पक्षत्रये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८*] सकलगुण-
गणाब्धेर्व्विष्णुरहाम-^८
35 धाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदेन्दुः सुन्द-
रीचित्तहारी

^१ Read °क्षी^१.

^२ Read °लक्ष्मी^२.

^३ Read °दहद्वे^३.

^४ Read °मव्दागमे.

^४ Read शन्मति.

^५ Read सिद्धैः.

^६ Read ककुब्भित्तयः.

^६ Read सवर्वापि.

^७ Read °गणाब्धेर्व्विष्णुरहाम^७.

- 36 हरिरिव परिणिम्ये तां जगत्पुङ्गवः ॥ [१८*] चतुर्दधितटान्तव्यातशीर्थीय
ताभ्याम[भ]व-
- 37 दरिघरदो रङ्गकन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां 'सवाल-
जनशरणः पु-
- 38 खलावख्यराशिः ॥ [२०*] देवो 'यस्यतुरम्बुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रा-
मन्निजविक्रमेण स-
- 39 मभूत् श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं
विदिषां
- 40 दैन्यं वक्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२१*] कृतगो-
वर्षनोडारं हेलो-
- 41 न्मूलितमेरुणा [१*] उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२२*]
सकलजनममस्यः^४
- 42 सोय कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगायहारानां^५ उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-
- 43 कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्त्यागकीर्त्या बभूव^६ ॥ [२३*] स च परमभट्टारक-
महाराजाधिराज-
- 44 परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानिव 'यथासंवध्यमानकाशाद्रपतिविषयपति-
ग्राम-
- 46 कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा
श्रीमान्य-
- 47 खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय^७ कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया माता-
पितृरात्म-
- 48 नयैहिकासुभिकपुण्ययशोभिष्टव्ये (i) लक्ष्मणसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसन्नद्धाच^८

Third Plate.

- 49 रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत[श्रीवेन्न]पभट्टसुताय सिद्धपट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गत-
कम्पणिञ्ज-
- 50 समीपे तेन्ननामग्रामः [१*] यस्य पूर्वतो वारडपत्तिका [१*] दक्षिणतो
गान्धोतटकं [१*] पश्चिमतो वल्ली-

^१ Read सकल^०.

^४ Read 'जननमस्य'.

^५ Read 'संवध्य'.

^२ Read 'रसु'.

^६ Read 'हरान'.

^७ Read 'वन्धो'.

^३ Read समभूषी^०.

^६ Read बभूव.

^८ Read 'सन्नद्ध'.

- 51 या [1*] उत्तरतो वव्वियणग्रामः [1*] एवमा[घा]टचतुष्टयोपलक्षितस्मोद्वंगः
सपरिकरः[.] सदण्ड-
- 52 दशापराधः सौत्पयमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहि[र]ण्या[दे*]योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृप-
कालातीतसंवत्सर-
- 53 शतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुक्लसप्तम्यां संपन्ने श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्स-¹
- 54 वे तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामानन्यान्यपि पूर्व-
पृथ्वीपालवि-
- 55 तुमानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुमलक्षैस्सार्धैः सह विमुच्य 'वलि-
चरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि-
- 56 ह्योन्नातिथिसंतर्पणार्थम(1)द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया 'ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या
- 57 भुंजती भोजयतः क्षपतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि
परि-
- 58 पत्यगा कार्या [1*] तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मदंश्यैरनीर्ष्वी सामान्यं
भूमिदानफल-
- 59 मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयम[स्म]द्ब्रह्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः⁴ [1*] यथाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति
स पंचभिर्म्महा-
- 60 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादु[क्तं] च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1*] आ[च्छे]-
- 61 त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२४*] अ[ग्ने]रपत्यं पथमं⁵
सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेणवी सूर्यसुताश्च [गा]-
- 62 वः [1*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेच्च दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च मर्द्दी च दद्यात् ॥
[२५*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसितुर्नृपाणां
- 63 कालि कालि पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वानेतान्माविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो
याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६*]
- 64 श्रीचिविक्रमभटेन [ने]मादित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्त्यमिन्द्रराजां-
त्रिसेविना ॥ [२७*] श्रीः [॥*]

TRANSLATION OF No. II.

Oh. Hail!

(Verse 1.) May he (Vishnu), the water-lily (*springing from*) whose navel was made (*his*)
abode by Vêdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beauti-
ful crescent of the moon !

¹ Read °वन्धो°.⁴ Read °कुरुन्दका°.² Read वलि°.⁵ Read प्रथमं.³ Read ब्रह्म°.

(V. 2.) Victorious is (Krishṇa), (*who is*) the comet (*of destruction*) to Kāmeśa (*and is*) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (*mountain*), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (*and*) on the stage of whose lotus-like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmi, with the pupils (*of her eyes*) languid through excess of love!

(V. 3.) Ever victorious is the king Indrarāja (III.), whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (*his*) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*i.e.* the best) among men, just as Upendra (Vishṇu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her*) support by (*the goddess*) Lakshmi, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bali and (*his*) legions (*to Pātāla*), (*and who was*) a man-lion (*i.e.* his fourth incarnation).

(V. 4.) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishṇu) the lord of Śrī; of him was born (*his*) son Atri; (*and*) of him again (*i.e.* of Atri) the Moon that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the Yadus, amongst whom (*at one time*) flourished (Vishṇu) the wielder of the Śārṅga (bow) (*in his eighth incarnation as Krishṇa*), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdresses with every kind of flirtation.

(V. 5.) In that family there arose the illustrious king Dantidurga, born in the great Sātyaki branch, the best of men, whose hand (*bore*) the (*auspicious*) marks of the conch and discus, (*and*) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the Chalukya family, just as (*in that family*) there arose Parushōttama (Krishṇa), who prolonged the line of Sātyaki,¹ who (*held*) the conch and discus in (*his*) hands as (*his peculiar*) characteristics, (*and*) to whom of herself came (*the goddess*) Lakshmi from the ocean.

(V. 6.) The hand (*i.e.* the prowess) of this (*prince*), matchless in battle, having (*first*) established itself on the beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (*Mudhyadśa*), again established itself in the province of Kañchī, just as the hand (*of a lover*), after (*first*) establishing itself on the hips of a woman, attractive to the heart, and pressing again gently at its will (*her*) waist, again establishes itself on the region (*below the waist*) where the girdle (*is worn*).

(V. 7.) His orders, forming a wreath on (*their*) crests with which came in contact (*their*) hands (*joined*) like buds, (*all*) kings respect with (*their*) heads slightly bent (*and*) with (*their*) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sōtu (Rāmēśvaram), where the blossoming *lavaṅga* (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailāsa (*mountain*), the outskirts of which resound with the jingling anklets on the moving feet of Bhavāni.

(V. 8.) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (*it*), being desirous of a fresh victory, — (*his*) paternal uncle, the illustrious king Krishṇarāja (I.), of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty.

(V. 9.) Nirupama, of spotless valour, sprang from that (*king*), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (*viz.* the quarters, (*and*) who adorned the mountain (*consisting of*) the family of the glorious Rāshṭrakūṭas.

(V. 10.) From the hand of the trembling lord of the Kōśalas was snatched away by him in battle one white (*regal*) parasol, which was the white (*auspicious*) water-pitcher for the setting out of (*his*) fame, bright as the *kunda* (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (*and*) which

¹ "Patr. of Yuyudhāna (a warrior in the Pāṇḍu army who acted as the charioteer of Krishṇa and belonged to the Vṛishṇi family)." — *Monier-Williams' Dictionary*.

was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmi; another again (*was snatched away by him*) from the king of the northern (country) as if it were (*his*) glory.

(V. 11.) From him obtained birth **Jagattuṅga**, who honoured the twice-born; he in his turn begat as son the king of kings **Śrīvallabha**.

(V. 12.) This (*prince*), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the **Raṭṭa** kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the **Chalukyas**, became (*i.e.* assumed the epithet of) **Vīranārāyaṇa**, just as (*Vishnu*), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became **Vīranārāyaṇa** (*i.e.* the heroic **Nārāyaṇa**).

(V. 13.) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery **Chalukyas**, (*his*) enemies, who had completely devastated (*the city of*) **Stamba**,¹ just as (*a gardener*), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots.

(V. 14.) From him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (*viz.*) the high family of the **Chalukyas**, was born **Krishnarāja** (II.), of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (*their*) ears.

(V. 15.) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (*and*) when the circular rainbow (*appears in the sky*), the old men thus describe the event of his fight with the roaring **Gūrjara**:—"Thus did (*he*) in anger draw (*his*) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays; thus did (*he*) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (*his*) enemy."

(V. 16.) From him was born the illustrious **Jagattuṅga**, who caused the destruction of the multitude of (*his*) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Madanā, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (*the palm of each of*) whose hands (*bore the auspicious sign of*) a discus shining by means of (*the marks of*) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (*and*) who (*thus*) by (*his*) greatness excelled Vishnu.

(V. 17.) There was a king (*named*) **Sahasrārjuna**, sprung from the **Haihaya** lineage, who relieved the itching sensation² of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible **Rāvana**, (*and*) the letters (*setting forth*) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (*and*) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters.

(V. 18.) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (*his*) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king **Ranavighraha**, the son of king **Kokkalla** (*and*) the lord of **Chēdi**, into whose circle (*of feudatory princes*), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (*his*) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (*his*) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (*all*) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (*dark*) fortnight.

(V. 19.) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (*and*) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (*named*) **Lakshmi**, possessed of lotus-like hands, [just as from the ocean, which is the abode (*of the sun*) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang Lakshmi, possessed of a lotus in (*her*) hand]; **Jagattuṅga**, the moon to the night-lots of the **Yadu** race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*viz.* **Lakshmi**, the daughter of **Ranavighraha**), just as **Hari**, the moon to the night-lots of the **Yadu** race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*viz.* the goddess **Lakshmi**).

¹ The same as **Amralipta**, *i.e.* **Tamlūk**; see p. 27 above.

² [Compare **Śīsupādavadha**, I. 48.]

(V. 20.) From these two sprang **Raṭṭa-Kandarpadēva**, whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (*and*) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (*Hari* and *Lakshmi*) sprang the god *Kandarpa* (*i.e.* Cupid), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (*his*) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (*and*) who is a store of heavenly beauty].

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (*i.e.* was known as) **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**, just as the god (*Viṣṇu*), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyaṇa**; on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (*his*) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (*as a mark of*) servitude.

(V. 22.) This **Indrarāja** (III.), having uprooted **Mēru** (*Mahōdaya*?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) defeating (*king*) **Upendra** who had saved **Gōvardhana**, just as the god *Indra*, who uprooted (*Mount*) *Mēru* with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (*his*) vanquishing (*the god*) **Upendra** (*Kṛiṣṇa*) who had uplifted the *Gōvardhana* (*mountain*).¹

(V. 23.) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and *agrahāras* (to *Brāhmaṇas*), to be respected (*by all*), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to **Paraśurāma**, the greatness of whose merits shone by the gift of a single insignificant village.²

(Ll. 43-56.) And he, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous **Nityavarshanarēndradēva**, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the prosperous **Akālavarshadēva**, being well, commands all the lords of provinces (*rāṣṭra*), lords of districts (*viśaya*), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employés, functionaries, *etc.*, according as they are concerned :—

“Be it known to you that by Me, who resides at the capital of **Mānyakhēṭa** (*and*) who has come to **Kurundaka** for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (*My*) parents and Myself—with heartfelt devotion—eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, on the seventh (*tithi*) of the bright (*fortnight*) of **Phālguna** in the *Yuva-samvatsara*—having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the *Tulāpuruṣa*,³ and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, **Kurundaka** and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the *Bālī*, *Charu*, *Vaiśvadēva*, *Agnihōtra* and *Atiḥisantarpana*,—upon **Siddhapabhaṭṭa**, of the *Lakṣmaṇa gōtra*, a student of the *Vāji-Mādhyandina* (*śākhā*), (*and*) the son of **Śrī-Vennapabhaṭṭa** who had come from **Pāṭaliputra**,—the village of the name of **Tonna** in the vicinity of **Kammanijja** situated in the country of **Lāṭa**, defined by the four boundaries, *viz.* to the east **Vāraḍapallikā**, to the south **Nāmbhitāṭaka**, to the west **Valiśā**, (*and*) to the north the village of **Vavviyaṇa**,⁴ together with the royal share,

¹ There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident; see above, p. 27 f.

² There is here a play on the word *ku*, which means both ‘the earth’ and ‘insignificant.’

³ “Gift of gold, *etc.*, equal to a man’s weight.”—*Max Müller Williams’ Dictionary*.

⁴ According to No. I. l. 49 ff.—“upon **Prāthakapabhaṭṭa**, of the *Lakṣmaṇa gōtra*, a student of the *Vāji-Mādhyandina* (*śākhā*), and the son of **Rānapabhaṭṭa**,—the village of the name of **Umvaṛā** in the vicinity of **Kammanijja** situated in the country of **Lāṭa**, defined by the four boundaries, *viz.* to the east **Tōlējaka**, to the south **Mōgalikā**, to the west the village of **Sāṅkī**, (*and*) to the north **Javalakūpaka**.”

with the appurtenances, with (*the proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and the ten offences, with (*the right to*) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold.

(Ll. 56-59.) "No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to him while enjoying (*this village*), allowing (*others*) to enjoy (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it*) to another, in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brāhmaṇa. Likewise, this My gift to a Brāhmaṇa should be assented to, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether My descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift of land is common (*both to the grantor and to the preserver*)."

[L. 59 f. and vv. 24-26 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(V. 27.) This praiseworthy panegyric¹ was composed by the illustrious Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the son of Nēmaditya (*and*) serving the feet of Indrarāja.

No. 5.—RAGHOLI PLATES OF JAYAVARDHANA II.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S.; NAAGPUR.

These plates were kindly sent to me by Mr. C. E. Low, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of the Bālāghāt district, Central Provinces. They were found in the village Ragholi belonging to the Sāletokri Zamindārī, now under the Court of Wards and included in the Baihar tahsil of that district, by a cultivator while ploughing the field. There are three copper-plates, of which the second and third bear writing on both sides; the third plate has only two lines on the reverse side. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom. At the broadest part they measure nearly $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and the average height is $5\frac{1}{4}$ ". They are held together by a circular ring, $2\frac{5}{8}$ " in diameter, which is somewhat thicker and rugged at the place where the two ends are soldered together. A circular seal with tasselled borders is attached to the ring and was put on it before the ends of the ring were soldered together. The seal has in two lines the legend *Śrī-Jayavardhanadēvasya*, which is enclosed by ornamental circles running round the bottom of the tassels. The ring was cut and resoldered by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who kindly took for me the impressions which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate. The copper-plates were found when Mr. Low was writing the *Gazetteer of the Bālāghāt District*, in which an extract from my translation has already appeared.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is about 1". They are badly formed and somewhat difficult to read. The first 20 lines of the inscription (excepting the opening words *Om svasti Śrīvardhanapurāt*) and again lines 35 to 45 are in verse. The rest is Sanskrit prose. Final forms of *t* occur in lines 1 and 38, and one of *m* in line 45. The letter *b* is not distinguished from *v*. A notable orthographical peculiarity occurs in lines 32 f. and 40 f., where we find *mv* written for *m* in *tāmra* and *kanvala*. On the other hand *b* is omitted in *kutumbina* (l. 24) for *kutumbīnaḥ*, but regularly expressed by *v* in *dalāmvu* (l. 41). The letters with a *rēpha* at the top sometimes assume a very peculiar shape such as in *sarva* (l. 25) and *varsha* (l. 37). At other places they have the usual form, as in *sarva* (l. 29). There is also a tendency to change the final forms of *rasals* into *asusudra* in contravention of the accepted grammatical rules, as in *pramukhām* (l. 24) and *purushām* (l. 25). The *ka* of *kanvala* in line 40 f. has a peculiar form and differs from other *kas* occurring in the inscription.

¹ The word *prastāś* is here evidently used in the same sense as *prastāśi*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Khaddikā** in the **Kaṭōraka** district (l. 23) to a temple of the Sun-god at **Chattullihā** (l. 29 f.) by king **Jayavardhana II.** It was issued from **Śrīvardhanapura** (l. 1) and is dated in the 3rd year of his reign on the 30th day of the month **Kārttika** (ll. 46 and 31). Judging from the writing it may be assigned to the eighth century A.D.; the characters very much resemble those of the **Paīṭhaṇ** plates of **Gōvinda III.** dated in the year 794 A.D.¹ **Jayavardhana II.** is described in lines 20-22 as a devotee of **Mahēśvara**, the lord of the whole **Vindhya**, and **Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara**. He belonged to the **Śailavamśa** (verse 1). His grandfather, who bore the same name as himself, killed the former king of the **Vindhya** and made the **Vindhya** his residence (v. 3). The son of **Jayavardhana I.** and father of the donor was **Śrīvardhana II.**, who styled himself **Vindhyēśvara** (v. 4), and who may have founded **Śrīvardhanapura** from which the present charter was issued. Five more ancestors of this line are mentioned, the first of whom was **Śrīvardhana I.** His son was **Prithuvarḍhana**, who is stated to have attacked **Gujarāt** (v. 1). In his family was born **Sauvardhana** (v. 2), one of whose three sons killed the king of **Paundra**² (Bengal and Bihar), while another conquered the king of **Kāśī** (Benares). Of this latter, whose name is not mentioned, **Jayavardhana I.** was the son (v. 3).

The first verse of this charter opens with an obscure epithet to **Śrīvardhana I.** who is called *Kailāś-dhula-tuṅga-sṛṅga-vipula-drōṇīja-vakṣa-prabhukḥ*, which apparently means 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the **Kailāsa** mountain.' It is very difficult to hit at the true import of this expression, and the only conjecture I can hazard is that it may mean the **Gāṅgavamśa**, of which the **Śailavamśa** was probably a branch or a more well known name at that time. Otherwise it is difficult to see why in the same verse the same person should be called the lord or ornament of two families. If my conjecture is correct, the force of *prakhyātō bhuvi* (famous or known on the earth) preceding *Śailavamśa-tilakaḥ* would be apparent. The **Śailavamśa** is very probably identical with the **Śailōdbhavas** or **Śilōdbhavas** of Orissa, to which Prof. Hultsch has kindly drawn my attention. In the plates of the time of **Śaśāṅkarāja**,³ a feudatory chief **Mādhavarāja II.**, who issued the charter, is spoken of as belonging to the **Śilōdbhava** family, which is identical with the **Śailōdbhava** of the **Buguḍa** plates of **Mādhavarman**⁴ as pointed out there. The former is dated in the year 619-20 A.D. and is the older of the two. Both were found in the **Ganjam** district, and both the charters were issued from **Kōṅgēda** or **Kaiṅgōda**, which is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the **Kong-u-t'o**⁵ of the Chinese traveller **Hsuen Tsiang**, who visited the place in the year 639 A.D.⁶ This principality was included in the **Kaliṅga** country or, roughly speaking, Orissa. In fact the village granted by **Mādhavarāja II.** was situated in the district of **Kṛṣṇagiri**, a synonym of **Nilagiri** which is a name of **Jagannātha** (Puri) in Orissa.⁷ And it is well known that Orissa is the country where the **Gāṅgavamśa** originated. King **Indravarman** of **Kaliṅganagara** is spoken of as the 'establisher of the spotless family of the **Gāṅga**,'⁸ an epithet which does not occur in other grants of the **Gāṅga** of **Kaliṅga**. So he was a perpetuator of a dynasty with a new name, which probably he introduced in preference to an old one which was not very complimentary. The new name is a metronymic; so we may suppose that the one suppressed was a patronymic. The **Buguḍa** inscription tells us how one **Pulindasēna** worshipped **Brahmā** in order to create a fit ruler for the land, and how the god granted his wish by creating out of a rock the lord **Śailōdbhava**, who became the founder of the family of that name. However complimentary the story may have been in the beginning, it could not have failed later on to appear somewhat analogous to the alleged origin of low

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 105 ff.

² Above, Vol. VI. p. 144.

³ Above, Vol. VI. p. 136.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI. p. 144.

⁵ Wilson's *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, Vol. II. p. 170, note 6.

⁶ Above, Vol. III. p. 42.

⁷ Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 515.

⁸ Above, Vol. III. p. 127.

castes, which trace their origin to some such inanimate objects as scarecrows, dirt from Mahādēva's body, or the sweat of his brow. In fact the aboriginal Gonds aver that their leader Lingo liberated the first men of the tribe from a cave in the Iron valley in the Red hill by removing a stone 16 cubits high with which Mahādēva had closed the mouth of the cave, and out came 16 scores of Gonds at once.¹ The Śailōdbhava origin would thus appear something like an improvement on this story. Recognising the tendency, which has always existed and still exists, to adopt eponymous names under the influence of what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the gradual Brāhmaprising of castes, it would not be surprising to find a family with a dubious patronymic insinuating a non-Brāhmanical origin, preferring a metronymic connected with so holy a deity as the Ganges, in spite of the Kshatriya mode of calling themselves after the male parent. It will then be asked why in the present grant the Śailavamśa was at all mentioned, to which an answer may be found in the fact that there are always three classes of people: the conservatives or those who would stick to the old things only, the moderates who would tolerate both the new and the old, and the extremists who would wholly discard the old, and probably the donor of the present grant belonged to the second class. All this is, however, extremely hypothetical, and I only hazard it in the hope that a better explanation may be forthcoming. By the way I may mention that it was the Gāṅgavamśa kings of Orissa who revived Sun-worship and built many temples dedicated to that deity;² and again most of the officials, such as *samāhartṛi* and *sannidhātṛi* (l. 24), are those chiefly found in the grants of Orissa kings. These are other items in support of the donor's family connection with Orissa.

With regard to the places mentioned in the grant, I identify Khaddikā with Khadi, a village three miles north-east of Ragholi where the plates were found. It is only a Sanskritised name like Lañjikā³ for Lanji, which is also not very far away from this place. Kaṭeraka is probably the present Katera near Katangi, 60 miles west of Ragholi. I cannot identify Chaṭṭullīha, unless it is a mistake for Raghullīha or Ragholi, where the plates have been found. With the elision of a little stroke in the first letter, and giving a slightly slanting position to the second, the word would read as Raghullīha. This may find support from the fact that the engraving of the grant is very defective, and that several other mistakes have been committed in lines 33, 40, 44, etc. I cannot find in the Central Provinces a place answering to Śrīvardhanapura. It could not be Śrīvardhana in the Bombay Presidency, the famous seaport referred to by European travellers as Ziffardah and celebrated as the birth-place of the first Peshwa.⁴ From what has been stated above, the family would seem to have come from a seaport in the east rather than from the west. But the place must be searched for nearer home, and it may be that it is now non-existent. The probability is that it was situated somewhere near Rāmtak in the Nāgpur district. Five miles from this place there is a village called Nagardhan which was known as Nandivardhana⁵ in olden times, and local traditions assert that the surrounding country was ruled from that place by Kshatriya Rājas.⁶ The village contains ancient remains and is mentioned as the name of a district together with Nāgpur in the Dēblī plates of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. dated in the year 940 A.D.⁷ It is plain therefore that

¹ Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 158.

² See Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. I. p. 279 f. Dr. Hunter says:—"At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vēdic India by materializing superstitions, found shelter on the secluded Eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it, but also by the rock writings The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Kōṇārak upon the Orissa shore."

³ In the Bātanpur inscription of Jājalladēva, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 33.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI. p. 467.

⁵ Mr. Craddock's *Settlement Report*, 1895, p. 15.

⁶ It may be borne in mind that this part of the country was for a long time under Gonds and afterwards the Marāṭhas, and as a rule the memory of these only survives.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. p. 196 f.

Nandivardhana must have been a place of great importance before it gave its name to the district. I hold that this was founded by a successor of Jayavardhana II. who removed the capital from Śrīvardhanapura, also named after a king of the same line, to the place to which he gave his own name.¹ The Rāshtrakūṭas rose in power on this side in the eighth century, and it is probably they who displaced the Śailavāṇśa dynasty of the Vindhya mountains. Nandivardhana or Nagardhana is about 100 miles from Ragholi, and both were included in the same district about a century ago. It may also be stated that, so far as I have been able to find, there are no other villages ending in *vardhana* in Bālāghāt or any of the surrounding districts, and the name is so peculiarly different from those of other villages in the locality that it may almost be called unique; for these reasons the location of Śrīvardhanapura round about Nandivardhana or Rāmtek carries at least a certain probability with it.

TEXT.²

Seal.

1 श्रीजयव-

2 र्वनदेवस्य [॥*]

First Plate.

1 श्री स्वस्ति श्रीवर्धनपुरात् [॥*] ³कैलासाचलतुङ्गमृग-2 विपुलद्रोणीजयेग्रभुः⁴ प्रख्यातो भुवि शैल्य-3 शतिलकः श्री — —⁵ वर्धनो यो नृपः । तत्पुत्रः पृथू-4 र्वनो निजभुजव्याकृष्टखड्गः[] सुया⁶ देयं गौर्जरमास-

5 साद सहसा विक्रान्तिभिर्यस्ततः ॥ [१*] तर्धग्रभवो

6 व्यजोजनदलं सौवर्धनो भूपतिर्भुवक्रक-

7 मलव्यविक्रमयशः⁷ पुत्रचयं त्वीरसं । ते-

8 "वासुर्जितवैरिदारणपटुं पौण्ड्राधिपं क्षाप-

9 तिं हत्वैको विषयं तमेव सकलं जघाह श्री-

10 र्यान्वितः ॥ [२*] ताभ्यामन्यतमो विहृत्य सहसा द-

11 पौष्टितं दारुणं काशिं काशिनराधिपं सित-

Second Plate; First Side.

12 गुणो जघाह जेता द्विषां । तत्पुत्रो जयवर्धने-

13 ति वचसा ख्यातो वरो भूभृतां विन्ध्ये विन्ध्यनरेग्रमेव

¹ It is noticeable that all names of this line end in *vardhana*.² From the original plates. I am indebted to Pr. F. Hultzsch for a few corrections in my readings.³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; also of the two next verses.⁴ Read °जयग्र°.⁵ There are two letters here which appear to have been struck off by the engraver. The metre also shows that they were redundant.⁶ Read पुरा.⁷ Read °वय°.⁸ Read °मृषिव°.



2
4
6
8
10

12
14
16
18
20
22

i i b.

24

26

28

30

32

iii *u*.

34

35

38

40

42

44

222 b

46

- 14 सुचिरं इत्वा चकार स्थितिं ॥ [१*] 'मातङ्गदानक्षतदीनचे-
 15 टः' 'सर्वहितानेकविशालवंशः । विन्ध्येश्वरो विन्ध्य
 16 इवाचलश्रीः श्रीवर्धनस्तस्य सुतो वभूव' ॥ [४*] 'तस्या-
 17 व्यजः सकलवैरिविनाशदक्षो जातो महा-
 18 गुणनिधिर्जयवर्धनाख्यः । लक्ष्मीप्रगाढ-
 19 परिरंभणपीडिताङ्गं दृष्ट्वा दिवं यमगमत्यह-
 20 वेष कीर्तिः ॥ [५*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादा-
 21 नुध्यातः सकलविंध्याधिपतिः महाराजाधिरा-
 22 जपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्धनदेवः कुशलो

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 23 कटेरकविषयीयस्त्रिहिकायां ब्राह्मणा[न्]* संपूज्य प्रति-
 24 वासिनोन्यांश्च कुटुम्बिन^१ (i) समाहृतसन्निधादप्रसूषा^२
 25 यथाकालाध्यासिनः सर्वराजपुरुषां^३ विषयपतीं-
 26 च समान्नापयति [॥*] विदितमस्तु भवता^४ यथास्माभिर-
 27 यं ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सर्वकारादान-
 28 समेतः प्रतिविहृचाटभटप्रवेशः सदया-
 29 पराधः सर्वपीडाविवर्जितः चतुर्दशप्रतिष्ठि-
 30 तश्रीमदादित्यभट्टारकाय अधिष्ठानविघ्नस्तिकया
 31 ^{१०}कान्तिक्यासुदकपूर्वमाचन्द्रार्कग्रहसमकालोप-
 32 भीगार्थं मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिरुचये ता-
 33 ^{११}भ्रमशासनेन प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत^{१२} समुचितभो-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 34 गभागादिकं भक्ता^{१३} सुखं वस्तुष्वं ॥ तथा चोक्तं धर्म-
 35 शास्त्रे ॥ 'वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
 36 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [६*]
 37 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आ-

^१ Metre: Indravajrā.

^२ Read संवर्जिता°.

^३ Read वभूव.

^४ Metre: Vasantatilaka. The simile here is विदितमतिकारिका; compare श्रीनिदीगाहदितुमिव गतेत्यन्वधिं यस्य कीर्तिः
^५ Śāhityaprekāśa, 7th edn., śloka 241. For this parallel quotation I am indebted to Pandit Hiraṇḍa
 l, M.A.

^६ Read ब्राह्मणान्.

^७ Read कुटुम्बिनः.

^८ Read °प्रसूषान्.

^९ Read °पुराणान्.

^{१०} Read भवता.

^{११} Read कान्तिक्या°.

^{१२} Read तावत्°.

^{१३} Read इत्यवगत.

^{१४} Read मुक्ता.

^{१५} Read वभू°.

- 38 ष्छेना चानुतन्ता¹ च तान्येव नरके वसित् ॥ [७*] खद-
 39 तां परदता² वा यो हरेत वसुधरां । स विष्ठा-
 40 यां कर्मभूता³ पितृभिः सह पश्यते ॥ [८*] इति क-
 41 'खलदताम्बुविन्दुलोकां त्रियमनुचिन्तय मनुष्य-
 42 जीवितं च सकलमिदमुदाहृतं⁴ च बुध्वा⁵ न हि पुन-
 43 केः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [९*] श्रीश्रीवर्धनदेव-
 44 स्य पाद[पद्मोप]जीविना⁶ । श्रीमहाचण्डपासेन लि-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 45* स्त्रितं शासनं शुभम् । [१०*] प्रवर्धमानविज-
 46 यराज्ये सख्यं⁷ ३ कार्त्तिके [?] दिन ३० [११*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om.* Hail! From Srīvardhanapura.

- I. (Verse 1.) (There was) king Srīvardhana (I.), the lord of the family of her⁹ who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain, (and) famous on (this) earth (as) the ornament of the Śailavamśa. His son Prithuvardhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the Gaurjara country by (his various) attacks.

- II. (V. 2.) King Sauvardhana, who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the Paundra king who was skilled in rending up (his) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

- III. (V. 3.) The third of them,¹⁰ of white (i.e. pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (and) cruel king of the Kāśis, took Kāśi (from him). His son, known by the name of Jayavardhana (I.), the best of kings, having killed the lord of the Vindhya, took up his residence in the Vindhya for a long time.

- IV. (V. 4.) His son was Srīvardhana (II.), the lord of the Vindhya, who possessed immovable (permanent) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (and) who augmented the prosperity of various (other) big families.

- V. (V. 5.) His son, skilled in destroying all (his) enemies (and) a treasury of great virtues, was called Jayavardhana (II.). The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (jealous of her cowife), out of anger ascended to the heavens.¹¹

¹ Read चानुमन्ता.

² Read परदन्ता.

³ Read कर्मभूता.

⁴ Read कलदताम्बुविन्दु.

⁵ Read सुदाहृतं.

⁶ Read बुध्वा.

⁷ The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions; see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 210, note 3.

⁸ Read संवत्.

⁹ I take *dr̥ṣṭya-vamśa* to stand for *dr̥ṣṭya-vamśa* in accordance with Pāp. VI. 3. 68, and to mean the *Gāṇḍi-vamśa*.

¹⁰ Literally, 'another than the two.'

¹¹ The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens.

(L. 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole Vindhya, the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Jayavardhanadēva, being in good health, having worshipped the Brāhmaṇas in (the village) Khaddikā in the district (*viśaya*) of Kaṭāraka, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (*as well as*) revenue collectors, receivers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (*and*) to all state officers and provincial governors.

(L. 26.) "Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (*and*) deposits, together with (*the right of*) taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter (*the village*), with (*the fines leviable on*) the ten offences,¹ free from all troubles, to (*the temple of*) the holy Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.* the Sun-god) set up at Chaṭṭulliha, at the request of the residence (*viz.* Śrīvardhanapura, l. 1), on the Kārttikī (*tithi*), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, by (*this*) copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (*all*) live happily, enjoying (*their*) due portion of rights, *etc.* And it is thus enjoined in the *Dharmaśāstra* :"—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses.]

(V. 10.) (*This*) auspicious charter was written by the illustrious Mahāchandapāla, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śrīvardhanadēva.

(L. 45.) The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kārttika.

No. 6.—MALIYAPUNDI GRANT OF AMMARAJA II.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 164 ff., with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr. Venugopal Chetti in the Rāmalingēśvarasvāmi temple at Madanūr, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr. Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them :—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by about $4\frac{5}{8}$ ". The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about $\frac{5}{16}$ " high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides.² Through holes ($\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is nearly $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. It bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvānāku[ṣa]* in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

¹ These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour, enumerated as *daśaitha pāpakarma* in the *Śukraniti*, *adhyāya* 3, *śloka* 6.

² The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink-impressions.³

the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and above it a running (?) boar facing the proper left. In front of the boar is an elephant goad, and behind its tail a crescent."

The alphabet is of the same Telugu type as in other grants of the same dynasty and period. No distinction is made between secondary *ô* and *au*, and secondary *i* and *u* is often written as *i* and *u*. Final *k* occurs in line 32, *t* in ll. 8, 30 and 51, *n* in ll. 10, 18, 24, 37, 39, 52, and *m* in ll. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 51, 54, 55 and 60. The *jihvāmāliya* is used in ll. 42, 51, and the *upadhāntya* in ll. 10, 41, 43, 46 and 51.

The following orthographical irregularities deserve to be noted. Against one of Pāṇini's rules (VIII. 4, 49) the *ś* of *varsha* is doubled in ll. 8 and 11, but not in ll. 13, 18, 25 and 40. Some spellings are due to the Telugu pronunciation. Thus we find *yēṭad* (l. 57) for *ēṭad*, *yuttara* (ll. 54 f. and 57, but not in l. 59) for *uttara*, *rakṣaṇāyayiva* (l. 47 f.) for *rakṣaṇāyava*, *aruha* (l. 50) for *arha*, *kṛishṭa* (l. 39) for *kṛishṇa*. Dental *n* is employed instead of lingual *ṇ* in *Kiraṇapuram* and *kṛishṇa* (l. 43), *punya* (ll. 49, 50), *ābharana* (ll. 49, 53), *gaṇṭṭa* (l. 50), *yuttarāyana* (l. 54 f.). The vowel *ri* is replaced by *ri* in *kṛishṇa* (l. 43), *śadriśō* (l. 52) and *kṛitō* (l. 56). The palatal sibilant is improperly used in *śamha* (l. 50) for *śamgha* and *śadriśō* (l. 52) for *śadṛiśō*.

The language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 20 Sanskrit verses. In ll. 56-60 some names of villages, tanks and fields appear in their Telugu forms. At the end of the record the usual imprecatory verses and the names of the *Ājñapti*, composer and writer are missing.

As the inscription records a grant to a Jaina temple, it opens with an invocation of the Jaina religion (v. 1). Ll. 3-41 contain the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty down to *Samastabhuvandraya Vijayāditya* (VI.) or *Ammarāja* (II.), the date of whose coronation is given in the same two verses (13 f.) as in his *Paṇḍākalāru* grant.¹ The genealogical portion contains two passages of historical importance, the first (ll. 13-16) describing the reign of *Vijayāditya* III., and the second (ll. 22-32) the accession of *Chālukya-Bhīma* II.

The *Piṭhāpuram* inscription of *Mallapādēva* reports that *Vijayāditya* III. slew *Maṅgirāja*, burnt *Chakrakūṭa*, terrified *Saṅkila*, residing in *Kiraṇapura* and joined by *Kṛishṇa*, restored his dignity to *Vallabhēndra*, and received elephants as tribute from the king of *Kaliṅga*.² The slaying of *Maṅgi* is referred to also in three other inscriptions.³ The second of them adds the burning of *Kiraṇapura*, and the third states that the king, having terrified *Kṛishṇa* and *Saṅkila*, completely burnt their city. Hitherto we did not know who *Maṅgi* and *Saṅkila* were. Verse 3 of the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant calls the former 'the king of the great *Noḍamba-rāshṭra*' and the second 'the lord of the excellent *Ḍā[ha]ṇḍa*.' Thus *Maṅgi* seems to have been one of the *Pallavas* of *Noḷambavāḍi*⁴ and *Saṅkila* an early chief of *Ḍāhala* (or *Chēḍi*). While two of the above-mentioned inscriptions couple the name of *Saṅkila* with that of *Kṛishṇa*, the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant (v. 3) states that *Saṅkila* was 'joined by the fierce *Vallabha*.' The *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 5) correctly conclude from this that *Saṅkila*'s ally *Kṛishṇa* was a *Vallabha*, i.e. a *Rishṭrakūṭa*. Hence my former identification of this *Kṛishṇa* with the *Paramāra* king *Kṛishṇarāja*⁵ must be wrong, and he may be identified, as was done by Dr. Floet,⁶ with the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king *Kṛishṇa* II. The latter is known to have been connected with the *Chēḍi* family, being the son-in-law of *Kokkalla* (I.) and the brother-in-law of *Śaṅkuka*.⁷ I feel no hesitation in identifying *Saṅkila* of *Ḍāhala* with *Śaṅkuka* (or *Śaṅkaragana*) of *Chēḍi*, the son of *Kokkalla* I., but am unable to identify *Kiraṇapura*, where *Saṅkila* resided according to the

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 16. Ll. 23-34 of this grant are identical with ll. 32-41 of the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant.

² Above, Vol. IV. p. 236 f.

³ Above, Vol. V. p. 126, verse 5; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 213, text line 16 f.; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV. p. 236 and notes 7 and 8).

⁴ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.* p. 332 f.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 102.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 263.

Pithāpuram inscription and Krishnarāja according to the Maliyapūṇḍi grant (v. 15). In two grants the burning of this Kiranapura,¹ the residence of Krishna and Saṅkila,² is attributed to Vijayāditya III. himself. Verse 15 of the Maliyapūṇḍi grant informs us that this feat was in reality performed by a military officer named Pāṇḍaraṅga. It is perhaps worth noting that another Rāshtrakūṭa prince named Krishnarāja is mentioned in a grant of A.D. 888.³ Between the slaying of Maṅgi and the victory over Saṅkila the Maliyapūṇḍi grant mentions that Vijayāditya III. 'defeated the Gaṅgas who took refuge on the peak of Gaṅgakūṭa.' As suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere variant of one in the Pithāpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt Chakrakūṭa.⁴ He is elsewhere said to have 'defeated the unequalled Gaṅgas.'⁵ Finally the new grant reports that Vijayāditya III. bore the surname Parachakrarāma (l. 14).

The Maliyapūṇḍi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the death of Vikramāditya II. Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants, among whom Yuddhamalla, Rājamartanda and Kanṭhika-Vijayaditya are mentioned by name. Then Rājabhīma (or Chālukya-Bhīma II.) succeeded in restoring order by slaying Rājamartanda, defeating and banishing Kanṭhikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla, and killing many other rebels. Yuddhamalla (II.) is the son of Tāla, to whom one grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II. attributes a reign of seven years,⁶ while two other grants,⁷ like the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, take no official notice of his reign. Rājamartanda is perhaps the same as Rājamayya in the Kaluchumbargu grant,⁸ and he is mentioned also in the Kolavennu plates.⁹ In editing these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr. Fleet¹⁰ and Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ in taking Rājamartanda as a surname of Chālukya-Bhīma II. As stated in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 170, note 4), the Maliyapūṇḍi grant now shows that Rājamartanda was a distinct person. Dr. Fleet has already noticed that ll. 17-19 of the Kolavennu plates contain a verse,¹² the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows:—

यस्ताविक्यनाखं धृष्टदि मुनिष्ठवराजमार्तण्डो [1*]

Thus the verse mentions four enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II.:—Tātabikyana, Dhaḷadi (or Dhalaga), Munniḡiva and Rājamartanda. Kanṭhika-Vijayaditya, whom the king banished along with Yuddhamalla II., is undoubtedly the same as Kanṭhikā-Bēta or Vijayāditya V., the son of Amma I. and the ancestor of the Eastern Chālukyas of Pithāpuram.¹³

The subjoined grant was made at a winter solstice (*uttarāyana*, l. 54 f.). The donee was temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) in the south of Dharmapuri (v. 17), which was in charge of the priest of the Yāpaniṃya-saṅgha¹⁴ (v. 18). It had been founded by the Kaṭakarāja (l. 54) urgarāja (v. 16) and was named Kaṭakūbharāṇa-Jinālaya (v. 17 and l. 53), evidently after surname of the founder. At his request (l. 54) the grant was made, and the grant portion opens with a pedigree of his family. His ancestor Pāṇḍaraṅga is stated to have burnt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja (v. 15), and accordingly must have been a military officer of Vijayāditya III.¹⁵ His son Niravadyadhavala was appointed Kaṭakarāja (l. 44 f.). His son was the Kaṭakādhipati Vijayaditya (l. 45 f.), and his son was Durgarāja (v. 16).

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 212, text line 17.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol. IV. p. 226 and note 7).

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 66.

⁴ Compare above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 42, verse 10.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 214, text line 31.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 14; above, Vol. V. p. 138, note 3.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII. p. 181.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 46 and note 1.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 239, and above, Vol. VII. p. 182.

¹¹ *Lists of Southern Inscr.* No. 562.

¹² Above, Vol. VII. p. 181 f.

¹³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 227.

¹⁴ Compare *ibid.* p. 338 f.

¹⁵ See notes 1 and 2 above.

Pāṇḍarāṅga (the Pāṇḍarāṅga of v. 15) is mentioned as *Ājñapti* in a grant of Vijayāditya III.¹ The title *Kaṭakarāja* or *Kaṭakādhīpati*, i.e. 'superintendent of the royal camp,' which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Chālukya kings. Dr. Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I. and Amma II. mention *Kaṭakarāja*, *Kaṭakēśa* and *Kaṭakādhīśa* as *Ājñapti*, and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles.² The Maliyapūṇḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pāṇḍarāṅga, who bore that title, viz. Niravadyadhavalā, Vijayāditya and Durgarāja. It seems preferable to take also *Kaṭeyarāja* in the grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I.³ as a vulgar form of *Kaṭakarāja*, the title of Vijayāditya, and not as a proper name.

The object of the grant was the small village (*grāmaṭikā*) of **Maliyapūṇḍi** (l. 55) in the district (*vishaya*) of **Kamma-nāṇḍu** (l. 42). Its boundaries are given in l. 56 f. The northern boundary, **Dharmavuramu**, is the Telugu form of Dharmapuri, to the south of which the *Jinilaya* was situated (v. 17). According to the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 174, note) both **Dharmapuram** and the western boundary, **Kalvakuru**, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole tāluka. Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p. 966 ff. of the same work) the first mentions Guṇakonaḷla (Vijayāditya III.), Pāṇḍarāṅga, the burning of Kiraṇapura, and Dharmavuram. An inscription at Addanki (p. 896 f. of the same work) also refers to Pāṇḍarāṅga and Dharmavuram. Maliyapūṇḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (*ibid.* p. 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries. The district of Kamma-nāṇḍu, to which it belonged, is identical with the **Kamma-rāshṭra** or **Kammāka-rāshṭra** of other inscriptions. To my former remarks on this geographical name⁴ may be added that it occurs as *Kammāka-raṣṭha* in the Jaggayyaṇḍa inscriptions of Purisadatta.⁵ This Prākṛit form renders my suggestion that *Kammāka* may be meant for *Kammūka*⁶ untenable; for the latter would have become in Prākṛit *Kammāka*, and not *Kammūka*.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ भद्रं स्याच्चिजगज्जुताय सततं श्रीमन्निनेन्द्रप्रभोरहामाततशासन[१]-
- 2 य विलसद्भ्यावलंबाय च । सामर्थ्यात्स्वल्गु यस्य दुष्कलिकता दोषश्च
मित्याहव[१]⁸ (i) दु-
- 3 वर्त्तानि च भूतली न वितता शान्तिश्च नित्यं क्षिते[.]⁹ ॥ [१*] ॐ स्वस्ति
श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसं⁹
- 4 स्तूयमानमानव्यसंगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्राणां कौशिकिवरप्रसादलक्ष्मरा-
- 5 ष्यानाम्नातुग[१*]परिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुध्यायिनाम् भगव-
- 6 न्नारायणप्रसादममासादितवरवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशिकतारान्तिमण्ड[ला]-¹⁰

¹ Above, Vol. V. p. 125, verse 9.

² Above, Vol. VII. p. 184 f.

³ Above, Vol. V. p. 130.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 238.

⁵ See Bhagwanlal Indraji's transcript in *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p. 56, and Bühler's transcripts in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 258 f. and in *Amaravati and Jaggayyaṇḍa*, p. 110 (compare Plate lxiii. f.).

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 234.

⁷ From two sets of ink-impressions.

⁸ Read मित्याहव.

⁹ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁰ Read ॐ श्रीकृता°.

- 7 नामश्रमेधावधयज्ञानपवित्रीकृतवपुषाम्¹ चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिणोस्तथा[अ]-
 8 यवज्ञमेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धनोष्ट[१*]दश वर्षाणि² वेगिमण्डलमपालयत् ।
 तदालम्-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- * 9 जो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्सु-
 नुर्भगियुवराज-
 10 >पंचविंशतितत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरज[१*] कोकिलिष्यमासान् ।
 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता
 11 विष्णुवर्धन[स्त]मुञ्चात् [स]प्तविंशतम्³ (१) वर्षाणि [१*] तत्पुत्रो विजया-
 दित्यभट्ट[१*]रकोष्टादश । तत्सुतो
 12 विष्णुवर्धनस्त्रिंशतम् । नरेन्द्रमृगराजाख्यो मृगराजपराक्रमः [१*] विजयादित्य-
 13 भूपालः⁴ चत्वारिंशत्समाष्टभिः [॥ २*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्धनोध्यर्धवर्ष । त-
 14 त्पुत्रः परचक्रामापरनामधेयः [१*] हत्वा 'भूरिनोदंशराट्पुनपतिं मंगिम्भट्टा-
 संग-
 15 र' गंगानाश्रीतगङ्गकुटग्रिखरान्निर्वृत्य 'सखड[१]लाधीशं' संकिलमुग्रवज्रभयुतं
 यो भ[१]-
 16 ययित्वा चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमन्दकांश्च विजयादित्यो ररक्ष क्षितिं । [३*]
 तदनुजस्य लब्ध-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 यौवराज्यस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य सुतश्चालुक्यभिमस्त्रिंशतं⁵ [१*] तस्याग्रजो
 विजयादित्यः
 18 षण्मासान् [१*] तदग्रसूनुरम्भराजस्त्रिंशत् वर्षाणि । तत्सूनुमाक्रम्य बालं
 चालुक्यभिमपि-⁶
 19 त्वय्युद्धमज्ञस्य नन्दनस्तालनृपो मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकबल-
 युतेन⁷
 20 तत्मातङ्गसेनो⁸ हत्वा तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे सार्द्धमत्युग्रते-
 21 जाः [१*] एकाष्टं सम्यगंभोनिधिवलयहृतामन्वरक्षहरिचिं⁹ श्रीमाञ्चालुक्य-

¹ Read 'वपुषां.

² Read वर्षाणि.

³ Read जयसिंह°.

⁴ Read 'पञ्चमं वर्षाणि.

⁵ Read 'पालयत्वा°.

⁶ Read 'नोदंश°.

⁷ Read 'सूतं गंगानाश्रीतगङ्गकुट°.

⁸ Read 'सङ्घाट्वा°; in contravention of the rules, the first half of the verse ends in the middle of a compound word.

⁹ Read 'सेनो°.

¹⁰ Read 'वर्गै° and 'युतेन°.

¹¹ Read 'सेनैर्हत्वा.

¹² Read 'हरिचिं श्रीमाञ्चालुक्यभिम°.

- 22 भिमचितिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [४*] पश्चादहमहमिकया विक्र-
मादित्यास्त-
23 म[य*]ने राक्षसा इव प्रजावाधनपरा दायदराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणो
युद्धमङ्गरा-
24 'जमात्तण्डलकण्ठिकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहिभूता' आसन् [१*] विग्रः

Third Plate; First Side.

- 25 हेणैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [१*] ततः [१*] 'योवधिद्र[१]जमात्तण्डलेष[१]
येन रणे कृतौ [१*] क-
26 ण्ठिकाविजयादित्ययुद्धमङ्गो' विदेशगौ । [५*] अन्ये मान्यमहिभृतोपि
बहवो^१ दु-
27 'प्रवृत्ताः' देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालालय^२ प्रापिताः [१*]
'दीर्घण्डेरि-
28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योयसंयामकावाप्ता^{१०} तत्परभृत्पैथ^{११}
29 शिरमो मालिव सन्धार्यते । [६*] नादग्वा^{१२} विनिवर्त्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाग्निरा
मूल-
30 तः शुभ्रं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [१*] द्रव्या-
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं^{१३}
31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जनसंसृष्टे^{१४} न नो वर्षति । [७*] स
चालुक्यभिमनसा^{१५} वि-
32 जयादित्यनन्दनः [१*] द्वादशाब्दात्समास्तम्यक्^{१६} राजभिर्मो धरातलं । [८*]
तस्य महेश्वरभू-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 33 'तेवमासमानाकृतः कुमारभः [१*] लोकमाहादेव्याः^{१७} खलु यस्मभवादम्भ[रा]-
34 जात्यः ॥ [८*] जलजातपत्रचामरकलशकुशलक्षणा[क*]करचरणतलः [१*]
लसदाजा-

^१ As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 1, the ल after सात्तण्ड is superfluous; it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल.

^२ Read विग्रहीभूता.

^३ Read योवधीद्रा°.

^४ Read 'मङ्गो.

^५ Read 'नहीश्व°.

^६ The *aksharas* बी and दु are engraved on an erasure.

^७ Read 'वृत्ताः.

^८ Read 'लयं.

^९ Read दीर्घण्ड°.

^{१०} Read perhaps 'सांशमिकस्याज्ञा

^{११} Read 'भृत्पैथ' as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 178, note 6; थ is engraved on an erasure.

^{१२} Read नादग्वा.

^{१३} The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^{१४} Read जनवास्ये.

^{१५} Read 'भीन°.

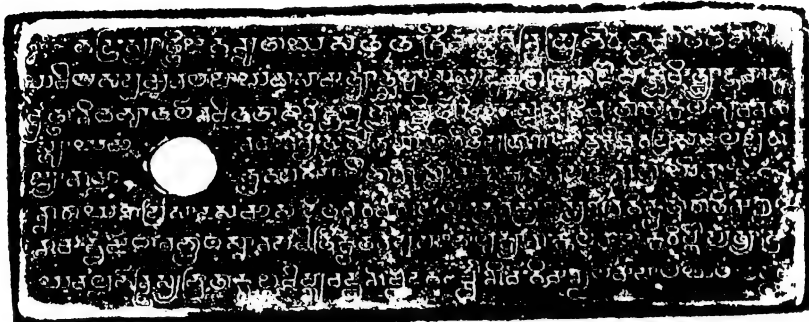
^{१६} Read द्वादशाब्दमास्तम्यशानभीनो.

^{१७} Read 'मत्ते°.

^{१८} Read 'महा°.

i

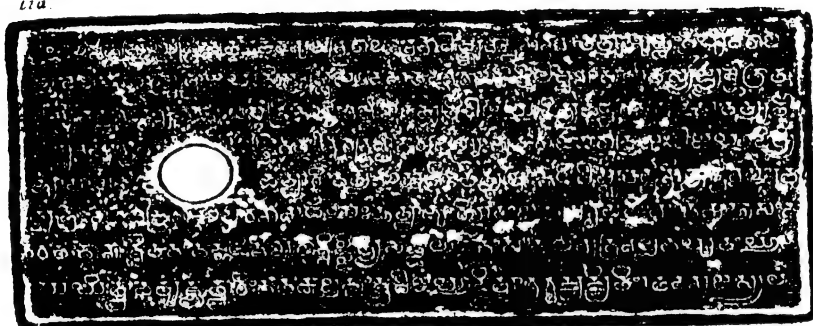
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W. GROSS, PHOTOGRAPH

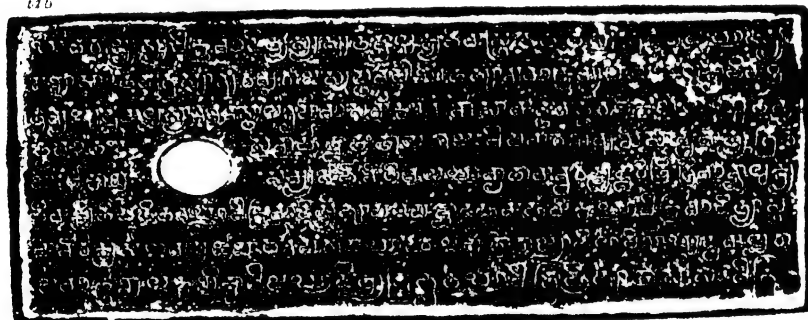
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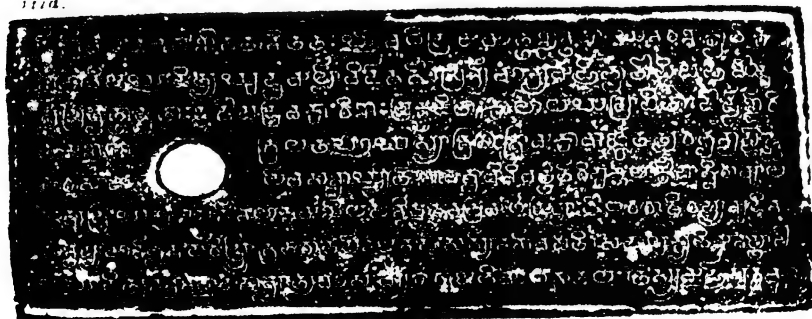
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SCALE 45

FROM THE MALAYALAM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

E. HULTZSCH

34

36

38

40

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pāli, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side, used for threading a cord to bind multiple leaves together.

42

44

46

48

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pāli, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side, used for threading a cord to bind multiple leaves together.

50

52

54

56

58

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pāli, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side, used for threading a cord to bind multiple leaves together.

60

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Pāli, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in horizontal lines across the leaf. A circular hole is visible on the left side, used for threading a cord to bind multiple leaves together.

- 35 न्ववलांभितभुजयुगपरिधौ गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः¹ ॥ [१०*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो
विविधायु-
36 धकोविदो² विलिनारिकुलः [1*] करितुरगागमकुशलो हरचरणांभोजयुग-
37 लमधुपशश्रीमान् ॥ [११*] कविगायककल्पतरुर्दिजमुनिदिनाश्वबन्धुजन-
38 सुरभिः [1] याचकगणचिन्तामणिरवनीशमणिर्भोज्यमहसा द्युमणिः ॥
[१२*] गिरिरसवसु-
39 संख्यादे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षमासिस्मिन् [1*] कष्टचयीदशदिने भृगुवारं
मैत्रेयक्षत्रे ॥ १३*]
40 धनुषि रवी घटलग्ने द्वादशवर्षं तु जन्मनः पटं [1*] योधादुदयगिरीन्दो
रविमिव लोका-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 41 नुरागाय ॥ [१४*] स समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजायदित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
श्वरपरम[धा]-
42 भूमिकोम्भराजकृष्णनाण्डविषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकुटप्रमुखाकुटुंबिनस्सर्व[1*]नित्यमाज्ञा-
पयति [1*]
43 आर्या[1*] । "किरनपुरमधाक्षीत्किपूराजस्थितं³ यस्त्रिपुरमिव⁴ महेशपाण्ड-
रंग[1*] प्रतापि⁵ [1*] तदिह [सु]-
44 स्वसहाश्रोरन्वितस्याप्यशक्य⁶ गणनममलकीत्तेस्तस्य⁷ सत्साहसानाम⁸ ॥ [१५*]
तस्य[1*]त्त-
45 जो निरवद्यधवलः[1] कटकराजपट्टशोभितललाटः⁹ [1*] तत्तनयो विजया-
दित्यकट-
46 काधिपति[1*] । वृत्त¹⁰ । तत्पुत्रो दुग्गराजपरवरगुणनिधिर्धार्मिकस्स-
त्यवादि¹¹ त्यागि भो[गी]
47 महात्मा समितिषु विजयि¹² विरलस्मिनिवासः¹³ [1*] चालुक्यानां च लक्ष्म्या
यदमिरपि सदा रक्षणा[य]-¹⁴

¹ Read गिरीन्द्रसानुरस्कः.² Read कर्ण.³ Read कुट.⁴ Read धाक्षीरजराजस्थित. as suggested in the Nellore District Inscriptions, p. 173, note 2.⁵ Corrected from महाराज.⁶ Read शक्य.⁷ The *visa* was added subsequently.⁸ Read दुर्ग.⁹ The *visarga* was added subsequently.¹⁰ Read विलीना.¹¹ Read विजयादित्य.¹² Read किरण.¹³ Read कौन.¹⁴ Read प्रतापी.¹⁵ Read कौन.¹⁶ Read बादी त्यागी.¹⁷ Read मुनिदीनाम्.¹⁸ Read धार्मिकी.¹⁹ Read महेश्वर.²⁰ Read माना.²¹ Read वृत्त.²² Read विजयी वीरवर्धनी.²³ Read रक्षणायेव.

48 यिव वंश[.*] स्थातो यस्यापि वेगीगदितक्रमहामण्डलालंबनाय ।
[१६*] तेन कृतो धर्मपु[रीद]-

49 क्षिणदिशि सज्जिनालयश्चास्तरः [।*] कटकाभरणशुभांकितनाम¹ च पुन्यालयो
वसति [॥ १७*]

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

50 ^३श्रीयापुनियशंङ्गप्रपुन्यकोटिमडुवगनेशमुख्यो^४ यः [।*] पुन्यारुह्यनन्दिगच्छो
जिननन्दिमुनिचरो[य]^५ ग-

51 [ण]धरसदृशः । [१८*] तस्याग्रशिष्यप्रयितो ध(र)रायाम्^७ (।) दिव[।*]-
कर[।*]ख्यो मुनिपुंगवोभुत्^८ [।*] यक्षेवल्लभ[।*]ननिधि-

52 म्हात्मा स्वयं जिनानां श्रद्धिगो^९ गुणौघे ॥ [१९*] श्रीमान्दिरदेवमुनिसु-
तपोनिधिरभवदस्य शिष्य^{१०} धीम[।]न् [।*] य-

53 आतिहार्यमहिमा^{११} संपन्नमिवाभिमन्यते लोकः^{१२} [॥ २०*] ^{१३}तदधिष्ठितकटक[।*]-
भरणजिनालय[।]-^{१४}

54 य कटकराजविग्रहे^{१५} खण्डस्फुटनवक्त्रोपिलिप्रपुजादिसन्नसिद्धार्थम्^{१६} (।) यु-

55 त्तरायननिमित्ते मलियपूण्ड्रनामग्रामटिका सर्वकरपरिहार(म्)मुदक-

56 पुष्प^{१७} क्रित्वा दत्ता । अस्य ग्राम[स्व*]ावधयः पूर्वतः मुञ्चुन्य^{१८} ॥ दक्षिणतः
यिनिमिलि ॥ पश्चि[म]-

57 तः कल्लकुर ॥ युत्तरतः[.]^{१९} धर्मपुरसु ॥ ^{२०}यतश्चामस्य क्षेत्रावधयः पूर्वतः
गोहनि-

58 गुण्ड ॥ आग्नेयतः[.] रावियपेरियचेळुवु । दक्षिणतः स्थापितशिल्ला ॥
नैरित्य^{२१} स्थ[।*]पितशिल्लैव [।*]

Fifth Plate.

59 पश्चिमतः मस्कप^{२२} कोळोबोयुतट[।]कश्च ॥ वायव्यतः स्थापितशिल्लैव ।
उत्तरतः दुष[चि]ळुवु [।*]

60 ईशान्याम्^{२३} (।) कल्लकुरि एव्योकचेनि सिमैव^{२३} सीमा ॥

^१ Read 'भरण'. The whole compound seems to be meant for कटकाभरणशुभांकाङ्कितः, which would have offended against the metre.

^२ Read पुण्या.

^३ Read श्रीयापुनियसंघप्रपुन्य.

^४ Read 'गणेश' or perhaps, for the sake of the metre, 'गणेश्वर'.

^५ Read पुण्याङ्ग and compare below, p. 56, note 2.

^६ Read 'मुनीश'.

^७ Read धराया.

^८ Read 'भूत'.

^९ Read सदृशो गुणौघः.

^{१०} Read शिष्यी.

^{११} Read आतिहार्यमहिमा.

^{१२} Read लोकः.

^{१३} Read 'धिष्ठित'.

^{१४} Read 'भरण'.

^{१५} Read 'विग्रहे'.

^{१६} Read 'नवक्त्रावलिप्रपुजादिसन्नसिद्धार्थमुत्तरायण'.

^{१७} Read 'पुष्प' कृत्वा.

^{१८} Or possibly मुञ्चुन्य.

^{१९} Read उत्तरतः.

^{२०} Read एत.

^{२१} Read नैरित्या.

^{२२} Read ईशान्या.

^{२३} Read सीमैव.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the religion (*śāsana*) of the lord Jinendra.

(Line 7.) **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (I.)**, the brother of **Satyāśraya-Vallabhendra** who adorned the family of the **Chālukyas**, ruled the **Vāṅgi** country (*maṇḍala*) for eighteen years; his son **Jayasimha (I.)** for thirty-three; **Vishṇuvardhana (II.)**, the son of his younger brother **Indrarāja**, for nine; his son **Maṅgi-yuvarāja** for twenty-five; his son **Jayasimha (II.)** for thirteen; his younger brother **Kokkili** for six months; his eldest brother **Vishṇuvardhana (III.)**, having expelled him, for thirty-seven years; his son **Vijayāditya (I.)-bhaṭṭāraka** for eighteen; his son **Vishṇuvardhana (IV.)** for thirty-six.

(V. 2.) King **Vijayāditya (II.)**, surnamed **Narēndramṣigarāja**, who had the courage of a lion, for forty years with eight.¹

(L. 13.) His son **Kali-Vishṇuvardhana (V.)** for one year and a half. His son, whose other name was **Parachakrarāma**,

(V. 3.) (*was*) **Vijayāditya (III.)**, who, having slain in a great battle **Maṅgi**, the king of the great **Ṇoḍamba-rāshṭra**, having defeated the **Gaṅgas** who took refuge on the peak of **Gaṅgakūṭa**, and having terrified **Śaṅkila**, the lord of the excellent **Pā[ha]ja**, who was joined by the fierce **Vallabha**, ruled the earth for forty-four years.

(L. 16.) **Chālukya-Bhīma (I.)**, the son of his younger brother **Vikramāditya (I.)** who had received the dignity of **Yuvarāja**, for thirty. His eldest son² **Vijayāditya (IV.)** for six months. His eldest son **Ammarāja (I.)** for seven years. Having overcome his infant son, **Tāla-nripa**, the son of **Yuddhamalla (I.)**, the paternal uncle of **Chālukya-Bhīma (I.)**, for one month.

(V. 4.) Having slain at the head of a rough battle this **Tāla-rāja** together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (*and*) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the son of king **Chālukya-Bhīma (I.)**, of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans.

(L. 22.) Afterwards at the setting (*i.e.* the death) of **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (*viz.*) **Yuddhamalla**, **Rājamārtanḍa**, **Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya**, *etc.*, were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like **Rākshasas** (*at the setting of the sun*). In more war five years passed away. Then (*succeeded*)—

(V. 5 f.) The fierce warrior who slew among those **Rājamārtanḍa**; who in a battle made **Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya** and **Yuddhamalla** go to a foreign country; the curved sword wielded by whose strong arm dispatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable rings, had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (*and*) causing distress to the country; (*and whose*) command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

(V. 8.) This **Rājabhīma (II.)**, the son of **Vijayāditya (IV.)** (*and*) grandson of **Chālukya-Bhīma (I.)**, righteously ruled the surface of the earth for twelve years.

(V. 9.) **Ammarāja (II.)**, who was born to him by **Lōkamahādēvi**, as **Kumāra** to **Mahāśvara** by **Umā**;

(V. 13 f.) Who—as the eastern lord of mountains, to redden the world, (*puts on himself*) he sun—put on, to please the world, the fillet in the **twelfth year** of (*his*) birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7), the flavours (6) and the **Vasus** (8)—(*i.e.* 887)—of the **Śaka** era,

¹ The reading of the text seems to be meant for **चत्वारिंशत्सु चतसि**, which would however be against the metre.

² The other Eastern Chālukya inscriptions show that *agraja* has to be taken here to mean 'the first-born son,' and not, as usually, 'the elder brother.' A similar use of the word *agrajamaan* is noted by Dr. Fleet, above, vol. VII. p. 181.

in this month of Mārgaśīrsha, on the thirteenth day of the dark (*fortnight*), on Thursday, in the Maitra (Anurādhā) *nakshatra*, while the sun (*was*) in Dhanu, in the Ghata *lagna* ;

(L. 41.) This *Samastabhuvandāraya*, the glorious **Vijayāditya (VI.)**, the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara*, the very pious **Ammarāja (II.)** thus commands all the ryots, headed by the *Rishtrakūṭas*, inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of **Kamma-nāṇḍu** :—**Lords!**

(V. 15.) Even one possessed of thousands of months (*would be*) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant **Pāṇḍaraṅga**, of spotless fame, who burnt **Kiraṇapura**, the residence of **Kṛishṇarāja**, as Mahēśa (Śiva) (*burnt*) Tripura.

(L. 44.) His son (*was*) **Niravadyadhavala**, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of *Kaṭakarāja*. His son (*was*) the *Kaṭakādhipati* **Vijayāditya**.

Verso (16.) His son (*was*) **Durgarāja**, whose sword always (*served*) only for the protection of the fortune of the **Chālukyas**, and whose renowned family¹ (*served*) for the support of the excellent great country (*maṇḍala*) called **Vēṅgi**.

(V. 17.) There is on the southern side of **Dharmapuri** a very charming excellent temple of **Jina** (*Jinālaya*) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of **Kaṭakābharāṇa**.

(V. 18.) (*There was*) the lord of ascetics **Jinanandin**, who resembled the Gaṇadharas, belonged to the pure and worthy² **Nandi-gachechha** (*and*) was the chief lord of the **Koṭimaḍuva(P)-gaṇa**, which is to be worshipped (*as belonging to*) the holy **Yūpaniya-saṅgha**.

(V. 19.) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called **Div[ā]kara**, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (*and*) high-souled, who resembled the **Jinas** themselves by great virtues.

(V. 20.) His disciple was the wise ascetic **Śrīmāndiradēva**, a store of great austerities, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of *pratihīrya*.³

(L. 53.) To the **Kaṭakābharāṇa-Jinālaya** superintended by him there was given, at the request of the *Kaṭakarāja*, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, *etc.*, and of an alms-house (*sattra*), on the occasion of the **winter solstice** (*uttarāyana*), the small village named **Maliyapūṇḍi**, with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water.

(L. 56.) The boundaries of this village (*are*) : in the east **Muñjuny[u]ru** ; in the south **Yinimili** ; in the west **Kalvakuru** ; in the north **Dharmavuramu**.

(L. 57.) The boundaries of the fields of this village (*are*) : in the east the Gollani-guṇṭha (*pond*) ; in the south-east the Rāviya-periya-cheruvu (*tank*) ; in the south a demarcation stone ; in the south-west also a demarcation stone ; in the west **Malkaparru** and the **Koṇabōyu-taṭāka** (*tank*) ; in the north-west also a demarcation stone ; in the north the Duba-cheruvu (*tank*) ; in the north-east the boundary (*is*) also the boundary of the **Evvoḱa-chōṇu** (*field*) in **Kalvakuru**.

No. 7.—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMAN.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D. ; HALLE (SAALE).

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district.

¹ The word *saṅgha* means also 'a cane'; see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 5.

² It is not quite impossible that *pradyakha* is a mistake for *Pundga*; compare the *Punnāgavikṣaṇḍilagaṇa* of the *Nandisaṅgha*, above, Vol. IV. p. 338.

³ According to Buddhist works, *pratihīrya* or *pratihārya* means 'jugglery, working miracles'; see the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*.

"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and their height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the ends and $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (*viz.* Mr. Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and its thickness slightly over $\frac{1}{4}$ inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The seal is all but obliterated; but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarmā¹ and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman.² But neither *t* nor *n* have a loop at the left. As in the Hiraṇyakaṇṭha plates,³ the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right; compare *e.g.* the *ta* of *classa* (l. 8) with the *na* of *vayanena* (l. 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same; see the *ttā* of *āchchhātā* and the *ntā* of *ch-ānumantī* (l. 17). Final forms of *t* and *m*, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The numerical symbol 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l. 15), and the plates *ii.a*, *ii.b*, *iii.a*, *iii.b* and *iv.* are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book,⁴ with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin; on the first plate the sacred syllable *ōm* occupies the place of the figure 1.

The language is Prakṛit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskrit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prakṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi.⁵ In *saṁvachchhara* (l. 14) *v* is doubled after *anusvāra*. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prakṛit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged.⁶ Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭāra* (l. 3); *kh* in *paṇṭha* (l. 7); *g* in *bhagavato* (l. 1); *j* in *vijaya* (ll. 1, 6, 14), *yājīn* (l. 5) and *mahārāja* (l. 6); *t* in *bhagavato* (l. 1), *anujjhāta* (l. 2 f.), *bhāṇitavva* and *eta* (l. 8), *pariharitavva* (l. 13 f.); *th* in *ratha* (l. 2); *d* in *pāda* (ll. 2 and 3) and *padesa* (l. 10); *dh* in *mettha* (l. 5). But elision and *ya-śruti* have taken place in *adhiya* (l. 11) for *drdhika*, *niyattāna* (l. 10) for *nivartana*, *vayāna* (l. 7) for *vachana*, and at the beginning of the enclitic *cha* in *duvaggāna ya* (l. 12) and *pariharitavva ya* (l. 13 f.).⁷ The word *Pausa* (l. 15) appears in its Sanskrit form.⁸ Dental *n* occurs in *anujjhāta* (l. 2 f.), *Sālanikāyana* (l. 4), *yājīno* (l. 5), *gharaṭṭhāna* (ll. 11 and 12) = Sanskrit *grihasthāna*, and lingual *n* in *bhāṇitavva* (l. 8), *Gaṇasammasa* (l. 9), *duvaggāna* and *rakkhaṇa* (l. 12), *saṁdānatta* (l. 13) = Sanskrit *saṁdānāpta*,⁹ and *saṁvachchharāṇi* (l. 14). Both *n* and *ṇ* appear in *vayanena* (l. 7), *niyattānān[ṭ]* (l. 10) and *manussānān* (l. 11).¹⁰ Among the remaining Prakṛit words may be noted the two numerals *terasa* (l. 15) and *visam* (l. 11),¹¹ and of other inflected words the ablative *Vaṭṭipura* (l. 1), the genitives *Devavarmassa* (l. 6) and *Gaṇasammasa* (l. 9),¹² the two differently formed locatives *Elāre* (l. 7) and *padesamhi* (l. 10), and the instrumental *parihārehi* (l. 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the thirteenth year (in words and figures, l. 14 f.) of the Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman (l. 6), who issued

¹ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 160.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175 ff.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 2 ff.

⁴ Another instance, in which the single pages of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi; see above, Vol. VIII. p. 144.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 144 and note 5.

⁶ Compare Prof. Scheller's Prakṛit grammar, § 189.

⁷ Compare *ibid.* § 184.

⁸ Compare *ibid.* § 61a.

⁹ Compare *ibid.* § 88.

¹⁰ Compare *ibid.* § 224.

¹¹ *Ibid.* §§ 443 and 445.

¹² Compare *ibid.* § 402.

this grant from **Vēṅḡpura** (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of **Ēlūra** (l. 7). The donee was named **Gaṇaśarman** (l. 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l. 11) *nivartanas* of land, evidently near **Ēlūra**, together with a site for his house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices, the **Śālaṅkāyana**, the fervent **Māhōśvara**, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy **Chitrarathasvāmin**.' Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the **Mahārāja Vijaya-Nandivarman**,¹ who was the son of the **Mahārāja Chandravarman**, issued his grant likewise from **Vēṅḡpura**, and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of **Kudrāhāra**.² This family may be designated the **Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas** of **Vēṅḡpura**. As **Dēvavarman's** grant is in **Prākṛit**, he was presumably an ancestor of **Chandravarman's** son **Nandivarman**, whose grant is in **Sanskṛit**.

Vēṅḡpura, the capital of the **Śālaṅkāyanas**, has been identified with **Pedda-Vēgi**, a village near **Ellore** in the **Godavari** district.³ The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to **Pedda-Vēgi** in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of **Chitrarathasvāmin**,⁴ the family deity of the **Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas**. Other indications point to the same part of the country. The plates of **Vijaya-Nandivarman** were found in the neighbouring **Kolleru lake**,⁵ and **Ēlūra**, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of **Ēlūru (Ellore)**, 7 miles from **Pedda-Vēgi**.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

Om? [!°]

- 1 **Siri-vijaya-Vēṅḡpurā** [!°] **Bhagavato**
- 2 **Chittarathasāmi-pādānu-**
- 3 **jjhātassa bappabhaṭṭāraka-pādabhattassa**

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 4 **paramamāhessarassa Śālaṅkāyanassa**
- 5 **assamedhayājino**
- 6 **mahārāja-siri-Vijaya-Devavammassa**

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 **vayanona Ēlūre muḷuḍa-pamukho**
- 8 **gāmo bhāpitavvo** [!°] **Etassa**
- 9 **Bu[bhura]-sagottassa Gaṇasammassa**

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 10 **sundara-padesamhi bhūmi-niyattapān[i]**
- 11 **vīsam 20 gharatṭhānam addhiya-manussāpam**
- 12 **duvaggāna ya gharatṭhānam purihāra-rakkhapam**

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 175 ff.

² This is the actual reading of the plates ; see above, Vol. VI. p. 316 and note 4.

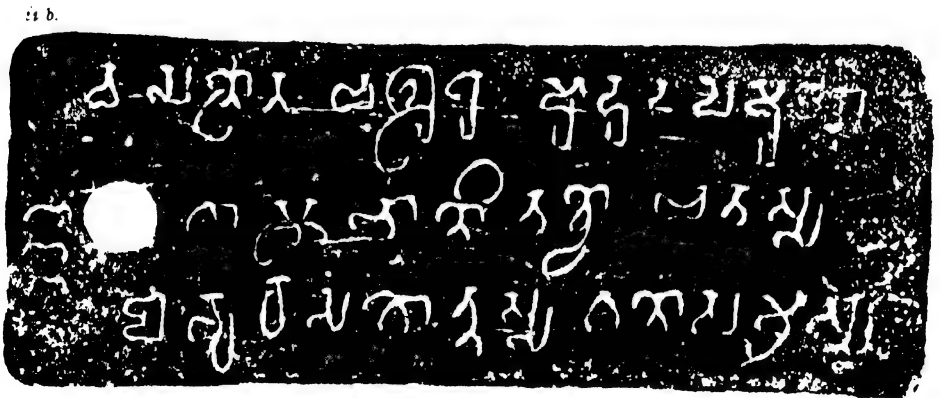
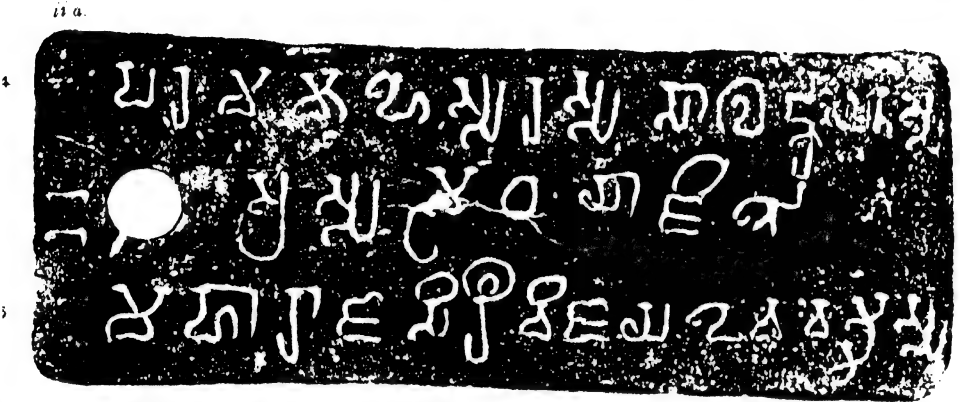
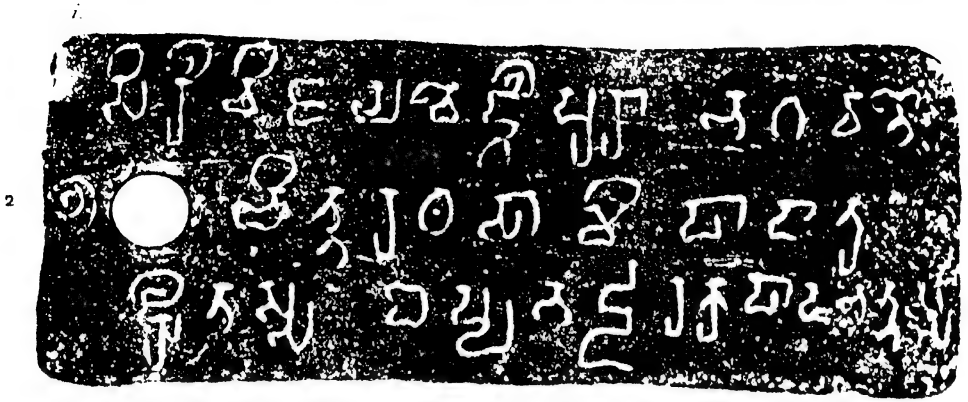
³ *South-Ind. Pal.* p. 16, note 1, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 93.

⁴ Compare the quotation from the *Madras Journal*, Vol. XIX. (which is at present inaccessible to me), above, Vol. IV. p. 143, note 7.

⁵ *South-Ind. Pal.* p. 135, note 1.

⁶ From two sets of ink-impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2.



10

12

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

14

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

16

18

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 samāpattam [1*] Evañ savva-parihārehi parihari-
 14 tavvo ya [1*] Vijaya-samvvaohharāṇi
 15 torasa 10 3 Pausha-kālapakkha-dasamī [10?][1*]

Fourth Plate.

- 16 Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāpi svarggō kṛḍati bhūmi-dah [1*]
 17 āchchhettā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ōva narakō¹ vasēt ||
 18 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhiḥ=ch=ānupālita [1*]
 19 yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ² tasya tasya tadā phala[m] ||

TRANSLATION.

Om. (Line 1.) From the prosperous and victorious **Vēṅgīpura**. The villagers³ of **Ēlūra**, headed by the *Muḷuḍa*,⁴ must be addressed (*as follows*) by the word of the glorious *Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvavarman*, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the **Śalaṅkāyana**, the fervent **Māhēsvara** who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy⁵ **Chitrarathasvāmī** :—

(L. 8.) "It has been ordered that to this⁶ **Gaṇṣarman** of the **Ba[bhura]**⁷ *gōtra* (there have to be made over) twenty—20—*nicartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (*for himself, and*) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop⁸ and for (*his*) door-keepers,⁹ (and) that the immunities (*granted to him*) have to be protected. And thus he must be exempted with all immunities. (*In*) the victorious year thirteen—13—(*of the reign*), (*on*) the tenth—[10]—*tithi* of the dark fortnight of **Pausha**."

[Ll. 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

No. 8.—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

By P. DATA RAM SAHNI.

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Northern Circle, and the other by Mr. G. D. Ganguli, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof. Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XI. p. 55.

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of **Benares**, and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented, at the instance of Mr. J. H. Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

¹ This word looks almost like *narakō*.

² Read *bhūmiḥ*.

³ Literally, 'the village.'

⁴ This looks like a Dravidian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries. The plates of **Vijaya-Nandivarman** (l. 4) seem to read, instead of it, *Munuda*; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated *ṣu*.

⁵ The genitive *bhagavato* refers to **Chitrarathasāmī**, the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription.

⁶ The pronoun 'this' evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donee, just as *ēlāham* in the plates of **Vijaya-Nandivarman**, l. 5.

⁷ Prof. Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for *Babhra*.

⁸ On *Arthika* = *ardhesirā*, see the *Mitāksharā* on **Yājñavalkya**, l. 166. The Prākṛit form *ardhika* occurs in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 6, text line 39.

⁹ The Sanskrit original of *dwaḡga* seems to be *dodrga*, which may be taken in the sense of *dudhatha*.

College, Benares, in December 1903.¹ In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed the stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot.²

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26" by 15" (66 cm. by 38 cm.). The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut.

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete. About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen. The first three syllables of the first line and the first *akshara* of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner. The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less peeled off in the marginal portions.

The characters of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhālrapātan³ and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters *bh* and *y*.⁴ The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Maukhari alphabet of the sixth century A.D. The language is correct Sanskrit and metrical throughout. As regards orthography, there are three different points which deserve notice: (1) the doubling of the letters *m*, *t*, *p* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding or following *r*, in -*maranayōr=mmōksha*-, l. 1; *yattra*, l. 2; *attra* and -*mūrttiḥ*, l. 4; *sarppa-sarppa*- and -*ruchir=vvilōla*-, l. 6; (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in -*tatra*-, l. 3; -*vrityā*-, l. 4; *ujvalam*-, l. 7; and (3) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmahā*-, l. 2, and *sandhivandha*-, l. 7.

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of Bhavāni at Benares. There are altogether five verses, the first three in the *Sragdharā* and the last two in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of Vārāṇasī. The purport of the second verse is not quite certain; it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance. The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named Pantha, and the last two speak of the consecration of the Bhavāni image (P) and the construction of the shrine, respectively.

TEXT.

- 1 [Om svasti ||*] [Khyā]tā Vārāṇas-īyam tribhuvana-bhavan-ābhōga-chaur-iti dūrāt-
sēvantē yām viraktā janana-maranayōr=mmōksha-sakt-aika-[chi]ttāḥ [i] sō -
— — — — —
- 2 — [ta] saganō yattra dēvō vimuktaḥ yām dṛishṭvā vra(bra)hmah-āpi chyuta-kali-
kalnshō jāyatē śuddha-bhāvah || [1*] Asyām=uttuṅga-śrīṅga-sphuṭa-śa[śi]-
kirana-[śveta-bhāsa sanātham ramy-āyama*]-
- 3 pratōli-vividha-janpada-śtri-vilās-ābhirāmam | vidyā-vêdārtha-tatva(ttva)-vrata-japa-
niyama-vyagra-chandr-ābhijushtam śrīmat=sthānam [pri]thivyā — — — — —
— — — — — || [2*]
- 4 Attr=ābhūt-Pantha-nāmā sīsur=api vinaya-vyāpatō bhadra-mūrttiḥ tyāgī dhīrah
kritajñah parilaghu-vibhavō=py=ātma-vrity (tty)=ābhitu[shṭabḥ*] | Gaṅgā-srōtas-
śuchi-srī*]-

¹ *Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum for 1903-4*, p. 2.

² *Archaeological Survey Report for 1903-4*, p. 212.

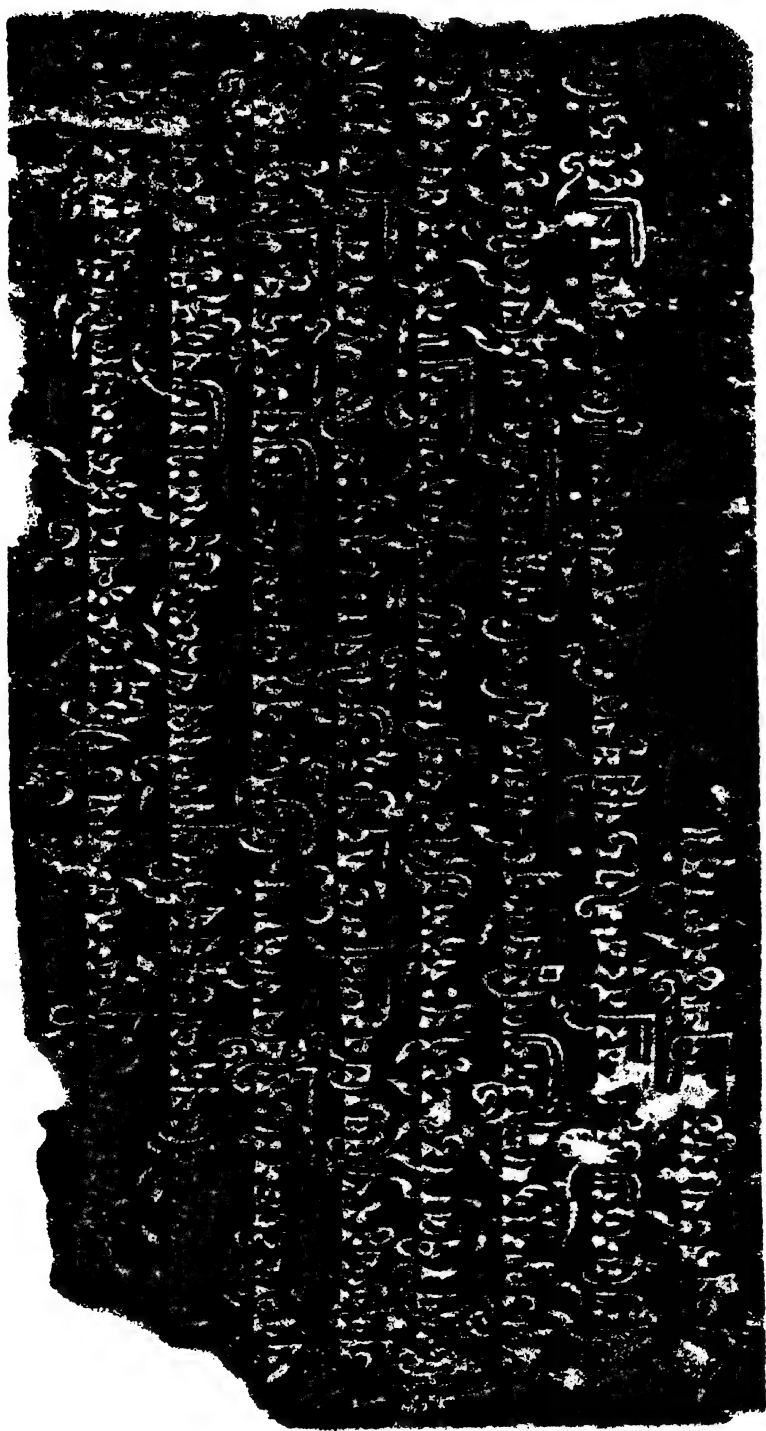
³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 180 and Plate.

⁴ *E.g.* in *yattra*, *jāyatē*, l. 2; *vinaya*, l. 4; and *yāna*, l. 5.

⁵ [In my own transcript this word was misread as -*drya*-.—E. H.]

⁶ This restoration is based on the preceding *pāṇī** and *ātma-vrityā*.

Benares inscription of Pantha.



E. Hultsch.

Scale one third

From a rubbing supplied by Mr. J. P. Vogel.

Collotype by Gebr. Pietner, Halle.

- [illegible]

TRANSLATION.

[*Śh. Hail!*] (Verse 1.) Famous is this *Vārāṇasī* which, having usurped the extent^a of the abode of the three worlds, is worshipped from afar by passionless people, with their mind solely fixed on liberation from birth and death; at which place was emancipated the god^b with his attendants; and at the sight of which even the murderer of a *Brāhmaṇa*, freed of the stain of sin, becomes pure of heart.

(V. 2.) In this (*city there was*) a place, renowned on earth; [bathed in the white light] of the bright rays of the moon (*as they fell on its*) lofty turrets; charming with the gracefulness of the wives of the various inhabitants of the [beautiful and extensive]⁶ streets; a favourite resort of the moon⁷ engaged in study, interpretation of the Védas, (*search after*) truth, (*observance of*) vows, muttering of prayers and austerities

(V. 3.) Here lived (a man) named **Pantha**, who even as a child was well-behaved,¹ handsome, generous, wise, grateful, (and) contented with his earnings in spite of his limited means; (who used to think thus to himself): 'The god (*ambhaḥ*)² Śiva is worshipped by my devotion without the toil of ascending the peaks of the Himalaya, [purified by the waves of the Ganges];' and who constantly gladdened the assembly (of the wise) by (his) virtues.

(V. 4.) By him [was erected at a considerable cost (and) [with hundreds of] different consecrations [a beautiful image of Bhavāni], fierce-looking, awe-inspiring owing to a garland formed of gruesome human heads hanging (*from her neck*); with limbs encircled by crawling snakes, and with dry flesh pierced on an axe; delighting in a sportive dance, (and) with rolling [eyes].

¹ Compare the expression *samsthāpya* in 1.7.

² This syllable is required to complete the word *vilóla*.

³ The restoration of *mūrtim*, etc., is purely conjectural; but that it is probably correct, may be concluded from the fact that the epithets *chandrī*, etc., clearly refer to an image of Bhavānī. Moreover, since the very next verse records the foundation of a Bhavānī shrine, it seems almost necessary to assume that an image of the same goddess should have been placed in this shrine.

⁴ Literally, 'the thief of the extent,' *etc.*

⁶ This passage presumably alludes to Śiva's residence at Benares in the *Tridāyuga*. See Rajendralal Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II. p. 63.

⁶ Literally, 'whose extent was charming.'

⁷ *-bhakti-ābhijayaḥ* would be a better reading.—[Or *chandra* may be meant for *nara-chandra*, 'an excellent man.'—E. H.]

* I do not find the word *vydpata* in any Sanskrit Dictionary. *Vydpriṭṭ* would be a more appropriate reading.

* [But *ambhaḥ* does not mean 'a god.' I would rather conjecture at the end of line 4 *Gāṅgāya gāhamānā* and translate: 'devoutly (*bhaktāḥ*) [entering] the water (*ambhaḥ*) [of the *Gāṅgā*].' In the following I prefer to join *Sirōmā* and to translate: 'who daily pleased Śiva and Umā by (his) devotion (and their) attendants by (his) virtues.'—E. H.]

(V. 5.) Not satisfied with the erection (of this image only), the pious man, desirous of bliss, caused to be built a shrine of **Bhavāni**, which was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive, (and decorated) with lofty flags and yak-tails.

NO. 9.—THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the **Chāhamānas** of **Śākambhari** we possess two long inscriptions. One of them is the Harsha inscription of Vighararāja, edited by me in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 116 ff. It is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1030, corresponding to about A.D. 973, and gives the genealogy of the Chāhamānas from Gūvaka I., 'who attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of the glorious Nāgāvalōka,¹ the foremost of kings,' to Vighararāja. The other is the difficult Bijoli (Bijaoli, Bijolia, Bijholi) rock inscription of the reign of Sōmēśvara, which has been uncritically edited in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 40 ff. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1226, corresponding to A.D. 1170, and gives a long genealogy, commencing with Sāmanta, the reputed founder of the family, and ending with Sōmēśvara.² Between these two longer records, and subsequently to the second, we have a few shorter inscriptions of the same family, notably the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions of Visaladēva-Vighararāja of A.D. 1164, and two short inscriptions on the defeat of the Chandēlla Paramardidēva by the Chāhamāna Prithvirāja II., of the [Vikrama] year 1239=A.D. 1182. The latest available date for this family is the [Vikrama] year 1244=A.D. 1187.³

From this Śākambhari family there branched off, some time in the first half of the 10th century A.D., another line of Chāhamānas (or Chāhūmānas), which was founded by the Śākambhari prince Lakshmana, and which for a long time had its seat of government at **Naddūla**,⁴ the modern Nadol in the Jodhpur State of Rājputāna.⁵ To this branch of the family there is assigned in my *Northern List* only a single inscription, No. 141, the Nadol copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of A.D. 1161. But there belong to it also other inscriptions of the *List*, inscriptions of chiefs whose connection with the family was not known

¹ I have already stated elsewhere that the true reading in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription is *śrīman-Nāgāvalōka-pravarauripa-sabhā-laydha(bdha)-vtrapratishthah*. In my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have suggested that Nāgāvalōka may be identical with the Pratihara Nāgabhatta; but this appears to be a mistake. A definite date for a king Nāgāvalōka—apparently the Vikrama year 813=A.D. 756—will, so far as I can see now, be furnished by a copper-plate inscription which has been quite recently discovered, and of which I have received a photograph from my friend Mr. Ojha.

² See above, Vol. VIII. Appendix I. p. 13 f.

³ See my *Northern List*, Nos. 144, 176 and 183.

⁴ So this name is spelt below, in the inscriptions A., B. and C., and in the inscription of Luntigadēva, treated of under D. We find the name spelt in the same way (with *dd*) in verse 21 of the Bijoli rock inscription, which is quite wrongly given in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LV. Part I. p. 42, the actual reading on the stone being: *Jāvalipuram jvalā-puram kritā Pallik=āpi pall=tea 1 nadēala-tulgaṃ rōshān=Naddūlam yēna sau(sau)-ryēna 2*. In the inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābū, which will be mentioned below, p. 81, the name is *Naddūla*. In verse 42 of the Mount Ābū inscription of Samarasimha (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 849) it is either *Naddūla* or *Naddūla* (not *Naddūla*); and in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Berlin Library, Vol. II. pp. 1003 and 1004 we find *Naddūla*, *Naddūlapura* and *Naddūlapura*. In Mr. Kāthavate's edition of the *Kirtikāumudī*, II. 69, and, copied from it, in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 26, verse 14, we also have *Naddūla*, but this almost certainly is a mistake.

⁵ Towards the end of the 12th century A.D. the seat of government was transferred to Jāvalipura (Jālor); and at the commencement of the 14th century a branch of the family took Chandrāvati with Mount Ābū from the Chāhamānas.

when I compiled the *List*. My object in writing this paper is, to give the genealogy of these **Chāhamānas of Naddūla**, so far as the documents which lately have come to my knowledge enable me to do so. For this purpose I shall give the texts of three inscriptions which the kindness of Dr. Fleet and Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha allows me to edit, and an account of the contents of some Mount Ābū inscriptions, based on excellent impressions for which we have to thank Mr. Cousens.

A.—NADOL PLATES OF ĀLHANADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1218.

These plates were obtained by Colonel Tod,¹ in October 1819, at **Nadol**, a town in the Jādhpur State of Rājputāna, and presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. An account of their contents was given by him in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 804; and the inscription which they contain was edited, in a rather slovenly manner, by Rao Bahadur H. H. Dhruva, in *Journ. Bombay As. Soc.* Vol. XIX. p. 26 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent photograph,² prepared under the superintendence of, and kindly placed at my disposal by, Dr. Fleet.

These are **two plates**, each of which measures about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Both plates contain a hole for a ring, but the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have not been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography it will suffice to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal. The text contains a considerable number of clerical mistakes, most of which can be easily corrected. Other mistakes are shown by the metre to be due to the author himself, who possessed no accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. Of these I would point out here merely the wrong *saṃlīlī* in *sprihayan-amaratām* (for *sprihayan-amaratām*) in line 17, the meaningless *-pragunibhūtipasavyakāḥ piṇiḥ* (for *-pragunibhūtipasavyapāṇiḥ*) in line 21, and the omission of some word like *viditām* before the words *vō-stu* in line 18. In lines 13, 14 and 16 the potential *syāt* is used for *asti* or *bhavati*.³

The inscription records a donation by the **Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of Naddūla**.⁴ According to lines 18-23, this chief, on **Sunday, the 14th tithi** (described as *mahāchaturdaśī-parvan*⁵) of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in the year 1218, after worshipping the Sun and Īśāna (Śiva) and making gifts to Brāhmanas and gurus, granted to (the Jaina temple of) **Mahāvīradēva** in the **Saṇḍaraka gachchha**,⁶ at the holy place⁷ (*mahāsthāna*) of **Naddūla**, a monthly sum of five *drummas*, (to be paid) from the custom-house (*śulka-maṇḍapikā*⁸) in the grounds⁹ of **Naddūla**.

¹ See his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 698; my *Northern List*, No. 141.

² *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 10, not yet published.

³ For instances where the potential is used for the imperfect see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII. p. 135.

⁴ So the name is spelt twice in line 22, and the same spelling is required by the metre in line 3. See above, p. 62, note 4.

⁵ For the similar use of *parvan* in other dates see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 413, and Vol. XXV. p. 289 f.

⁶ In Mount Ābū inscriptions this *gachchha* is also called *Saṇḍera-gachchha* and *Shandṛaka-gachchha*. The town of *Saṇḍera* (the *Sanderao* of the map of the Rājputāna Agency) is mentioned below in C., line 16.

⁷ According to Colonel Tod Naddūla was one of the ancient seats of the Jāinas.

⁸ For passages in which the term *maṇḍapikā* occurs, compare e.g. *Kp. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 114, l. 27; p. 173, l. 6 (*Styadōni-satka-maṇḍapikā*); p. 175, l. 19; p. 177, l. 29 and l. 30; p. 179, l. 45; p. 282, l. 3 (*pattana-maṇḍapikā*); *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 10, col. 2 (*Śrīpathā-stha-maṇḍapikā*); *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. I.V. Part I. p. 47, iv., and p. 48, v.; *Bhādnagar Inscr.* p. 205, l. 7. *Śulka-maṇḍapikā* occurs e.g. in *Bhādnagar Inscr.* p. 158 f., ll. 10, 15 and 18.—The meaning of *maṇḍapikā* is suggested by the Marāṭhī *māṇḍaṭ*, 'a custom-house.'

⁹ The word *talapada* (in *śrī-Naddūla-talapada-śulkamaṇḍapikāyām*) is not found in the dictionaries. I take it to be synonymous with, or similar in meaning to, *scatala*, which occurs in some of the Valabhi inscriptions, and for which see Dr. Fleet's note above, Vol. VI. p. 166. Compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 339, note 30.

The inscription, after the words 'ōm, adoration to the Omniscient,' opens with a verse in which the holy Mahāvīradēva, 'the youngest of the Jinās,' is desired to bestow welfare. It then (in verses 2-7) gives the following genealogy of the grantor:—

In the Chāhumāna race there was first at Naddūla the king Lakshmaṇa. His son was Sōhiya, and his son Balirāja. After him came his paternal uncle Vīgrahapāla. His son was Mahēndra, his son Anahilla, and his son Bālaprasāda. His brother was Jēndrarāja, and his son Prithivipāla. His brother was Jōjalla, and his younger brother Āsārāja, whose son was Āhaṇadēva. Nothing of historical importance is said about any of these chiefs.

According to lines 33-38, the dāta of this grant was the minister, appointed to the secretaryship (*śrīkarana*),¹ Lakshmidhara, the son of Dharanigga, of the Prāgvāta race; and the grant was composed and written by Śrīdhara, the son of Vāsala (Visala?), who was the son of Manō-ratha, of the family of the Naigumas. The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (i.e. sign-manual) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Āhaṇadēva.'

Naddūla of course is the modern Nadol where the plates were obtained, and where the temple of Mahāvira to which the grant was made apparently still exists.² The date of the grant, for the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 6th August A.D. 1161, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvana ended 15 h. 35 m. after mean sunrise.³

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ || Ōm namaḥ Sarvvaññāyaḥ⁶ | Diṣatu⁷ Jina-kanishṭhaḥ karmmavañ(ban)dha-
kshayishṭhaḥ parihṛita-madamārakrōdha-
- 2 lōbhādivāraḥ | duritasikhari-saṁvaḥ⁸ svō(śvō)vasīyān cha saṁ vas=
tribhuvannakṛita-sēvaḥ⁹ śrī-Mahāvī-
- 3 radēvaḥ || [1*] Asti¹⁰ parama ā-jalanidhi jagati-talō¹¹ Chāhumāna-vamśō hi |
tav(tr)-āsīn=Nadū(ddū)lō bhūpāḥ
- 4 śrī-Lakshmaṇa ādan¹² || [2*] Tasmād=va(ba)bhūva putrō rājā śrī-
Sōhiyas¹³=tad-anu sūnuḥ | śrī-Va(ba)lirājō rā-
- 5 jā Vīgrahapālō-nu cha pīṭivya(vyaḥ) || [3*] Tasy-āt=¹⁴tanūjō bhūpālāḥ¹⁵ |
śrī-Mahēndradēv-ākhyāḥ | taj-jah śrī-¹⁶
- 6 Anahilō(116)¹⁷ nīpati-varō=bhūt=prithula-tōjāḥ || [4*] Tat-sūnuḥ śrī-
Vā(bā)laprasāda ity-ajani pāṭhiva-
- 7 śrēṣṭhaḥ | tad-bhrāt-ābhū[t*]=kshītipaḥ subhataḥ śrī-Jēndrarāj-ākhyāḥ || [5*]
Śrī-Prithivipālō=bhū[t*]=tat-putraḥ anī-¹⁸

¹ Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 209, line 8 of the text. Above, Vol. III. p. 317, l. 45, *śrīkarana* by itself is used to denote the official ('a secretary').

² See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X. p. 142.

³ Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 30, No. 35.

⁴ From a photo-lithograph prepared under the superintendence of, and supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet.

⁵ Denoted by a symbol.

⁶ Read 'jñāya.

⁷ Metre: Mālini.

⁸ Read 'samvaḥ, 'a thunderbolt.'

⁹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 2-9: Āryā.

¹¹ For the sake of the metre for *jagati-talō*.

¹² Read 'nas-ch-ādan.

¹³ Mr. Dhruva's text has *Lōhiyas*; but *Sōhiyas* is quite clear in the original. The same name, *Sōhiya*, I find above, Vol. VIII. p. 221, l. 19, and in another Mount Ābū inscription, No. 1699 of Mr. Couvens' List.

¹⁴ Read 'ābhavat.

¹⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

¹⁶ Here and elsewhere the *t* of *tr* has purposely not been changed to *y* before a vowel; compare below, lines 9 and 38, *śrī-Āhaṇa*, and other passages in B. and C. and elsewhere.

¹⁷ The name is written *Anahilla* in B., line 7, and C., line 11, and the same spelling is required here by the metre.

¹⁸ Read *sauryaśrītiṣṭh-sāhyāḥ*.

- 8 ryavritisôbh-âdhyah | tasmâd=abhavad=bhrâtâ śrī-Jôjallô raparas-âtmâ || 6* |
Tad-avarajô=bhûch=chhirmâ-
9 n-Âsâ(śâ)râjah prâtâpavarn-nilayah | tat-putrah kshônîpah śrī-Âlhapadêva-
nân=âbhût || 7* |
10 Yasya prâtâpa-psâ(?)lam¹ samkuladikchakra-prithulavistârân | simchamti
sva(sû)ditâhitagapa-lalanâ
11 nayanasalil-anghah || 8* | Sô=yam mahâ-kshitisah sâram-idam vu(bu)ddhimân=
achintayata || 9* | Iha sam-
12 sâra² asârân |³ sarvvarî janm-âdi jantûnâm || 10* | Yatah || 11* | Gurbhah⁴
strikukshi-madhyâ pala-rudhira-vasâ-
3 mēdasâ va(ba)ddha-pimôdô mâtuh prâpâtakârî⁵ prasavana-samayô prâminâm
syân=nu janmâ⁶ dharm-â-
4 dinâm-avettâ bhavati hi niyatarî vâ(bâ)la-bhâvas-tatah svâ(syâ)t-târnyam
svalpamâtrâm svajana-pari-
5 bhavasthâ(?)natâ⁷ vridhla-bhâvah || 11* | Khadyôtdyô(ddyô)ta-tulyâh || 12* |
kshapam=ihâ sukhadâh sampa-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 6 dô dṛishṭa-nashṭâh prâpitvam chamchalam syâd=dalam=upari yathâ tōya-
vimdur-unalinyâh | jñâtvaivari⁸ sva-pi-
7 trô spihayan=⁹amaratâm ch-nihikâm¹⁰ dharmma-kirtti dēsântô¹¹ rājaputrân¹²
janapada-gapân vō(bô)dhayaty-ôva
8 vō=stu¹³ || 11* | Sam 1218 varshô | Śrāvapa-śudi 14 Ravau | asminn-ôva
mahâchaturddasî-parvvaṇi || Snâtva¹⁴ dhanta-
9 patô nivēsyā(sya)¹⁵ dahanô datv=âhutin¹⁶ punya(nya)krin=Mârtvadyasya¹⁷
tamahprapâtana-patôh sampūrya ch-âghamjilim¹⁸ || 12* |
10 trailôka(kya)sya prabhuin charâchhara-gurum samnanyâ panch-âmpitair=Îśânâm
kanak-ânuva-vastra-dadanaih¹⁹ sampūjya viprâ-
11 n gurûn || 12* | Anu²⁰ tilakukshâtôdaka.²¹pragunîbhûtâpasavyakah²² pâṇih || 13* |
śâsanam=ēnam=²³ayachchhata yâ-

¹ Read *-jdam*.

² This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

³ Read *‘kârî and janma* .

⁴ The *th* of the *akshara sthâ* is not quite clear, but there seems to be no doubt that the above is the actual intended reading. One would have expected *-paribhavaasthânâm*, but this would not have suited the metre.

⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁶ Here a syllable, perhaps *vai*, has been omitted.

⁷ Here, again, observe the wrong *samâhi* for which the metre shows the author to be responsible; *-ihayann=* would have offended against the metre.

⁸ Read *sahikim dharmma-kirttim*; one misses a second *cha*.

⁹ I can only suggest that *dēsântô* may stand for *dēsântâ*, i.e. *dēsântar*, ‘in (this) country.’

¹⁰ After this word a short syllable is missing; perhaps the reading should be *‘trân=sva-janapada-*.

¹¹ The words *vō=stu* cannot be construed with the preceding. The author had in his mind the phrase *viditum stu*.

¹² Metre: *Śardûlavikṛīṭa*.

¹³ Mr. Dhruva read this *Maitapaṭṭh nivēsyā*, which he translated by ‘while encamped at Maitapata.’ Compare *dhaṭva-edaṣṭa paridhāya* in line 19 of B., and, e.g., in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 7 of the text.

¹⁴ Read *datto=dhuttâ*.

¹⁵ Read *=Mārtvadyasya*.

¹⁶ Read *=ârgghajilim*.

¹⁷ *Dadana* in the sense of *dāna*.

¹⁸ Metre: *Āryâ*.

¹⁹ Read *tilakukshâtôdaka-*. The *ka* of *‘ôdaka* is treated as a short syllable before *pr*; see *Ind. Studien*, VIII. p. 224.

²⁰ The metre, in my opinion, shows that the author undoubtedly wrote this; what he intended was *‘pasaryâ-ih (=dakshina-padyih)*.

²¹ Wrong for *śnad-*, or, better, *ślad-*.

- 22 vach-chaiindrârkkapûpâlâm¹ |(II) [13*] Śrī-Naddûla-mahâsthânê śrī-
Sârindraka-gachchhê śrī-Mahâviradêvâya śrī-Naddûla-
- 23 talapuda-śulka-maridâjîkâyâm māsānumāsām dhûpavêlârtham² śāsānēna dra³ 5
pamela prâdât [1*] Asya
- 24 dēvarasayanam⁴ bhūmjanasya asmadvamsējair=‘bhâvi-bhōk(tribhir=aparaś=cha
paripamthanâ na kârya | yatah [1*]
- 25 ‘Sāmānyō-yam dharmā-sētur=nrîpâpām kâlê kâlê pālānyō bhavadbhih⁵
survân-ēvam bhâvinah pâ-
- 26 rthivēndrân bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Rāmachandrah || [14*] Tasmât |
7Asmadanva[ya*]jâ bhûpâ bhâvi-bhûpatayaś=cha yê [1*]
- 27 tēshām=aham karê lagnah pālānyam idam sadâ |(II) [15*] Asmad-vamsê
parikshûpê yah kaschîm⁶ nrîpatir=bhavêt [1*]
- 28 tasya-fham karê lagnō=smi sâ(śâ)sanam nâ(na) vyatikramêt |(II) [16*]
Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ rājanyaih Sagar-â-
- 29 dibhih [1*] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmî(mi)s=tasya tasya tadâ phalam |(II 17*)
Vvashtî⁷-varsha-sahasrâpi svarggô tishthati dâna-
- 30 dah [1*] âchēbhâtâ(tâ) ch-anumamitâ cha tany=ēva narakam¹⁰ vasê[t] |(II 18*)
Sva-dattam para-dattam vâ dēva-dāyam harêta yah [1*] sa
- 31 vishthâyâm krmir=bhûtvâ pitri(tri)bhih saha majjati || [19*] Sû(śâ)ny-
ânaviy(ahv)=ntōyâsu śushkakô(ara-vâsi-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 32 nah | krishnâlnyō=bhijāyamitê dēva-dāyam harānti yê || [20*] Mathgalam
mahâ-śrîh ||
- 33 ¹¹Prâgvâta-vamsê Dharanigga-¹²nāmnaḥ sutô mahāmâtya-varaḥ su-karmmâ |
va(ba)bhûva dū-
- 34 tah prâ(pra)tibhâ-nivâsô Lakshmidharah śrîkaranô niyôgi || [21*]
¹³Āsīt=sva-
- 35 cheha-malâ(nâ) Manôratha iti prāk¹⁴ Naigamânām kulê sâ(śâ)stra-
jñānasudhârasa-
- 36 plavita-¹⁵dhîs=taj-jê=bhavat¹⁶ Vâsalah | putras=tasya va(ba)bhûva lōka-
vasanî(ti)h śrî-
- 37 Śrîdharah Śrîdhurê sūpâstî rchayāmchakâra lilikhê ch=ēdam mahâ-śâ-
38 [sa]nam || [22*] Sva-lustō=yam mahârāja-śrī-Ālhanadēvasya ||

B.—NADOL PLATES OF THE RĀJAPUTRA KĪRTIPĀLA;

[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1218.]

Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna has informed me that these plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at Nadol. My account of them is mainly based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr. Ojha.

¹ Read *bhûk-kilam*; compare *est-tikâlam* in line 26 of B.

² Read *dhûpa-tail-artham*, without the sign of punctuation.

³ I.e. *drumam*.

⁴ Read *asya-asnad-vamsajair*.

⁴ Read *dēvasy-ainam* (for *-ainad*-, *-aitad*-).

⁶ Metre: *Salin*.

⁷ Metre of verses 15-20: *Sôka* (Anushtubh).

⁸ Read *kaschîm*.

⁹ Read *shashti*- or *shashtim*.

¹⁰ Read *narakâ*.

¹¹ Metre: *Upajâti*.

¹² The name *Dharanigga* occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, line 8 of the text; here the letter *g* seems to have been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.

¹³ Metre: *Sardûlavikridita*.

¹⁴ Read *prâg*-.

¹⁵ *Plavita* wrong for *plavita*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁶ Read *-bhavad*-, and, perhaps, *l'galah*.

These also are two plates, each of which measures about $9\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides.¹ The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring; I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses² of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name; the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards orthography, the letter *v* is used for both *b* and *v*, except in *-labdhajānmi*, l. 3; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *Mahēsvaram*, l. 22; and the sign of *avagraha* is once employed, in *śmgaḥaḥ*, l. 16. In line 29 the gerund *lagitvā* is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with.'

The inscription records a grant by the *Rājaputra* (or king's son) **Kīrtipāla**, a son of **Ālhanadēva** of **Naddūla**. After the words *ōm svasti*, it invokes the blessing of the gods Brahman, Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu), and Śaṅkara (Śiva), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinās' (or Jaina Arhats). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy:—

In the town of **Śākambhari** there was formerly, in the **Chāhamāna**³ lineage, the king **Vākpatirāja**. His son was **Lakṣmaṇa**, who was king at **Naddūla**; and his son was **Sōbhita**. From him sprang **Balirāja**, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle **Vigrahapāla**. **Vigrahapāla**'s son was **Mahēndra**, his son **Anahilla**, and his son **Jēndrarāja**, from whom sprang **Āsarāja**.⁴ His son was **Ālhaṇa**, the lord of **Naddūla**, who defeated the **Saurāṣṭrikas**. This king married **Annalladēvi**,⁵ a daughter of **Anahula** of the **Rāshṭrauda**⁶ race, who bore to him three sons—**Kēlhaṇa**, **Gajasimha**, and **Kīrtipāla**. Of these, **Kēlhaṇa**, the eldest son, was made *kumāra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff. the *Rājakula*⁷ **Ālhanadēva** and the *Kumāra* **Kēlhanadēva** were pleased to give to the *Rājaputra* **Kīrtipāla** twelve villages appertaining to **Naddūla**. And then, on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of **Śrāvaṇa** of the year 1218, the *Rājaputra* **Kīrtipāla**, after bathing *etc.* at **Naddūla** and worshipping the Sun and **Mahēsvara** (Śiva), granted a yearly sum of two *drammas* from each of the twelve villages of **Naddūla** to (the temple of) the Jina **Mahāvīra** at the village of **Naddūla**, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of **Bhādrapada** of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were **Naddūlāgrāma**, **Sūjēra**, **Ḍarijī**, **Kavilaḍa**, **Sōnāṇam**, **Mōrakarā**, **Haravandam**, **Māḍāḍa**, **Kāpasuvam**, **Dēvasūri**, **Nāḍāḍa**, and **Maūvadi**.

So far as I can judge, the village of **Naddūla** mentioned in the above is different from (the *mahāsthāna*) **Naddūla**, and the words *Naddūlī-pratibuddha* in line 18 appear clearly to show that **Naddūla** not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to **Kīrtipāla** belonged.—On the map of the *Rājputāna Agency* I find,

¹ The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.

² The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of *Upēndravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā*.

³ So the name is spelt here and below in C.

⁴ In C. the name is *Āsarāja*, while in A. the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*. Here we have *Āsarāja*, and in D. the actual spelling is *Āsarāja*.

⁵ The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of *Viśaladēva-Vigraharāja*, A., line 2 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 219) is *Annalladēva*, not *Arēlladēva*, and that therefore *Annalladēva* should be substituted for *Arēlladēva* also in my *Northern List*, No. 144, and above, Vol. VIII. App. I. p. 14, col. 1 (after *Arṇarāja*).

⁶ For a *Rāshṭra* *raṇa* see my *Northern List*, No. 278.

⁷ On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV. p. 312, note 7. *Mahārājakula* occurs below in D., and in other Mount *Ābū* inscriptions.

south-east of Nadol, Dosuri, which most probably is the Dēvasūri of this inscription; of the other villages I can find no traces on the map.

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (*i.e.* sign-manual) of the *Mahārājaputra* (or *Mahārāja's* son), the illustrious *Kīrtipāla*,' and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhainkara, the son of Dāmōdara and grandson of the *Kāyastha* Sōdha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of the date, for the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* month Śrāvaṇa, would be—

for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218 current: Saturday, the 25th June A.D. 1160, and **Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160** (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise);

for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218 expired: Friday, the 14th July A.D. 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1161 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise);

for the *Kārtikādi* Vikrama year 1218 expired: Tuesday, the 3rd July A.D. 1162 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A.D. 1162.

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the *amānta* month Śrāvaṇa of the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A.D. 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion; but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ || Svasti || Śriyai⁴ bhavāntu vo dēva⁵ Vra(bra)hma-Śrīdhara-Śaṁkarāḥ
sadā virāgavān-
- 2 tō yē⁶ Jinā jagati viśrutāḥ || 1 Śākambhari-nāma-purō pur-āśi⁷ ch-ehhri-
Chāha-
- 3 mān-ānvaya-labdhajamā⁸ | rājā mahārājānat-ānhriryugmaḥ khyātō=vanaū Vākpa-
tirāja-nāmā || 2 Naddūlē⁹ samabhūt-tadiya-tanayaḥ śrī-Lakshmanō bhūpatiḥ=¹⁰ ta-
- 5 smāt-sarvagun-ānvitō nripa-varaḥ śrī-Sōbhīt-ākhyah⁹ sutah | tasmāch=chh[r*]ji-
Va(ba)lirāja-nā-
- 6 ma-nripatiḥ paśchāt=tadiyō mahi-khyātō Vighrahapāla ity=abhidhaya¹¹ rājyē
pitṭivyo-bhavat || 3
- 7 Tasmāt-tivramahāpratāpa-taraṇiḥ putrō Mahēndrō=bhavat-taj-jāch-śrī-Anahilladēva-
nripatōḥ śrī-Jēn-
- 8 drarājah sutah | tasmād=durddharavairikumjaravadha-prōttālasinih-ōpamah sat-
kirttyā dhaval[i]kpit-ā-

¹ With reference to the above I may state that Mr. Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a grant (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kēlhanadēva, which is dated in line 1: *samvat 1228 varshā Jay[?]shṭha vadi 12 Sōmā*. This date also works out satisfactorily only for the *amānta* Jyāishṭha of the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1223, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A.D. 1165.

² From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ Metre of verses 3-5: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁶ The inscription C. has *Sōbhita*; but as A. has *Sōhiya*, I do not alter the *Sōbhita* of the present inscription to *Sōbhita*.

⁷ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁸ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁹ Read *bhūpatih*.

- 9 khilajagach-chri-**Āsarājō** nripah || 4 Tat-putrō nijavikramārjitam-¹
mahārājyapratāpodayō
10 yō jagrāha jaya-śriyam rapa-bharē vyāpādyā **Saurāshṭrikān** | śauchāchāra-
vichāra-dāna-vasatir-**Naddū-**
11 **la-nāthō** **mān**-samkhyōtpādita-viravrittir-amalah **śri-Alhaṇō**² bhūpatih || 5
Anēna³ rājū jāna-viśrutō-
12 na |⁴ **Rāshṭrauda**-vamsāja var-**Ānabulasya** putri | **Annalladēvir**-iti śila-vivēka-
yuktā |⁵ **Īlāmēna** vai Janakaj-ēva vi-
13 vāhit-āsau || 6 **Ābhyām**⁶ jātāh su-putrā jagati vara-dhiyō rūpa-saundaryā-
yuktāh |⁷ śāstraiḥ śāstraiḥ praga-
14 bhūḥ pravara-gunaganās-tyāgavantah su-śilāh | jyēshṭhah **śri-Kēlhaṇ**-ākhyas-tad-
anu cha **Gajasiṃhas**-tathā **Ki-**
15 **rttipālō** |⁸ yudvan-nētrāṇi Śāribhōs-tripurushavad-ath-āmī janō vāmdaniyāh |
(||) 7 ⁶**Madhyād**-amishām pari-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 16 vāra-nāthō shṭhē(jyē)shṭhō śūngajah kshōpi-talē prasiddhah | kṛita[ḥ*] kumārō
nijarājya-dhārī
17 **śri-Kēlhaṇa[ḥ*]** sarvva-gunair-upētah | (||) [8*] **Ābhyām** rājakula-śri-
Ālhaṇadēva- 17 kumāra-śri-Kēlha-
18 **padēvābhyām** rājaputra-śri-**Kirttipālasya** prasādō datta-**Naddūlāi**-prativa(ba)ddha-
dvādaśa-grāmāṇi⁸ ||
19 Tatō rājaputra-śri-**Kirttipālāh** 19 sam 1218 **Śrāvaṇa**-vadi 5 **Sōmē** || ady-
ē[ḥa*] **śri-Naddūlē** snātvā dhō(dha)-
20 ta-vāsasī paridhāya tilākshatakuśa-praṇayināḥ dakṣhiṇa-karāḥ kṛitvā dēvaḥ
udakēna saṁtarpya | va(ba)-
21 halatamatimirapaṭalapāṇa-paṭiyasō niḥśēshapātakapaṇka-prakshālanasya divākurasya
22 pājām vidhāya | charāchara-gurum Mahēva(ēva)raṁ namaskṛitya | hutabhuji
hōmadravy-āhutir-ddatvā¹⁰ nalinī-
23 dalagatajalalava-tarulām jivitavyam-ākalaya | aihikam pārachi(tri)kam tha(cha)
phalam-aṅgikṛitya svapunya-
24 yaśō-bhivṛiddhayaśō śāsanam prayachchhati yathā || **Śri-Naddūlāi**grāmō | śri-
Mahāvira-jināya **Naddūlāi**-¹¹
25 dvādaśa-grāmēshu grāmāḥ prati dra 2 dvau drammau snapana-vilōpana-dipa-
dhūp-ōpabhōgārtham | śāsanē
26 varsham prati Bhādrapada-māsō chaṁdrārkkakṣhiṭi-kāla[m] yāvat pradattau ||
Naddūlāigrāma | Sūjēra | **Ḍariji** [1*]
27 **Kavilāḍa** | **Sōnāṇam** | **Mōrakaṛā** | **Haravamdam** [1*] **Māḍāḍa** | **Kāṇasuvam** |
Dēvasūri | **Nāḍāḍa** [1*] **Maiṇvadi** |
28 ēvaḥ grā¹² 12 ātēshu dvādaśa-grāmēshu sarvvad-āpi asmābhiḥ śāsanē dattau |
ēbbir-grāmair-adbhūḥ samvatsa-

¹ Read °mārjita.

² Read -*Alhaṇō*.

³ Metre : a mixture of Upēndravajrā and Vasantatilakā.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ Metre : Sragdhārā. The last Pāda does not contain the proper caesuras.

⁶ Metre : Uṇjāti.

⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁸ Wrong for -grāmāḥ. The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical.

⁹ All the signs of punctuation in lines 19-23 are superfluous. In some places below the rules of *samāhi* have not been observed.

Read -*ddattvā*.

¹¹ Read °*dt*.

¹² I. e. *grāmāḥ*.

- 29 rālagitvā¹ sarvvad=āpi varṣam prati Bhādrapadō dātavyau | ataḥ ūrddh[^{v*}]am
kēn āpi paripanthānā na kartavyā |
30 ²Asmad-varṣe vyatikramitō yō-nyah kō=pi bhaviṣyati [^{1*}] tasy=āham kar-
tavya³ na lōpya[^{m*}] mama śāsanam || [^{9*}] Shashthi[^m]⁴ va-
31 rsha-sahasrāpi svarggō tishṭhati dāyakaḥ | āchchhētā ~~ch~~=ānuma[^m]tā cha
tāny ēva namakam⁵ vasēt || [^{10*}] Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhā

Second Plate; Second Side.⁶

- 32 bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalaṁ || [^{11*}]
33 Sva-bastō=ynm mahārājaputra-śrī-Kirttipālasya || Naigamānvaya-kāyastha-Sōdha-
naptā Śubhāmkarṇ |
34 Dāmodara-sutō=lēkhi⁷ śāsanam dharmma-śāsanam || [^{12*}] Maṅgalam mahā-
śrīḥ ||

**C.—SUNDHĀ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀCHIGADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1319.**

This inscription is on two stones which were found on the **Sundhā Hill**, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jaswantapura district of the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna.⁸ I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3' 3" broad by 1' 7½" high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2' 10" broad by 1' 5" high. The size of the letters is about ½" on the first stone, and between ⅓ and ⅙" on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nāmvasiṁha, a son of the physician Vijayapāla, and well engraved by Jisaravi, a son of the *sātradhāra* Jisapāla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The **characters** are Nāgarī, and the **language** is Sanskrit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date *samvat 1319* in line 48, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards **orthography**, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *śaṅga*, l. 16, *śravanti*, l. 19, *sahasrāṁsu* (for *sahasrāṁśu*), l. 22, *śalila*, l. 23, *śitah*, l. 25, and *śitāṁsu* (for *sītāṁsu*), l. 37; *kh* and *sh* are confounded in *mayāsha* (for *mayākha*), l. 10, and *pīyākha* (for *pīyāsha*), l. 41; the *i* of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in *śrī-Āśarīja*, l. 21, *śrī-Udayasiṁha*, l. 35, and *śrī-Aparājitēsa*, l. 43; *chchh* is written for *chh* in *chchhālana*, l. 7, and *chchhīyayā*, l. 8; and the sign of *avagraha* is employed in *Samdēdē śrka*, l. 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a balance. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word *śrīkarī*, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and *gūpyadguru* in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (*śrīkarī-saptaka-nādi*), the former⁹ may denote some kind of musical instrument; and as a *gūpyadguru* must be

¹ Read *rāla-gitvā*, 'commencing from the current year.'

² Metre of this verse and the rest: *Śloka* (Anuṣṭubh).

³ Read *lagnāssmi*.

⁴ Read *shashthi*.

⁵ Read *narakā*.

⁶ Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr. Ojha.

⁷ The passive Aorist is used wrongly here for the active *alēkhit*.

⁸ I owe this information to Mr. Ojha.

⁹ From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that *śrīkarī* occurs in the *Uttamacharitrakathānakam*, l. 234 (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie*, 1884, Part I. p. 282), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female singer.'

something on which a golden *kumbha* and a golden *kalaśa* can be placed,¹ the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note *keli*, 'the earth,' in verse 6, *bhūṣphoṭa*, 'a mushroom,' in verse 16, the feminine *yugali*, 'a pair,' in verse 18, and *tāmbūliya*, 'an areca-nut,' in verse 21; *bandhu* and *bāndhava* denote 'a brother' in verses 24, 26, and 20; and a cousin is described as *pitṛicayajayai bāndhava*, i.e. 'a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,' in verse 9.

• • The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a *praśasti*. It was composed by the (Jaina) *śāri* Jayamaṅgala (Jayamaṅgalāchārya), who belonged to the Bṛihad-guchehha and was a disciple of Rāmachandra, himself a disciple of Dēvachārya.² And its primary object is to glorify the Chāhamāna chief Chāchigudeva, during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes a date³ in the month of Vaisākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319, falling in about A.D. 1262. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-3 pray the moon on Śambhu's (i.e. Śiva's) forehead and (Śiva's consort) Pārvaṭī or Chaudikā to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi* Vatsa.⁴ In his lineage there were :—

(1.) The lord of Naddūla, king Lakshmaṇa, who was a Śakambhari prince⁵ (vv. 5 and 6).
(2.) His son Śōbhita (v. 7; the Sōhiya and Sōbhita of A. and B.). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain Arbuda.⁶

(3.) His son Balirāja (vv. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of Muñjarāja, i.e. the Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. Amāghavarsha of Mālava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.

(4.) His paternal uncle's son Mahīndu (v. 9).—He is the Mahēndra of A. and B., the son of Vignabhāpāla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahēndra or Mahīndra (?) mentioned under No. 53 of my *Northern List* as a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikūṇḍī, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.

(5.) His son Aśvapāla (vv. 10 and 11; omitted in A. and B.).

(6.) His son Ahila (vv. 12 and 13; likewise omitted in A. and B.). He defeated an army of the Gūṛjara king Bhīma, i.e. the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I. of Anahilapāṭaka.

(7.) His paternal uncle Apahilla (vv. 14-17; in A. and B. described as the son of Mahēndra). He also defeated the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I.); took Śakambhari; and slew

¹ See verses 26 and 27.

² He is described as *śrīkart-saptaka-vādin* which, as intimated above, appears to mean 'playing the seven *śrīkarta*.'

³ The exact date (in verse 57) is the *akṣaya-tṛtīyā* or third *tithi* of the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaisākha) of the [Vikrama] year 1319, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalents would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 23rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.

⁴ According to the inscription of Lantigadēva treated of under D. the holy Vachehha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Chāhamāna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmēśvara (No. 154 of my *Northern List*) Śāmanta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa *gōtra* at Ahichchhatrapura.

⁵ The original has *Śakambhartandra*. It will be seen below under D. that Lakshmaṇa most probably had the epithet *Śakambhart-māṇikya*, 'the jewel of Śakambhari.' Mr. Ojha tells me that a Chāhamāna even now will be addressed as *Sambhartarāja*, 'Śakambhari prince.'

⁶ I.e. Mount Ābū. With the expression *Himādri-bhava* of the original as a name of the mountain Arbuda compare *Himavataḥ sūnava* in the unpublished Vasantgaḍh inscription of Varmaśūta; *Himagiri-tanavaḥ* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5; and *Gaurīnaraśatara-bhūdhara-sambhara* above, Vol. VIII. p. 210, l. 17. The lord (or lords) of Arbuda spoken of above probably belonged to the Paramāra family treated of in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pārṣapāla, above, p. 10.

(or defeated) **Saḍha**, a general of the **Mālava** king **Bhōja** (i.e. the **Paramāra Bhōjadēva**), and the **Turushka**.

(8.) His son **Bālaprasāda** (vv. 18 and 19; omitted in B.). He forced the king **Bhīma** (**Bhīmadēva** I.) to release from prison a king named **Kṛishṇadēva**.—This **Kṛishṇadēva** most probably is the **Paramāra Kṛishṇarāja** (the son of **Dhandhuka**¹ and grandson of (?) **Dēvarāja**), of whom we have two inscriptions at **Bhīmāl** (**Śrīmāla**), dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067 (Nos. 689 and 690 of my *Northern List*).

(9.) His brother **Jindurāja** (vv. 20 and 21; the **Jēndrarāja** of A. and B.). He fought victoriously at **Sanḍera** (the modern **Sanderao** in the **Jōdhpur** State, south-west of **Nadol**).

(10.) His son **Prithvipāla** (vv. 22 and 23; omitted in B.). He defeated an army of the **Gūjjara** king **Karṇa**, i.e. **Bhīmadēva**'s son and successor **Karṇa Trailōkyamalla**.

(11.) His brother **Yōjaka** (vv. 24 and 25; the **Jōjalla** of A., omitted in B.). He by force occupied **Aṇahillapura** (**Aṇahillapātaka**).

(12.) His brother **Āśārāja** (vv. 26-30; in B. described as the son of **Jēndrarāja**). He pleased **Siddhādhirāja**, i.e. **Karṇa**'s son and successor **Jayasinha Siddharāja**, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of **Mālava**, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him.

With the account of **Āśārāja** ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for *om*) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v. 31) praying for the blessing of **Śambhu** (**Śiva**), 'the crest of the **Sugandhadri**,² i.e. the mountain **Sugandha**, which clearly is the **Sundhā** Hill where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that **Āśārāja**'s son was —

(13.) **Āhlādana** (vv. 32 and 33; the **Ālhanadēva** of A. and B.). His assistance was sought by the **Gūjjara** king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of **Surāshṭra** (*giran Saurishṭrē*). He built a **Siva** temple at **Naddūla**.—We have seen above that the two inscriptions A. and B., which are of this chief's reign, are dated in A.D. 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son **Kēlhana**), apparently as a feudatory of the **Chaulukya Kumārapāla**, in the **Kerāḍu** fragmentary inscription of **Kumārapāla**'s reign which is dated in A.D. 1153 (No. 133 of my *Northern List*).

(14.) His son **Kēlhana** (v. 34). He defeated the southern king **Bhilima**, and after destroying the **Turushka** erected a golden *tōraṇa*, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy **Sōmēśa**.—For the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Kēlhana** I have given above, p. 68, note 1, a date in A.D. 1165. The southern king **Bhilima**, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the **Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhīlīma**, whose **Gadag** inscription is dated in A.D. 1191 (No. 334 of my *Southern List*).

(15.) His brother **Kīrtipāla** (vv. 35 and 36). He defeated a **Kīrātakūṭa** chief named **Āsala**, and at **Kāsahrada** routed an army of the **Turushka**. As ruler of the kingdom of **Naddūla** he took up his residence at **Jāvalipura**.—Of the places here mentioned **Kīrātakūṭa** is **Kerāḍu**, according to *Bhīrnagar Inscr.* p. 172,³ 'a small village near **Hāthamo** under **Bādamera**' (**Bārmor**) in the **Jōdhpur** State. **Jāvalipura**, to which **Kīrtipāla** transferred his residence, is the

¹ He apparently is the **Paramāra Dhandhuka**, who according to an inscription at **Vimala**'s temple on **Mount Ābh** which will be mentioned below, p. 81 transferred his allegiance from **Bhīmadēva** I. to king **Bhōja**, the lord of **Dhārā** (i.e. **Bhōjadēva** of **Mālava**).

² I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of **Śiva** on the mountain **Sugandha**.

³ In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as *Kīrātakūṭa*.—According to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 265, 'Kherāru' is about 20 miles west of **Bārmor**.

town of Jālor in the same State. A place named Kāsahrada has been identified by the late Prof. Bühler¹ with Kāsandra or Kāsandhra, a village with about 400 inhabitants on the road from Pholkā to Pulitānā, in Long. 72° 11', Lat. 22° 19'; but the Kāsahrada of this inscription may be a different place nearer Nadol.—According to verse 41 Kirtipāla's daughter Rūdaladēvi built two temples of Śiva at Jāvālipura.

(16.) His son **Samarasimha** (vv. 37-40). He built extensive ramparts on the **Kanakachala** (or 'gold hill') and founded the town of **Samarapura**.—This town I am unable to identify. *Kanakichala* according to Mr. Ojha is the name of the fort² of Jālor which, he informs me, is locally known as 'Sonalgah,' and the *Sauvarna-giri* of Jāvālipura I find actually mentioned in an inscription on Mount Abū.³ In an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1221, from which Mr. Ojha has sent me a quotation, it is called *Kāñchana-gaḍha*.—Samarasimha clearly is the *Chāha[māna*]-raja[kā*]*. *Samarasimha*, whose daughter **Līladēvi** was the (or a) queen of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II.⁴

(17.) His son **Udayasimha** (vv. 42-46). According to the prose passage in lines 35 and 36 he ruled 'the glorious **Naddūla**, the glorious **Javalipura**, **Māṇḍavyapura**, **Vagbhatamēru**, **Surachandā**, **Rāṭahrada**, **Kheḍa**, **Rāmasainya**, **Śrimala**, **Ratnapura**, **Satypura**, and other places.'—With the exception of **Māṇḍavyapura** and **Rāṭahrada** the places here enumerated are easily found on the map of the Rājputāna Agency (in Marwar) under the names Nādol, Jālor, Barmer, Surachand, Kher (between Tilwāra and Bālotra), Rāmsen, Bhīmāl, Ratnapura and Sānchor. **Māṇḍavyapura** is Mandor, according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer* three miles from Jodhpur; **Rāṭahrada** I cannot identify.—Udayasimha's queen was **Prahladanadēvi**, who bore to him two sons, **Chāchigadēva** and **Chāmūṇḍarāja**. Regarding his exploits, the inscription states in a general way that he curbed the pride of the **Turushka**, was not to be conquered by the **Gūrjara** kings, and put an end to the **Sindhu** king. He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bharata⁵ and others, and built two Śiva temples at **Javalipura**.—Udayasimha clearly is identical with the *Mahārājadhīrāja* Udayasimhadēva of whose reign we have three inscriptions at Bhīmāl (Nos. 697-699 of my *Northern List*) dated in the [Vikrama] years 1262, 1274 and 1305, corresponding to about A.D. 1205, A.D. 1218, and about A.D. 1248; and also with the *Mahārājakula* Udayasimhadēva, for whom I have given a date, falling in A.D. 1249, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI: p. 175, No. 115. He was succeeded by—

(18.) his son⁶ **Chāchigadēva** (vv. 47-57). He in verse 50 is described as 'destroying the roaring **Gūrjara** lord **Vīrama**, hating the enemy **Śalya**, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking (or leaping) **Pūtuka**, depriving of his colour **Saṅga**, and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious **Nahara**.' As will be seen from this translation, the words *śalya*,⁷ *pūtuka* and *saṅga* of the original must in my opinion, like *vīrama* and *nahara*, be taken as proper names; but of the five persons enumerated I can identify only the first. Being described as 'Gūrjara lord,' **Vīrama** appears clearly to be the Vāghelā Vīramadēva, the son of Vīradhavaḥ and elder brother of Vīśaladēva, who is reported to have been the son-in-law of Udayasimha of Jāvālipura,⁸ and

¹ See his paper on the *Sukritasamkṛtana* of Arisimha, p. 25. For another identification of Kāsahrada see above, Vol. VIII. p. 206, note 2.

² For a description of this fort which is about 800 yards in length by 400 in width, and crowns a rocky hill of an altitude of 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain, see the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 260.

³ Line 33 of No. 1722 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ See the plates of Bhīmadēva II. (of A.D. 1206) in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 195, Plate ii. line 1.

⁵ I.e. apparently the *Bhāratiya-nāṭyaśāstra*.

⁶ Udayasimha's other son Chāmūṇḍarāja is not further mentioned in the inscription. He may be the Chāmūṇḍarāja whose name occurs under No. 703 of my *Northern List*.

⁷ *Śalya* probably is a proper name, denoting an enemy of Lavanasprada, also in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 27, verse 19.—In our inscription the name may be *Satruśilya*; compare Prof. Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p. 1510.

⁸ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 190. Compare also the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 203, where Jāvālipura has been taken to be Jabalpur.

would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Châchigadêva. — The following verses treat of the same chief's works of piety. At Śrīmala he remitted certain taxes, and at Ramasainya he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vighrahāditya, and placed a golden cupola (*kumbha*) and a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) on the temple of (the god) Aparājītēśa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (*mukhātā*). For the same temple he provided a hall (*śālā*) with a car (*ratha*) richly decked with precious stones. Châchigadêva visited the Sugandhadri, worshipped there the goddess Châmunḍā, known by the name Aghatēsvarī, and at her temple established a *mandapa* which was consecrated by the Brâhmins on the *akshaya-tṛitīyā* of the month Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319.

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Châchigadêva yields a date in about A.D. 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A.D. 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhinmâl inscriptions Nos. 702 and 703 of my *Northern List*, where he is described as the *Mahârâjakula* Châchiga or Châchigadêva.

I may add that Châchigadêva is mentioned, under the name **Chucha**, in line 8 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Rûpādēvi, published by me above, Vol. IV. p. 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as *Châva*, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhâ Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is *Châcha*. This **Châcha** is called a Châhumâna in Rûpādēvi's inscription and described as the son of Udayasimha¹ and grandson of Samarasimha, which exactly fits our Châchigadêva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Châcha's wife was **Lakshmidēvi**, and that this lady bore to him **Rûpādēvi**, who became the wife of a king **Tojasimha** (to whom she bore a son named **Kshêtrasimha**) and founded a well or tank in A.D. 1284, in the reign of the *Mahârâjakula* **Samyantasimhadêva**.²

TEXT.³

First Stone.

- 1 || Ōm⁴ || ⁵Śvêtaṁbhôj-âtapatram kim-u Giri-duhituh Svastaṭinyâ gavâkshah kim
vâ saukhy-âsanam vâ mahimamukhamahâsiddhidēvi-gaṇasya | trilôkyanandid-
hêtôh kim-uditam-anagham ślâghya-nakshatram-uchelaih Śaṁbhôr-bhâlasthal-
ênduh sukṣitikṛta-
- 2 nuliḥ pâtu vò rāja-lakshmin || 1 ⁶Īsasy-âmk-âvanir-anupamânandusaindôha-mûlâ
chamchadvâsôchchaladalamayî bhûshana-prandhapushyâ(śhpâ) | sallāvanyôdaya-
suphalini Pârvatiprêma-valli lakshmin pushpâtva=anu-dinam=ativyakta-bhaktiyâ
natânâm || 2 ⁷Vikâṭamukuta-mâdyantēja-
- 3 sâ vyômni daityan=iva bhuvî mapimayyâ mēkalalyâh kvapēna | ananurapita-
lilâhamsakais-trâsanyanti phanipatibhuvan-âmtas=Chandikâ vah śriyê=stu || 3
⁸Śrîmad-Vatsamaharshi-harshanayanôdbhûtâmvyu(bu)pûraprabha-⁹pârsvôrvîd h a r a -
mmulimukhyasikharâlamêkâra-tigmadnyûh | prithvîm tâtu-
- 4 m-apâsta-daityutimirah sri-Chuhamunah purâ vîrah kshirasamudrasôdara-
yasôrâsiprakashô=bhavat || 4 ¹⁰Ratu-âvalyâm=iva nripa-tatan tat-kramê viśrutâyâm

¹ The proper relation to Udayasimha of the *Mahâvasimha* who is mentioned in my account of Rûpādēvi's inscription, above, Vol. IV. p. 313, will be given below, under D.

² So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos. 704, 706 and 707 (of A.D. 1282, 1286 and 1289) of my *Northern List* have *Sâmetasimhadêva*.

³ From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: Śragdhara.

⁶ Metre: Mandâkrântâ.

⁷ Metre: Mâlîni.

⁸ Metre: Sârdûlavikṛitâ.

⁹ Originally *prabhâ* was engraved, but the sign for *â* has been struck out.

¹⁰ Metre of verses 5 and 6: Mandâkrântâ.

dharmamasthānaprakarakaraṇa-prāptapūnyōtsavāyām | śrī-Naddūl-ādhipatir-abbaval=
Lakshmanō nāma

- 5 rājā lakshmilīlasadanasadṛiśākāra-Śākambhar-lmdrah || 5 Ā pātālāt-samara-
jalādhiin Maṇdarō yasya khaḍgō mushṭi-vyājād=bhujagapatinā śrīnukhalēn=
āvava(ba)ddhah | nirmathy-ōchehaiḥ sapadi Kamalāin lilay-ōddhittya(tya)
mattas=chakrē nṛpitaṁ rapita-kaṭakah kōlikam-
6 pa-chehhalēna || 6 ¹Tasmād-Dhimadribhavanātha-yaśōpahārī śrī-Śōbhitō-jani
nṛpō-aya tanūdbhavō=tha | gām̐bhīryadhairya-sadanam Va(ba)lirajadēvō yo
Mum̐jarāja-va(ba)la-bhaṅgam-achikarat-tam || 7 ²Sāmṛājy-āsakarēgūin
ripunripatigaja-stōmam=ākramya jhārō yat-khaḍgō gam-
7 dhahastī samararasa-bharō Viṇḍhyaśailāyamānō | muktāśuktīmdukām̐t-
ōjjvalaruchishu lasatkīrti-Rōvātātēshu praudhānamūdōpachār-ōlvaṇapulakatatiḥ
pushkarinām̐ chehhalēn³ || 8 ⁴Tatpitṛivyaajatay=ātha vām̐(bām̐)dhavah
śrī-Mahimdur-ujanishṭa bhūpatih | yat-kripāpa-
8 lutikām̐-upēyushām̐ chehḥāyayā⁵ virahitam mukham̐ dvishām̐ || 9 Jajñē⁶
kāntas=tad-anu cha bhuvas-tat-tanūjō=śvapālāḥ kālāḥ krārō dvishi su-
charitō pūṛṇachamdrāyamāṇah | yah sadōgaṇō na khalu tamasā n-aiva
dōśhākara-ātma tējō-muktah kvachid-api na yah kincha mitr-ō-
9 dayēshu || 10 ⁷Kēyūṛāgranivishṭaratanikara-prōdyatprabhādaniva(ba)ra-vyaktam̐
saṅgararāṅga-maṇḍapatalō yam̐ vairi-lakshmih śritā | virēshu praspitēshu
tēshu rajasā nitēshu durllakshyatām̐ lavdhō(bdhō)pāyava(ba)l-āpi
nirmala-gupair-vaśyā praśasy-ākṛitih || 11 Pa-⁸
10 tras-tasy=Āhila iti nripas=tanmayōsha(kha)-chehhalēna srashṭā yasya vyadhita
yaśasām̐ tōjasām̐ tōlanām̐ nu | Gaṅgātālō śasī-tapanayōr-daribhutaś-
chārachēlō madhyasthāyidhrumamisha-lasatkam̐takē kantukēna || 12 ⁹Gūjarādhipati-
Bhima-bhābhujah saṅya-pūram a-
11 jayad=raṇēshu yah [¹⁰] Sūmbhuyat=Tripura-sambhavam̐ va(ba)lam̐ vādavō-
nala iv-ānuvu(bu)dhēr=jalam̐ || 13 ¹⁰Sainyākram̐t-ākṛilavasumatimam̐dālas-tat-
pitṛivyah śrīmān rāj-ābhavad-atha jit-ārātimallo=ṇahillah | Bhīma-kshōṇipati-
gajaghaṭṭā yēna bhagnā raṇ-āgrō hṛidyārth-āmbhōni-
12 dhi-Raghu-kritō ch=ēha paṅktiḥ khalānām̐ || 14 Am̐bhōjāni¹¹ mukhāny=ahō
nṛpīgadṛiśām̐ chamdr-ōdayānām̐ mudō Lakshmīr-yatra narōttamānusarapavyāpāra-
pāram̐gamā | yānām̐ prasabham̐ sūbhām̐ śikharī-srēṇ=iva gupyaḍguru-stōmō¹²
yasya narēśvarasya tulanām̐ sēn-ām̐-
13 vu(bu)rāsēr-dadhau || 15 Urvvīrnt¹³ viṭapāvalam̐va(ba)-sugrihīharmyēshu datvā¹⁴
dṛiśam̐ dhyāt-ātyam̐tamanōharākṛitinijaprasādavatāyanah | bhūspṛhōtāni vanām̐tarēshu
vitātūy-ālōkya hāhōti-vāk sasmār-ātapavānapāni sataśo yad-vairirājavraja-
14 h || 16 Dṛishtaḥ kair=na Chaturbhujah sa samarō Śākambharim̐ yō
va(ba)lāj=jagrāh=ānu jaghāna Mālava-patēr-Bhōjasya Sādḥ-āhvayam̐ |
dam̐d-ādhisam̐=apāra-sainyavibhavam̐ tivrām̐ Turushkam̐ cha yah sākshād-
Viṣṇur-asā[dha]nfyā-yaśasā śṛīngārītā yēna bhūḥ || 17 Jajñē¹⁵ bhūbhṛit=tad=a-

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.² Metre: Sragdharā.³ Read *chehhalēna*.⁴ Metre: Rathōddhatā.⁵ Read *chehāyayā*.⁶ Metre: Mandākrāntā.⁷ Metre: Sārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁸ Metre: Mandākrāntā.—I am unable to explain this verse. See above, p. 70.⁹ Metre: Rathōddhatā.¹⁰ Metre: Mandākrāntā.¹¹ Metre of verses 15-17: Sārdūlavikṛīḍita.¹² The exact meaning of the word *gupyaḍguru* is unknown to me; it occurs again in verses 26 and 27. See above, p. 71.¹³ Read *urvtṛudvō*.¹⁴ Read *datvā*.¹⁵ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

- 15 nu tanayas=tasya **Vā(bā)laprasādō Bhīma-kṣmābhīch-charaṇayugalimarddana-**
 vyājatō yah | kurvan pīdām=ntiva(ba)latayā mōchayāmāsa kārāgārād=
 bhūmipatim=api tathā **Krishṇadōv-ābhidhānam** || 18 Śrīkaryō¹ jalada-bhramam
 dadhur-ahō sainyō=sya sē-
- 16 vārasāyātarta-pratimō samujvala-patā² vāsā marāla-śrīyam | karipam vāyu-
 vāsēna kētu-nivalā sa(sa)sy-ānukāram cha tē³ saṃgītāni cha kōkīlāra-
 tulām chittō tu tāpam dvishah || 19 ⁴Śrīmāms=tasy-ājau narapatir=
 vām(bām)dhuvō **Jīmdurajō yah Samdōrō**
- 17 śrka⁵ iva tīmiram vairi-vīmdam vi(bi)bhēda | yasya jyōtiḥ-prakaram=abhītō
 vidyishah kauśik-ābhā drashtūm śaktā na hi giriguhā-madhyam=adhyāśritā=
 tat || 20 Gachebharatīnām ripu-nrigadrisām bhūshanaṇām prapātō vāshp-
 āsānir-ghanatati-tulām vi(bi)bhratnām-araṇyē | dūrvvā-
- 18 bhrātīnī marakatamapi-śrēṇayō yat-prayānō tānvū(bū)liya-bhramam=iva chiram
 chakrirō padmarāgāh || 21 Prithvīm⁶ pālyitūm pavitramatimān yah
 karshukānām⁷ kuram mūcham prāpa yasāmsi kurūda-dhavalāny-ānamdahridy-
 āmanah | **Prithvipāla** iti dhruvam kṣhiti-
- 19 patis tasy-ānaganam ābhavat-pratyakṣhōramidhi⁸ sa **Gūjara-patēh Karnāsya**
 sainy-āpahah || 22 Yat-sēnā kila kāmadhēnu-sadrisī kirtīm śru(sa)vaṃtī
 pṣyah svachchharindam sacharācharē=pi bhuvanō śatrūms-tpīkikurvati |
 dharmam vatsam=iva svakiyam anagham viddhim nayamti
- 20 mudā kasy-ānamda-karī va(ba)bhūva na bhuvō=bhīshām samātavati || 23 ⁹Śrī-
 Yōjakō bhūpatir asya vām(bām)dhuvō-vivēkasaudha-prava(ba)lapratāpah | svēt-
 ātapatrēna virājamānah śakty-**Āpahillākhyapurō**-pi rēmō || 24 Tyaktvā¹⁰
 sandham-udāra-kēlivipinam krid-ā-
- 21 chālō dīrghikām palyam-kāśrayanām karēṇushu mudām sthānam samamitād=api |
 yasy-ārikṣhitipāla-vā(bā)lalalanāh śailō vanō nirjharē sthūlagrāva-śirassu saṃsmpitim=
 anuḥ pūrvopabhukta-śrīyam || 25 ¹¹Śrī-Āśārāja-nāmā samajani vasudhā-nāyaka=sta-
- 22 sya vām(bām)dhuvō sūhāyām **Mālavānam** bhuvī yadasi-kritam vīkshya
Siddhādhirājah | tushṭō dhattē sma kurūbhām kanakamayam-ahō yasya
 guppyadguru-stham tam hartum n-aiva śaktah kalushita-hridayah śēshabhūpāla-
 vāgbhiḥ || 26 ¹²Udayagirisirah-stham kim sahasrāmśu-vivam¹³
- 23 vitata-visadakirttē-mūrdhni kim nu pratāpah | uparī subhagatāyā ndgatā
 mūhjarī kim kanaka-kulaś ābhād=yasya guppyadguru-sthah || 27 Kanakaruchi-
 śarirah śnilasār-ābhirāmah phanipati-mahānīyasy=āvatārah sa Vishpōh |
 śu(sa)lilanidhi-su-
- 24 tāyā mamdirē akamdhā-dēśō dadhad=avanim=udārām-agrimah puṇya-mūrttiḥ || 28
¹⁴Satragāra-tadāga-kānana-Harapāsāda-vāpi-prapā-kūp-ādini vinirmamē dvijajan-
 ānamdī kṣhamā-mamdalō | dharmasthāna-śatāni yah kila vu(bu)dha-ārēṇishu

¹ Metre: Sārdūlavikṛita. — Originally *śrīkaryō* was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to *śrīkaryō*. The word occurs again in verse 59. See above, p. 70.

² Read *samujjala*.

³ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁴ Metre of verses 20 and 21: Mandākrāntā.

⁵ The sign of *avagraha* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

⁶ Metre of verses 22 and 23: Sārdūlavikṛita.

⁷ Read *karshukānām* (for the ordinary *karshak* 'arm').

⁸ This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading may be *pratyakṣhō-mūrdhni*.

⁹ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁰ Metre: Sārdūlavikṛita.

¹¹ Metre: Śragdharā.

¹² Metre of verses 27 and 28: Mālini.

¹³ Read *sahasrāmśu-bimbah*.

¹⁴ Metre of verses 29 and 30: Sārdūlavikṛita.

- 25 kalpadrumah kas-tasy-ēndutushāraśaila-dhavalām stōtūm yaśah kōvidaḥ || 29
Śvētāny-ēva yaśāmsi tūmḡaturaga-stōmah śi(si)taḥ subhruvām chauchlanmuktika-
bhūshanāni dhavalāny-uchebaiḥ samagrāny-api | prēmālāpa-bhavaṁ smitam
cha viśadam subhṛā-
- 26 ṇi vastraukasūm vṛindān iti nṛipasya yasya pritanā Kailāsa-lakshmīn śrītā || 30
Prasastir-iyam Vpi(bṛi)hadgachehḥṛya-śrī-Jayamaṅgalāchārya-kṛitih || Bhishag-
Vijayapāla-putra-Nāmvāsīmḥena likhitā | Sūtra-¹Jisapāla-putra-Jisavayinā² utkirṇā ||
- Second Stone.
- 27 || Ōm³ || Jātā-mūlā Gaṅgāprava(ba)labharipūrakuhānā-sūmunmilachehbatraprakarā⁴
iva namrēshu nṛipatām | pradātūm śrī-Śaumbhū sakulabhuvan-ādhiśvaratayā
tayā vā dēyād=vaḥ śubham-ila Sugamdhādri-mukutaḥ || 31 ⁵Āśārāja-kṣhitipa-
tanayaḥ śrī-
- 28 mad-Āhlādan-āhvā jājñō bhūbhṛid bhuvana-viditāḥ Chahamānasya vaiśēḥ | Śrī-
Naddūlē Śivalbhavana-kṛid-dharmamasarvasva-vēttā yat-sāhāyām prtipadam abhō
Gūrjarasās=chakāmksa || 32 ⁷Chaucheatkētākachaiṇi aka-pravilarattālītamālaguru-
sphūrjjacheharada-
- 29 nānālikērakadalidrākśhāmra-kamrō girau | Saurāshṭrō kuṭilōgrakanūtakabhid-
ātyuddamakīrttēs=tadā yasy ābhūt-abhimāna-bhāsuratayā sēnāchārāṇām ravaḥ || 33
⁸Śrīmāns tasy-āmgaja iba nṛipaḥ Kōlhanō dakṣiṇāsādhiś-ōdamechad-Bhili-
- 30 ma-nṛipatōr mānāhṛit-saṅgyasindhuḥ | nṛbhidy-ōchehaiḥ prava(ba)la-kalitām yas-
Turushkaṁ vyadhatta śrī-Sōmēsāspadamukutavat-tōraṇām kamēchanasya || 34
⁹Bhrāt-āsya prava(ba)lapratāpa-nīlayaḥ śrī-Kirttipālō-bhavad-bhū-nāthah
prtipakṣhapārthivachamūdlāv-āṇvu(bu) vāl-ō-
- 31 pamah | yat-khadgāmūvu(bu)niḥtan hat-ārikaripān kumbhasthalibhyaḥ ksharan=
muktānām nikarō marāla-lalitām dhattō sma dhār-āsrayah || 35 Yō
durddhānta-Kirātākūṭa-nṛipatīm bhittvā śarair=Āsalām tasmīn-Kūshradō¹⁰
Turushka-nikarām jītvā rapa-prāmganō | śrī-Javālī-
- 32 purē sthitiṁ vyarachayan=Naddūlarājy-ēśvaraś chintitaratna-nibhaḥ samagra-
vidushām nihsīmasaṅgy-ādhipaḥ || 36 ¹¹Śrī-Samarasimbadevas=tat-tanayaḥ
kshōṇimainḍul-ādhipatiḥ | Imdra iva vivu(bu)dhahṛiday-āmanādi purushōttamō
Harivat || 37 Prākārah¹² Kanaka-
- 33 chalō virachitō yēn=cha puṇy-ātmanā nānāyāmtramanōjūn-kōshṭa(śhṭha)katatir-
vidyādharisīrshavān [*] kiṁ Sēshaḥ phanavṛindamēdhura-tanur vakshaḥsthalē
vā bhuvō hārah kiṁ bhramaṇa-śramād=uḍu-gaṇaḥ kiṁ v=aiśha bhējō
sthitiṁ || 38 ¹³Kamala-vanam=iv-ēdām vaprasīrshālī-dam-
- 34 bhān-nikhilavipuladeśśrī-samākarshapāya | likhitaviśadavinudusōṇivan-mattavairi-
kṣhitipativiphalājīstōma-saṅkhyānimittam || 39 Tōlayāmāsa¹⁴ yaḥ svarṇnair=ātmanam
sōma-parvapi | āvāma-ramyam Samarapuraṁ yaḥ kṛitavān-atha || 40
- 35 ¹⁵Śrī-Kirttipālabbhūpati-putrī Jāvālipuravarō chakrō | śrī-Rūdaladevi Śivamaṇdira-
yngulam pavitra-matiḥ || 41 Śrī-Samarasimbadevasya nāndanaḥ prava(ba)-

¹ I.e. *sātradhāra*; compare the same abbreviation e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 243, l. 27, and above, Vol. III. p. 304, l. 6.

² Read °p=ōl°.

³ Read °chehbatraprakara.

⁴ Metre: Mandākṛantā.

⁵ Denoted by a symbol.

⁶ Metre: Mundākṛantā.

⁷ Metre: Sārdūlavikṛidita.

⁸ Metre: Mandākṛantā. ⁹ Metre of verses 35 and 36: Sārdūlavikṛidita.

¹⁰ Here the *a* of the second syllable is (before *hr*) treated as a short vowel; see *Ind. Studien*, Vol. VIII. p. 226.

¹¹ Metre: Āryā.

¹² Metre: Sārdūlavikṛidita.

¹³ Metre: Māliut.

¹⁴ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁵ Metre of verses 41 and 42: Āryā (*pathyā* and *ādi-vipulā*).

- laśaurya-ramañiyah¹ | Śrī-Udayasimha-bhūpatir-abhūt-prabhā-bhāsvad-upamānah¹ ||
42 ŚrīNaddū-
- 36 la-srīJavālipura-Mamḍavyapura-Vāgbhaṭamēru-Sūrāchamḍa-Rāṭa h r a d a - K h o ḍ a -
Rāmasainya-Śrīmāla-Ratnapura-Satyapura-prabhṛiti-dēsānām-nyam=adhipatiḥ || 43
Śēshah² stotam-iva prarūḥha-rasanābhārah samantād-abhūt kshirāvḍhi(bāhi)ḥ
pariravḍhu(bdhu)m-addhura-bhu-
- 37 jah kullōlamālā-mishāt | drashṭum ch-ānimish-ākshipauṇkajavanō Vāstōḥpatir-³
yasya tām⁴ viśvasrī-hridayasya hāralatikām kirtim sitāms-ājvalām⁵ || 44 7Śrī-
Pralha(hlā)danadēvi rājūi jasy-āṅgajam prasūtō sma | śrī-Chāchigadēv-
āhvam tath-aiva Chamuṇḍaraj-ākhyam || 45⁶
- 38 9Dhīrōdattas=Turushkadhipa-madadalanō Gūrjarēmdrair-ajēyah sēvāyātakshitiś-
cēlitakarūpa-patuh Sindhuraj-āntakō yah | prōldāmanyāya-hētire Bharata-
mukhamahāgrānta-tatvārthavettā¹⁰ śrīmuj-Javali-samjō¹¹ puri Sivasadanadvaṁdva-
kartta kṛitajūah || 46
- 39 12Tatpatyōdayasaila-bhānur-anaghaprōldāmadharmakriyā-nishṭātah kamanīyarūpa-nīlayō
dān-ēśvaraḥ suprabhuh | samyāḥ sūra-sīromayīś-cha sadayaḥ sākshād-iv
bānduh svayam śrīmān¹³ Chāchigadēva ēva jayati pratyaksha-kalpadrumah || 47
Bhrūbhāṅgēna
- 40 bhayanīkarēṇa vijita-pratyarthihbhūmīpatiḥ śrīmān¹³ Chāchigadēva ēva tanntō
nirvighna-vṛttim bhuvam | dvaijīhyam vidadhātu pannaga-patir-vakram
varāho mukham kūrmo nakra-tatim karūḍra-nivahah saṅghāta-sausthyam
pamū || 48 Mōrōḥ¹⁴ sthairyam vachana-ruchanam Vā-
- 41 kpatēr yasya tulyam¹⁵ prithivībhār-ōddharanām=asamam pannagēndr-ānushaṅgi |
sākshād-Rāmah kim=ayam atbhavā pūrṇa-pyūḥka(sha)raśmīś=chintāratnam
pranayini janō dōva ēv nisha tasmāt || 49 16Sphūrad-Vīrama-Gūrjarēsa-dalanō
yah satru-Śalyam dvishams=chamichat-Pātu-
- 42 ka-pātanāikarasikah Saṅgasya raṅg-āpahah | 17unmāḍyan-Nahar-āchalasya kulīś-
ākārasa-trilokīṭala-bhrāmīyatkīrtir-asōshavairidalanōdagrapratāp-ōlvaḥ || 50 Śrīmālē
dvijajamvātīkara-18tyāgi tathā Vīgrahādityasy-ā-
- 43 pi cha Rāmasainya-nagarē nityārchehan-ārthapradah | prōttirgō-py-Aparājītēsa-
bhavanō sauvarṇakurūḥhadhvaj-ārōpi rūpyajamēkhalā-vitaranās-tasy-aiva dēvasya
yah || 51 Chakrē srī-Aparājītēsa-bhavanō sālā tath=āsyām rathah Kulīś-
- 44 sa-pratimas-trilokakamalālanīkāra-ratnōchchayah | yēna kshōpi-puranīdarēṇa kṛitīnām=
ānanda-saṁvittayō bhāgyam vā nijam ēva parvata-tulām nitam samantād-api || 52
Karpṇō dāna-ruchir-Va(ha)liś-cha sukṛiti ślāghyō Dadhichis tathā hṛidyah ku-
- 45 lpatarūḥ prakāmanadhur-ākāras-cha chinātamañih | śrīmach-Chāchigadēva-dāna-
muditās-tan-nāma gṛihna(hṇa)nti yat-tat=kīrtēr api nūtanatvam=abhavad-

¹ The meaning intended apparently is 'by his splendour like the sun' (*prabhāḥ bhāsvad-upamah*).

² The prose passage which here begins is counted as a verse in the original.

³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁴ Read *Vāstōḥpatir*.

⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.

⁶ Read *sitāms-ājvalām*.

⁷ Metre: Āryā.

⁸ The numeral 5 is engraved at the commencement of the next line.

⁹ Metre: Sragdhārā.

¹⁰ Read *tatvārtha*.

¹¹ Originally *-samjō* or *-samjōś* was engraved.

¹² Metre of verses 47 and 48: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹³ Read *śrīmānś-Chō*.

¹⁴ Metre: Mandākrāntā.

¹⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out again.

¹⁶ Metre of verses 50-51: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁷ Here originally a full stop was engraved.

¹⁸ The letter *i* of *vatika* has perhaps been struck out; the exact sense of *dvijajamvātika* is not clear to me.

bhūmibhujān sadmasu || 53 Sphūrjjannirjhara-jhaṁkpitēna¹ subhagnān tat
kētakinān vanān mīśribhūtam-anēka-

- 46 kamrakadalī-vrindēna dhātō śtra yāh | āmrānān vipinān cha dēvalalanāvakshō-
ruha-sparidhaya ēv-ōdyatprauḍhaphalāvalī-kavachitān jainvā(bā)vanēn-ānchitān ||
54 **Marau**² Mēros=tulyas=tridaśalalanā-kēlisadanān **Sugamdhūdrir**-nānātaranī-
17 karasannāha-subhagaḥ | nripēn Eindrēn-ēva prasīmaraturauḡōchechayakhura-
prakamprōrvvipūṭhān ratirasa-vasāt tēna dadpīśō || 55 ³Tau-mūrdhni tridasōm-
drapūjita-padāmbhōjāvayān dēvatān Chāmmūḍām=Aghaṭēsvar-iti viditām-
abhiyarechitān pūrvvajaiḥ |
48 natv-ābhiyarechya narēsvarō=tha vidadhō-syā māndirē māndapān kridatkin-
narakimariḱalarav-ōmādyannayāurikulān || 56 **Samvat 1310** [⁴]⁵ **Trayōdaśasat-**
aikōnavimśatau māsi **Madhavē** | chakrē śkshayatṛitīyāyān pratishṭhā
māndapē dvijaiḥ || 57
49 ⁶Sanipal-lābhān ghaṭayatu śubhān kuṁbhī-vaktro Gaṇēśaḥ siddhim dēyād-
abhimatatanān Chāṁḍikā chāru-mūrttiḥ | kalyāṇāya prabhavatu satām dhēnu-
varggaḥ prithivīyān rājā rājān bhajatu vipulān svastī dēva-dvijēbhyaḥ || 58
Sa⁶ śrīkarisaptakavādi-Dē-
50 vāchāryasya śishyō śjani Rāmachāndrah | sūrir-vinēyō Jayamarigalō śsya
prasāstin-ētān sukṛitī vyadhātta || 59 Bhīṣlagvara-Vijayapala-putrēna
Nānvasihēn⁷ likhitā || Sūtradhāra-Jisapāla-putrēna Jisaravin-ōtkirṇā ||

D.—MOUNT ĀBŪ INSCRIPTION OF LUṆṬIGADĒVA ;

[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1377.

This inscription is on a stone which is built into the wall outside the porch of the Achaḷē-
svara temple on **Mount Ābū**. A translation of it was given, about eighty years ago, by H. H.
Wilson in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI. p. 285 ff.⁸ My account of its contents is based on
impressions kindly sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, who had received them from Mr. Cousens.⁹
I mainly treat of the inscription here in order to give the true names of the chiefs who are men-
tioned in it, and to show the connection of these chiefs with those of the preceding inscriptions.
The published translation long ago led me to suspect that this record also belonged to the Chāha-
māna family of Naddūla ; I am able to prove now that such is really the case.

The stone contains 32 lines of writing which covers a space of about 1' 11" broad by 1' 4"
high. Portions of the first ten and the last three lines and some of the final letters of nearly
all lines are entirely gone or defaced. The characters are Nāgari, and the language is some-
what incorrect Sanskrit. Up to nearly the end of line 29 there are 36 verses, forming a *pra-*
śastī which was composed by a certain Mahidhara ;¹⁰ the rest seems to be all in prose.

After three verses, for the greater part illegible, in which the blessing of certain divine
beings is invoked, the author proposes to celebrate repairs made at the Achaḷēsvara temple, and
to give the lineage of the person who made them. He then (in verses 6-10) records that, when
the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy **Vachehha** (i.e. **Vatsa**) brought about
the creation of a new race of warriors, the **Chāhumāna**¹¹ race, and that in it there was a person-
age named **Sindhurāja**,¹² who conquered all other families.

¹ Originally *ghāṁkpitēna* was engraved.

² Metre : Siharipi.

³ Metre : Sārdulavikṛīḍita.

⁴ Metre : Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁵ Metre : Maudākṛutā.

⁶ Metre : Upajāti.—Here, as in verse 19, *śrīkṛitī* was originally engraved.

⁷ Read *śiḥhēna*, as in line 26.

⁸ See my *Northern List*, No. 256.

⁹ In Mr. Cousens' List the inscription is No. 1944.

¹⁰ The original has *Mahidharāna*.

¹¹ The name is not preserved here, but the family is called *Chāhumānāvaya* in verse 17.

¹² The original has *Sindhurājā* ; in the Translation the name is Sindhuputra. The name Sindhurāja does
not occur elsewhere in the Chāhamāna family. I suspect it to have been wrongly given here by the author instead
of Simharāja.

Then there came **Lakshmana**, who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word *Naddūla* is distinctly legible, as well as *Śākambhari*; and it is certain that Lakshmana is described in the verse as king of **Naddūla**, and highly probable that he is spoken of as **Śākambhari-manikya**, 'the jewel of Śākambhari'.¹ After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' **Balirāja**,² and Balirāja's 'son,' whose name I read as **Sōhi**,³ regarding this to be another form of the name **Sōhiya** (**Sōbhita**, **Śōbhita**) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, **Sōhiya** was Lakshmana's son, and his son again was **Balirāja**; the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate **Māhindu**,⁴ **Jindurāja**,⁵ **Āsarāja**, **Āhana**, **Kirtipāla** and **Samarasimha**. From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla from Mahindu to Samarasimha, except that, between Mahindu and Jindurāja, **Anahilla**, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted.—So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

Samarasimha, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called **Udayasimha**, who also is already known to us from the inscription C, succeeded him in the government. Udayasimha's elder brother⁶ was **Mānavasimha** (v. 20); his son was **Pratapa** (v. 21), and his son **Vijāḍa**, also named **Daśasyandana**⁷ (v. 22). This chief married **Nāmallaḍevī** (v. 23), who bore to him four sons—**Lāvanyakarna**, **Luṇḍha**,⁸ **Lakshmana**, and **Lūṇavarman** (v. 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When Lāvanyakarna died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly **Luṇṭigadeva**, in verse 28 **Luṇṭiga**, in verse 30 **Luṇḍhagara**, and in the prose passage in line 29 **Luṇṭagara**. **Luṇṭiga** conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly **Chandrāvati** and the divine territory of **Arbuda** (*Arbuda-dīya-dēśam*, v. 27). On the mountain Arbuda he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of **Achālēśvara**. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of **Hēthūmji**⁹ (v. 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that in the year 1377, on Monday, the 8th of the bright half of **Vaiśākha**, in the **Kṣhaya-samvat sara**, **Luṇṭiga**, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious **Luṇṭagara**, resided at [Vū ?] **hūṇḍi** which belonged to **Chandrāvati**.¹⁰ This date regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikād*

¹ The Translation, after Lakshmana, mentions "the hero, named Manikya, whose distinguished capital was Śākambhari;" but this is erroneous.

² The Translation has Adhirāja instead.

³ The second half of the verse, part of which is very indistinct, in my opinion is: *Sōhi-samjūa[s-la]ti vānsē sōbhē bhūmau hi tat-suta[h]*.—The name *Sōhi* occurs above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, l. 13.

⁴ The original actually has *Mahindu*.

⁵ The Translation has *Sindhūrāja*, *Kulaviverddhana*, *Prabhurāja Rāja* (derived from the actual reading *prabhura-Asarāja*), *Dandana* (for *Āhana*), *Kirtipāla* and *Samarasimha*.

⁶ According to the Translation *Mānavasimha* was *Udayasimha*'s son; but this is a mistake. The original text, after mentioning *Udayasimha*, clearly has: *yō vai parō dāna-guṇair-garishṭhas-tasya-āgrajō Mānavasimha nāmi*.

⁷ I.e. *Daśaratha*. The original text of verse 22 is: *Tasya āt-vajō Spū[r]vaguṇ-ādhivāsa [ā]st[ā]d=Daśasyam dana-nāma[ādhā(dhe)?]yāh[ā] vā(ha)sā(h)āra ājāni tu Vjādō yō(yas)chatvāri vājyāya Harēh prasādā* (11). I shall show below that the chief here spoken of undoubtedly was named *Vjāḍa*. The name *Daśasyandana* (*Daśaratha*) may have been given to him because, like Rāma's father *Daśaratha*, he, according to the account here given, had four sons.—Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 215, v. 18.

⁸ The reading of the first syllable of this name is not absolutely certain here.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 222, line 28, and in an unpublished Mount Ābū inscription (No. 1794 of Mr. Cousens Lie.) the name is spelt *Hēthūmji*.

¹⁰ The text has: *samvat 1377 varshē Vai[s]ākha-kūdi 8 Sōmē Kṣhaya-samvatsarē Sdy=tha Chāndrāvati pravat[ā]ddha-[Vā?]hūṇḍha-samāudāta-mahārājakula-āt-Luṇṭigārē Chāndrāvati-prabhṛiti-dēśēh tathā*

Vikrama year 1377, to **Monday, the 6th April A.D. 1321**, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaisākha ended 17 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise; the day did fall in the Jovian year **Kshaya**, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321.

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known **Arbuda** or Mount Âbû, **Chandrāvati** according to the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banās river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Lūṇiga from the Paramāras.¹ **Ītōhuḍji** is the small village of 'Īotamji' on Mount Âbû.² **Vāhuṇḍha**—if this is really the name—I am unable to identify.

On Mount Âbû there are at least two other inscriptions,³ of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Lūṇigadēva, described as the *Mahārījakula*, the glorious Lūṇḍhaka or Lūṇḍha(?). One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to **Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316**; the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373. And there is a third, partly effaced inscription,⁴ which also mentions the *Mahārījakula*, the glorious Lūṇḍhaka or Lūṇḍhaka, and speaks of the glorious Nāmaladēvi, who clearly is the Nāmalladēvi of the present inscription, the mother of Lūṇigadēva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Chāhamānas is found in an inscription⁵ which is on a stone at a temple—the *Vimala-vasahikā*, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Sāh's or Shāh's⁶ temple—which was founded on Mount Âbû, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088,⁷ by a certain Vimala, 'an ornament of the Prāgavāta race,' after he had been appointed *dandapati* at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhīma-dēva (I.). This inscription in lines 9-15 (verses 14-22) gives the following '*rijivali*':—

There was a hero, **Āsarāja**⁸ by name, a moon to the lotus-flower—the **Chāhuvāma**⁹ family, who was king of the town of **Nadūla**¹⁰ (v. 14). Then there came **Samarasimha**; and his son was **Mahāpasimhabhata** (v. 15). Then came **Pratāpamalla**; and of him was born **Vijāḍa**, who ruled the Marusthali-maṇḍala (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king **Lūṇiga** (v. 17). After him the text mentions **Lūṇḍha** (v. 18) and **Lumbha** (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers. It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20); says further that **Lūṇiga's** son was **Tējasimha** (v. 21); and after him eulogizes **Tihupāka**, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22).

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious **Lumbhaka**, together with **Tējasimha** and **Tihupāka**, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda:

¹ See my *Northern List*, Nos. 193, 209 and 210 (now above, Vol. VIII. p. 261).

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 207, and the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III. pp. 137 and 144.

³ Nos. 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ No. 1908 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List. I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication.

⁶ *Vimala sāha* seems to occur first in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, note. It owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple,' which we find e.g. in line 8 of No. 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List.—I may add that in line 10 of the same inscription we have the similar term *Tējapāla-vasahikā*, 'Tējapāla's temple.'

⁷ The date is given in verse 11: *Śrī-Vikramāditya-nripād-vyathā Śahāśtī-yātā śaradām sahuṣṭāś(sā) śrī-Ādinātham śikharā-rudanya nivāsī(sī)tam śrī-Vimalēna vādhā*.

⁸ I give all names here exactly as they are written in the original.

⁹ This may be a mistake for *Chāhuvāna* or *Chāhuvāna*.

¹⁰ This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name *Tējasimha*, which occurs below.

and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyêshtha of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with **Āsarāja**¹ (**Āsarāja**, **Āśārāja**), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasimha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mānavasimha of Lūṇigadēva's inscription this account has **Mahāpasimha** which must be regarded as another name of the same person; and while according to the former **Vijāda** had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—**Lūṇiga**, **Lūṇḍha** and **Lumbha**. Of these, **Lūṇiga** undoubtedly is identical with the **Lāvanyakarna** of the other inscription,² and **Lūṇḍha** with **Lūṇiga** (**Lūṇḍha**), while **Lumbha** (**Lumbhaka**) most probably is another name of **Lūṇavarman**. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given **Tejasimha**, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of **Lūṇiga**. According to No. 261 of my *Northern List* **Tējasimha**³ was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331; and there is an unpublished Mount Ābū inscription⁴ of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of **Tihupāka** (**Tihūṇa**) to **Tējasimha**, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my *Northern List*⁵) of **Tējasimha**'s son **Kānhaḍadēva**, who was reigning at Chandravatī in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the **Chāhūmānājñātīya-rāja-śrī-Tējasimha**, the **dēvaḍ-śrī-Tihupāka**, the **rāja-śrī-Kānhaḍadēva**, and the **Chāhūmānājñātīya-rāja-śrī-Sāmataśimha**. Here **Tihupāka** is placed between **Tējasimha** and his son **Kānhaḍadēva**, who both are distinguished from him by their title of **rājan**. This and the order in which **Tihupāka** is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was **Tējasimha**'s younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word **dēvaḍ** prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit **dēvi**, **dēvara**, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother.'⁶

* * * * *

In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that **Lakshmana**, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. 925-950, and that therefore he very probably was a son of that **Vākpatirāja** of **Śākambhari**, who was the grandfather of the **Vigraharāja** of the Harsha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of the family is not quite complete. I do not know yet how to place exactly the **Mahārājakula Sāmvasatimha** or **Sāmyantatimha**, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my *Northern List* with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and— if this should be a different chief— the **Rājā Sāmataśimha**, mentioned in **Kānhaḍadēva**'s inscription of A.D. 1338.

¹ If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for **Āśarāja**.

² Compare **Lūṇigadēva** for **Lavanaprasāda** in No. 249 of my *Northern List*.

³ In the original of No. 261 (No. 1940 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt **Tjjasimha**.

⁴ No. 1947 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ No. 1919 of Mr. Cousens' List. The inscription has been roughly edited in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. II. p. 256.

⁶ In No. 1958 of Mr. Cousens' List a **Dēvaḍ-nāma** is mentioned. According to *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 146, 'the Sirohi chieftains, . . . though Chohāns, are universally known by the name of their subtribe, the Devri.'

⁷ The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddūla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded **Vigraharāja**'s reign.

Lakshmana of Naddûla (son of Vâkpatirâja of Śâkambhari).

Sôhiya (Sôbhita, Vighrahapâla.
Sôbhita, Sôhi).

• • Balirâja.¹ Mahendra (Mahindu).²

Asvapâla.

Apanhilla.³

Ahila.⁴

Bâlaprasâda.⁵ Jêndrarâja (Jindurâja).

Prithivîpâla.⁶ Jôjalla (Yôjaka). Âsarâja (Âsarâja).⁷

Âlhaṇa (Âhlâdana).⁸ m. Annaladêvi.
A.D. 1153-1161.

Kêlhana.⁹
A.D. 1165.

Gajasinha.

Kîrtipâla.¹⁰

Samarasinha.

Rûdaladêvi.¹¹

Mânvasinha (Mahâvasinha).

Udayasinha; m. Prahlâdanadêvi.
A.D. 1205-1249.

Lîlâdêvi;¹² m.
by Bhîmadêva II.
(A.D. 1194-1238).

Pratâpa.

Châchiga (Châcha); m. Lakshmidêvi.
A.D. 1263-1277.

Châmundarâja.

Vijaya-Dâsasyandana; m. Nâmalladêvi. Rûpâdêvi; m. by Têjasinha.¹³
A.D. 1284.

Lâvanyakarṇa (Lûṇiga).

Luptiga¹³ (Lunḍha).
A.D. 1316-1321.

Lakshmana.

Lûṇavarman (Lumbha).

Têjasinha.
A.D. 1331-1336.

Tihunâka.

Kânhadadêva.
A.D. 1338.

¹ At war with the Paramâra Muñjarâja (A.D. 974-93).
² Probably a contemporary of Dhavala of Hastikunḍi (A.D. 997).
³ At war with the Chaulukya Bhîmadêva I. (A.D. 1020) and the Para
Bhîmadêva (A.D. 1021).
⁴ At war with Bhîmadêva I.

⁵ Probably a contemporary of the Paramâra Kṛishṇadêva (A.D. 1000-67).

⁶ At war with the Chaulukya Karṇa (A.D. 1091).

⁷ Contemporary of the Chaulukya Siddharâja (A.D. 1138, 1-39).

⁸ Contemporary of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla (A.D. 1145-69).

⁹ At war with the Dôvagiri-Yâdava Bhîllama (A.D. 1191).

¹⁰ Transferred the seat of government to Jâvalîpura.

¹¹ It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters.

¹² This Têjasinha had a son named Kshâtrasinha.

¹³ Took Chandrâvati with Mount Âbû from the Paramâras.

No. 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA.

By V. VENKAYYA, M.A., RAI BAHADUR.

Ambásamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tāmraparṇī river and is the headquarters of the tāluka of the same name in the Tinnevely district. The town has a local reputation for the manufacture of cloths largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of **Kallidaikkurichchi**, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade in them is carried on mostly by the Brāhmanas of the former place, who temporarily reside in Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambásamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. The greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the most important temple, now called **Erichcha-Uḍaiyar**, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tāmraparṇī at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambásamudram seems to have been a big place including some of the adjacent villages such as **Tiruvāliśvaram**¹ and **Mappārkōyil**.² In an inscription of [Jaṭāvarman Sundara-]Chōla-Pāṇḍya³ the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam**. During the period of Pāṇḍya supremacy the town was called **Ilaṅgōkkuḍi** or **Ilaṅgōykkuḍi**,⁴ which was altered into Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam after the Chōla conquest.⁵ The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chōla king Rājarāja I., after whom the Pāṇḍya country was itself called **Rājarāja-maṇḍalam**.⁶

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār, of which two belong to the early Pāṇḍyas,⁷ two to the Chōlas,⁸ one to the Chōla-Pāṇḍyas⁹ and two to the later Pāṇḍys,¹⁰ while the eighth does not mention any king.¹¹ One of the early Pāṇḍya records¹² seems to belong to the reign of **Vira-Pāṇḍya**, 'who took the head of the Chōla.' The Chōla king with whom he fought must be **Āditya (II.) Karikāla**,¹³ who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vira-Pāṇḍya.¹⁴ The newly discovered¹⁵ Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates of Rājendra-Chōla I. do not mention the name of the Pāṇḍya king against whom Āditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."¹⁶ Accordingly, Vira-Pāṇḍya reigned in the

¹ The temple at Tiruvāliśvaram is said to have been situated in Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam, which was the name of Ambásamudram in Chōla times; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 43, Nos 115 and 119 of 1905.

² The Vishnu temple at this village, called Rājendra-Chōla-vinnagar in ancient times, was also situated in Rājarāja-chaturvēdimangalam; No. 112 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

³ No. 102 of the same collection.

⁴ No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6, and 10 f. of the subjoined inscription.

⁵ The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Rājarāja I.; No. 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 149.

⁷ Nos. 101 and 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁸ Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.

⁹ No. 102 of the same.

¹⁰ Nos. 100 and 103 of the same.

¹¹ No. 104 of the same.

¹² No. 101 of the same.

¹³ He was the elder brother of Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013).

¹⁴ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 112.

¹⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part I. paragraph³ 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Part II. paragraph 16.

period prior to the conquest and occupation of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōlas at the end of the 10th century A.D.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the first cirenit in the Ericheha-Uḍaiyār temple, which is comparatively dark. The record was found and copied with the help of a lamp. At my request the Collector of Tinnevely has removed the slab to the Government Central Museum at Madras. The plate issued with this paper is based on fresh impressions prepared by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., after the removal of the stone to Madras.¹ The alphabet of the document is **Vatṭeḷuttu** and the language **Tamiḷ** prose intermixed with a few **Sanskrit** words in the **Grantha** alphabet. The preservation is good, though a few syllables are mutilated at the end of lines 3 to 13 and 81. The slab was ruled before the writing, which is crowded into three sides of it, was engraved. The number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha is comparatively few, viz. *svasti* (l. 1), *śrī* (ll. 1 and 3), *aṃgraha* (l. 1), *bhaṭāra* (ll. 1, 3 and 10), *maharaja* (l. 5), *maharīja* (ll. 12 and 81) and *vijayavasha* (l. 12).

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve to be noted. The horizontal stroke of *ka* is very often small and indistinct. But the letter has not yet assumed the slanting form found in the Tirunelli² and Cochin plates³ of **Bhāskara-Ravivarman**. The variant of the letter *ya* noticed by Prof. Hultzsch in the Kōttayam plates of **Sthānu-Ravi** and in certain **Chōla** inscriptions⁴ does not occur here. Two slightly different forms of *t* are used, of which one (the first *t* of *śeluttu* in ll. 5 and 14) resembles, to a certain extent, the form in an ancient **Vatṭeḷuttu** record from Tirunādarkuṅṅu in the South Arcot district.⁵ The vowel *ai* occurs thrice in the inscription (ll. 9, 22 and 75). As in other **Tamiḷ** inscriptions, hardly any distinction is made between the short *i* and the long *ī* when they occur in combination with consonants. Double *kk* is occasionally written as a group, e.g. in *maharājarkku* and *nāṅgācadukku* in line 12; *poḷulaikkku* in line 15; *kumṇiyattukku* in line 16; *ḷukku* and *ḷkaruvāḷai* in line 18. The *i*-symbol is added in some cases over the top of the consonant to which it belongs, instead of by the side as in later **Vatṭeḷuttu** epigraphs; see e.g. *vi* of *vīrirundu* (l. 6), *li* of *poli* (l. 9), *ḍi* of *kudī* (l. 11), *mi* of *vamīḷu* (l. 14), and *ḷi* of *nāzṇīḷi* (l. 16). The syllable *pō* is written as in the Madras Museum plates of **Jatīlavarman**⁶ without the addition of the *ā*-symbol (on the right) found in the **Chōla** **Vatṭeḷuttu** inscriptions⁷ published by Prof. Hultzsch. The Tirunelli plates distinguish by a similar addition the long *pō* from the short *po*, and only a single instance of the former occurs in the Cochin Jews' grant.⁸ Thus the distinction between *pō* and *pō* appears to be a later innovation, and evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the **Jatīlavarman** plates and to the subjoined inscription. If this conclusion be correct, the Cochin and the Tirunelli plates of **Bhāskara-Ravivarman** must be later than **Varaguna-Pāṇḍya**. And as Prof. Hultzsch has remarked that the alphabet employed in both of them agrees with that of the **Chōla** inscriptions from South Travancore published by him,¹⁰ **Bhāskara-Ravivarman** may have to be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A.D.

The language of the subjoined record calls for a few remarks. The vulgar form *maharīja* occurs twice instead of the Sanskrit *mahārāja* (ll. 12 and 81), while *maharaja* in line 5 is

¹ The stone has evidently been slightly damaged in transit. Accordingly, portions of the last letters in ll. 4 and 9, which are missing on the Plate, are found on my original impression prepared at Ambāsamudram in 1905 before the stone was removed to Madras.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

³ Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72.

⁴ Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

⁵ No. 239 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901 and *Annual Report* for 1903-4, paragraph 30.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. Plates facing p. 70, ll. 32 and 43.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. Plate facing p. 46, E., line 1; and H., ll. 5, 8 and 9.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290; compare *pō* in ll. 13, 19 and 34 with *pōm* in l. 21.

⁹ Above, Vol. III. Plate facing p. 72; compare *pōḷaṅ* in line 27 with *pōm* of the preceding note.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. V. p. 42.

evidently a mistake. *Amidu* (l. 14) and *amirdu*¹ (l. 19 f.), both of which correspond to the modern Tamil *amudu*, are *tadbhavas* of the Sanskrit *amṛita*. The word *poli* (l. 9) is used both here and in the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya² instead of the more common *polisai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions³ and survives in the Malayālam *palisa*.⁴ The word *nāru* (ll. 27 and 69) is still current in Malayālam, while its modern Tamil equivalent is *nīru*. The root from which they are both derived is *nāru*, which has acquired a figurative sense in Tamil,⁵ while the original meaning seems to be preserved in Telugu.⁶ The measure known as *śevīḍu* occurs four times in the form *sevīṭṭu* (ll. 25, 27, 54 and 70). The word *nigadi* is used in line 27 as well as in line 13 apparently in the same sense as *nīsadi*, of which *niyadi* (l. 77) is a variant. *Vēna* in line 75 is a vulgar form of the word *vēṇḍiya*. The form *kuṇi*, which occurs twice (ll. 58 and 73), is perhaps a simple mistake for *kuṇi*.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the time of Varaguna-Mahārāja, whose name occurs thrice (ll. 5, 11 f. and 81), and is dated in the 12th opposite to the fourth year of his reign. From his camp at Araiśūr on the bank of the Pennai river in Tondai-nāḍu, the king granted 290 *kāṣu* to the temple of Tiruppōttuḍaiyār⁷ (the ancient name of Erichcha-Uḍaiyār) at Iḷaṅgōkkuḍi in Muḷli-nāḍu.⁸ The assembly of the village received the money. The committee of the assembly⁹ and the temple servants had jointly to provide for offerings to the god, according to a fixed scale, out of the interest from those 290 *kāṣu*.

The inscription of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya in the Upper Cave at Trichinopoly is dated on the 2501st day (and) in the 4th year or the 11th year of his reign.¹⁰ No reasonable doubt can at present be entertained as regards the identity of this king with the donor of the subjoined record. On the occasion of making the former donation Varaguna was at Niyamam in the Tanjore district, after having destroyed the fortifications of a town named Vāmbil. At Rāmanāthapuram near Dindigul in the Madura district is a Tamil inscription which refers to the expedition (*yāttirai*) of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ against Iḍavai in the Chōḷa country.¹¹ The Trichinopoly epigraph implies that Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ¹² was a surname of Varaguna,¹³ and this inference is borne out by a

¹ *Amirdu* occurs also in the Tanjore inscriptions; see e.g. *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. *Amurdu* is another form of the same word; see above, Vol. VII. p. 194, text line 3.

² See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 16.

³ See e.g. *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 69, text line 3. The form *palisai* also occurs in epigraphical records; see *ibid.* p. 122, text line 27.

⁴ According to Dr. Gundert *palisa* means 'interest on money.'

⁵ According to Winslow *nāru* means 'to destroy, to kill.'

⁶ According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *nāruṭa* means 'to grind or sharpen' and 'to reduce to powder.'

⁷ This name means 'the blessed lord of the bull,' i.e. Śiva.

⁸ According to an inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. (above, Vol. V. p. 47) Shērmāḍvi in the Tinnevely district was included in Muḷli-nāḍu. Muḷli-nāḍu belonged to the Tirvaḍi-rājya, i.e. Travancore, in the 17th century A.D. (*ibid.* Vol. III. p. 240).

⁹ The expression *ṣavai-vāriyaṇ* seems to imply that the system of village administration prevalent in the Chōḷa country in the 10th century A.D. was also in operation in the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the 9th century A.D. see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1898-99, paragraphs 58 to 73.

¹⁰ See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 276.

¹¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25. This is the inscription mentioned by Mr. Sewell (*Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 289) as being engraved on the "Pāṇḍiyaṇ Rock" in very old Tamil characters.

¹² Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ seems to have been a formal name of Varaguna, just as Rājakesarivarman and Parakesarivarman were of Chōḷa kings. Kōṇāṭṭiṇṣikōṇḍaṇ was a similar name assumed originally by Chōḷa kings and subsequently by the Pāṇḍyas too. Among the later Pāṇḍyas, Māravarman and Jaṭilavarman were similar formal names derived, evidently, from the Tamil words *Māra* and *Ṣaḍaiyaṇ*. The former denotes in Sanskrit 'Cupid,' but has been so often applied to the Pāṇḍya king that it has become one of the synonyms of 'the Pāṇḍya king.'

¹³ No. 277 of 1895 in the Travandrum Museum belongs to the 27th year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ. It may be a record of Varaguna-Pāṇḍya, though this is not absolutely certain. It mentions a hero named Raṇakirti, the army of the Chēra king, and Viḷuṇam.

record at Tillasthānam in the Tanjore district, which is dated during the reign of Mārañjadaiyan and records a gift for the merit of Varaguna-Mahārāja.¹ Accordingly, it may be concluded that Varaguna *alias* Mārañjadaiyan led the expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country. Idavai is evidently identical with the village of the same name² in Maññi-nādu, a subdivision of Rājēndrasimha-vaṇaṇḍu situated on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri.³ The village of Vēmbarrūr situated in the same subdivision⁴ might be identical with Vēmbil, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. The destruction of Vēmbil probably followed soon after the expedition against Idavai. In the same locality is Tiruppirambiyam,⁵ where a battle was fought between the Pāndya king Varaguna and the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I.⁶ The expedition against Idavai in the Chōla country and the attack of Vēmbil were apparently acts of aggression⁷ on the part of the Pāndya king, which eventually led to the battle of Śrīpuṇambiya (in Tamil Tiruppirambiyam). The part which Prithivipati I. played in this battle was hitherto inexplicable. In editing the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāndya, I remarked :⁸—"How it was that the Gaṅgas of Gaṅgavāḍi in the Mysore State managed to get so far south as Kumbhakṣam in the Tanjore district, and why the Pāndya king Varaguna had to fight against them, are points on which no information is at present forthcoming." The verse in the Udayēndiram plates which describes the battle runs as follows, with Prof. Hultzsch's corrections :⁹—

यः श्रीपुण्ड्रियमहाह्वमूर्ध्नि धीरः पाण्ड्यवरं वरगुणं सहसा विजित्य [I*]

कृतार्थयुक्तमपराजितशब्दमात्मप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवस्त्रगाम [II*]

With the approval of Prof. Hultzsch, whose translation of the verse is slightly different, I render it as follows :—"Having defeated by force the Pāndya king Varaguna at the head of the great battle of Śrīpuṇambiya, and having made (his) friend's title Aparājita (*i.e.* the unconquered) significant, this hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life." Thus we get a king whose name or surname was Aparājita, and who with his ally Prithivipati I. fought against the Pāndya king Varaguna. The existence of a king named Aparājita might be concluded already from one of the Ukkal inscriptions, where the other name of that village is Aparājita-śheturvēdimāṅgalam.¹⁰ From the Āmbūr inscriptions of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Nripatuṅga it may be supposed that Prithivipati I. was his feudatory.¹¹ Accordingly, Aparājita, the friend of the latter, was probably also a Gaṅga-Pallava. Indisputable evidence of the existence of a Gaṅga-Pallava king of that name is furnished by an inscription of Vijaya-Aparājita-vikramavarman, discovered by my Assistant Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar at Tiruttani in the North Arcot district.¹² Aparājita-vikramavarman was apparently the successor of Nripatuṅga, and we may at present suppose that during the reign of the latter (or after his

¹ No. 51 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. pp. 325 and 336. ³ *Ibid.* p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 325, paragraph 88, and p. 336, paragraph 77.

⁵ Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbhakṣam is the modern Tamil name of Śrīpuṇambiya mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates of Prithivipati II.; see also the following note.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 387. Vaimbalguḷi, where another battle was fought by Prithivipati I. according to the Udayēndiram plates, may have to be looked for in the same locality. It is not impossible that the place is identical with Vēmbil, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. But the name of Prithivipati's enemy in the battle of Vaimbalguḷi is not mentioned. Consequently this identification remains doubtful.

⁷ That the Pāndyas were strong and powerful about this time, is proved by their invasion of Ceylon recorded in Chapter L. of the Singhalese Chronicle *Mahāvamsa*; see Mr. L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*. The invasion seems to have been unprovoked and falls into the period A.D. 840-866.

⁸ Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 273.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 384, verse 18.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 2.

¹¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 182.

¹² *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II. paragraph 8.

death) there was a Pāṇḍya invasion headed by Varaguṇa. The invader probably did not meet with any effective resistance at first, and therefore advanced as far north as Araiśūr on the Southern Ponnar river, where he was encamped at the time of making the grant registered in the subjoined Ambāsamudram inscription. Subsequently, Aparājita, who was perhaps the heir-apparent at the time,¹ appears to have been sent with the Western Gaṅga Prithivipati I. to repel the invasion. The decisive battle was fought at Śrīpurambiya, and the invader was driven back. But the Gaṅga king lost his life in it.²

The Tiruvālaṅkāḍi plates of the Chōḷa king Rājendra-Chōḷa I. help us to trace the fortunes of the Gaṅga-Pallavas to the very end. Verso 49 of the Sanskrit portion of this grant, which describes the achievements of the Chōḷa king Āditya I., runs as follows :—

अपरजितमयसौ रणे जितवान् पञ्चसुसप्तसत्त्वल्म् । [*]
दयितामपि तस्य मेदिनीं स्वयमीकृत्य [त*]यायभूत् कृती ॥

“Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though (he was) Aparājita (i.e. the unconquered), he (viz. the Chōḷa king Āditya) also took possession of his queen, (viz.) the earth, (and) thus accomplished his object.”³ In other words, the Chōḷa king Āditya I. conquered the Pallava Aparājita⁴ and annexed his dominions. The Pallava Aparājita⁵ may now be identified with the Gaṅga-Pallava king Aparājita-vikramavarman of the Tiruttani inscription, and with that Aparājita who defeated Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya. And, evidently, Ukkal in the North Arcot district was called Aparājita-chaturvêdimaṅgalam after this Gaṅga-Pallava king. He was apparently the last member of his family. Though successful against the Pāṇḍyas, he could not offer any effective resistance to the rising Chōḷas, who, under Āditya I., not only conquered him in battle, but also annexed his dominions.

In a Vatteḷuttu inscription at Aivarmalai in the Madura district,⁷ copied during the last field season by my assistant Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, I found a Śaka date for Varaguṇa. His 8th year is coupled with Śaka-samvat 792. Thus his accession took place in A.D. 862-63. If the facts and inferences set forth in the preceding paragraphs be confirmed by future researches, and if there was only one Pāṇḍya king named Varaguṇa, the invasion of Idavai in the Chōḷa country and the destruction of the fortifications of Vēmbil must have taken place in or before A.D. 872-73.⁸ Varaguṇa was at Araiśūr on the southern Ponnar in A.D. 877-8. The battle of Śrīpurambiya might have taken place towards the close of the same year or in the next year. If the surmise made by me, that Aparājita was probably heir-apparent when that battle took place, be true, his accession may be placed about A.D. 880. His defeat by the Chōḷa king Āditya evidently occurred after the Tiruttani inscription of the 18th year of his reign.

¹ Aparājita is called the friend (*sahrid*) of Prithivipati I., who was a Gaṅga-Pallava feudatory. If the former had been the reigning king, it is perhaps not likely that he would be referred to as the ‘friend’ of Prithivipati I.

² Soon after the conquest and occupation of the Pallava dominions by the Chōḷas, the Gaṅgas, who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas, seem to have acknowledged the Chōḷas as their overlords. In an inscription of Rājakesarivarman which has to be attributed to Āditya I., Prithivipati, son of Māramaraiyar (i.e. perhaps Prithivipati II., son of Mārasimha), is mentioned, apparently, as a Chōḷa feudatory; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1896-97, paragraph 7.

³ Read “सुसप्तसत्त्वल्म्.”

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II. paragraph 10.

⁵ The place at which this battle was fought is not mentioned here. According to tradition the battle which crushed the Pallava power was fought near Solinghur in the North Arcot district; see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I. p. 39.

⁶ That Aparājita is called a Pallava, is no bar to the proposed identification. In the Bāḥūr plates (above, Vol. IV. p. 181), the Gaṅga-Pallava Nripatūṅgavikramavarman and his ancestors are called Pallavas, and their legendary ancestors are the same as those of the Pallavas of Conjeevaram.

Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II. paragraph 25.

⁷ The latter event is mentioned in the Trichinopoly inscription, dated in the 11th year of the king's reign.

Accordingly, the event may be supposed to have taken place at the end of the 9th century A.D.¹

The great Śaiva saint **Mānikkavāṣagar** mentions the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna twice² in his *Tiruchchirrambalakkōvaiyār*. The time of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, who probably flourished in the 8th century A.D., is the upper limit of the date of Mānikkavāṣagar, who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tiruttonḍatṭogai*, i.e. the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. The lower limit may be taken as the reign of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva (A.D. 1052 to 1063),³ because in an inscription of the 5th year of his reign (= A.D. 1056-57) reference is made to the poem [*Tiru*]venbārai composed by Mānikkavāṣagar.⁴ It may, therefore, be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna. And if there was only one king of that name, the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A.D.

It is worthy of note that the calculation of the annual requirements of the temple provided for in the subjoined inscription implies that the measure of paddy known as *kalam* consisted of 30 *nāli*, instead of 12 *kuruni* or 96 *nāli*, which we find, for instance, in the Tanjore inscriptions, and which is the prevailing equivalent in the Tamil country. A *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuruni*, and a *kuruni* equal to 6 *nāli*. The rate of interest, according to the subjoined inscription, is 2 *kalam* of paddy for each *kāṣu*, while in the Tanjore inscriptions it is 3 *kuruni* for one *kāṣu*. Thus the rate in the Pāṇḍya country at the time of Varaguna would be nearly eight times higher⁵ than that prevailing in Tanjore during the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I. (A.D. 985 to at least 1013), in case there was no difference in the value of the *kāṣu*. The variations at the same two places and periods in the price of some of the important articles of daily consumption are recorded in the foot-notes. It is interesting to note that common salt and firewood, which are included among the daily requirements in the Tanjore inscriptions, are conspicuous by their omission in the subjoined document. This is a significant fact, though we may not be warranted in concluding from it that these two articles had not to be paid for in the Pāṇḍya country during the reign of Varaguna.

TEXT.

First Side of the Stone.

1 Svasti [||*] Śrī-Bhaṭṭārṇaṇṇagra[hn]tti[nā]-
2 x⁶ Muḷli-nāṭṭ-Iḷaṅgōykkuḍi T[i]-

¹ The conquest of the Pallavas is attributed by tradition to Āḍoṇḍai, an illegitimate son of Kulōttuṅga of Tanjore. The first battle, said to have been fought at Puralūr, ended in favour of the Pallavas. Āḍoṇḍai was then forced to retreat to Sholinghūr. "Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava king was taken prisoner, and the brazen gates of the Puralūr fort were carried to the temple (l) of Tanjore;" see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I. p. 39. If there be any truth in this tradition, Kulōttuṅga must have been a surname of Vijayālaya, and Āḍoṇḍai of his son Āḍitya I. But there is not even the slightest hint in epigraphical records that Āḍitya was the illegitimate son of Vijayālaya. Another tradition has it that the mythical Chōḷa king Kōkkilli had an illegitimate son named Āḍoṇḍai by a Nāga woman, and that the province conferred on the latter by his father was called Toṇḍai-nāḍu or Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. It looks as if this Āḍoṇḍai is mixed up with the conqueror of the Pallavas in the former story.

² Verse 306 in illustration of *Maruvudaluraittal*, and verse 327 in illustration of *Vīṇaimuṇṇinipattal*.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 7.

⁴ No. 12 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905 from the Virattāṇḍōvara temple at Kilūr near Tirukoilūr.

⁵ In ancient times the rate of interest seems to have been more or less arbitrary. It looks as if the ordinary laws of Political Economy were not allowed full play, and it is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusions from the rate of interest. At Conjeevaram the rate of interest during the reign of a Chōḷa king named Parakēsarivarman was 15 per cent. About a century earlier the rate was 5 per cent. in the same place. Again the interest on 250 *kalaṅḷu* of gold was 500 *kāḍi* of paddy, and 150 *kāḍi* on 50 *kalaṅḷu*; G. O. No. 452, Public, dated 10th June 1891, p. 5.

⁶ Read *ṇḍi*; the *ha* of *anugraha* is slightly different from *ha* in II. 5, 12 and 81.

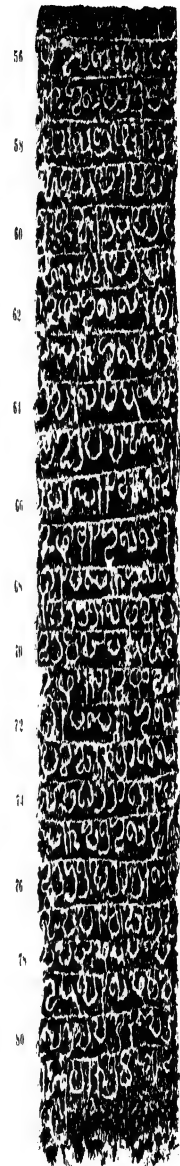
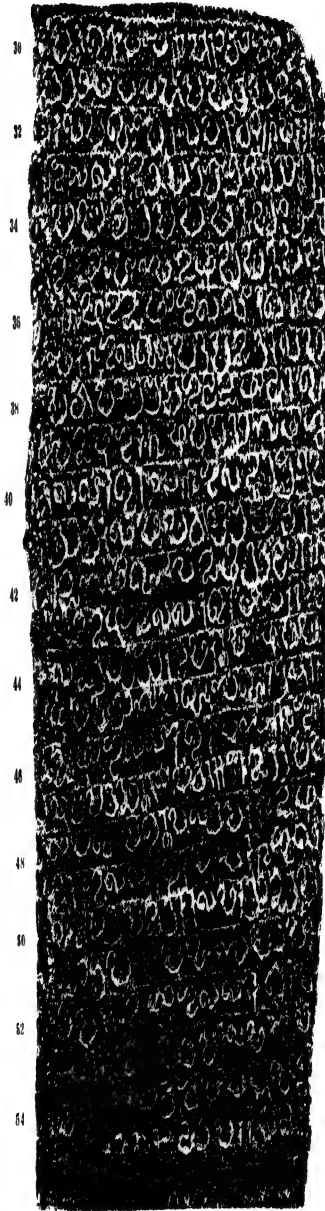
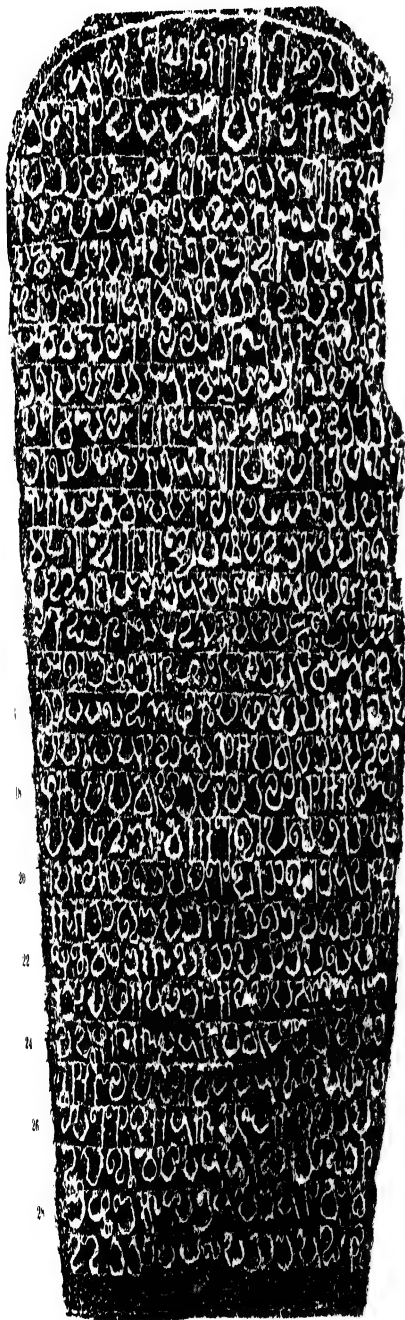
- 3 ruppattudaiyār śrīkōyil-Bhaṭāra[r*]kka mu[da]*]
 4 [ke]dāmai poli konḍu¹ nā[ṇ]gu kalamun-di[ruv-amu*]-
 5 du śelu[t]tavadā[ga] Varaguṇa-Maharajar Tonḍai-nāt[ṭu-P*]-
 6 peṇṇai-kkarai Araiśūr viṇṇirandu Ilaṇ[gōkku*]-
 7 di=chchavaiyār kaiyyiṭ=kuḍuttu kāśu iru-nūṭ[ru-to*]-
 8 nūṭu [l*] ivarṭāṭ=kāśiṇvāy=iru-galamāga ān[ḍu*]-
 9 varai śavaiyār=alakkum poli-nel ai-nūṭ[ru-o[ṇba][di*]-
 10 ṇ kalam [l*] ivai konḍu Bhaṭārar paṇi-makkalum Ila[n*]-
 11 gōkkuḍi=chchavai-vāriyarum uḍa=ṇiṇṇu Varagu[ṇa*]-
 12 Mahar[ā]jarkku rājya-va[r*]sham nāṇḡavadukku eḍ[ir*]
 13 pannirandā[m*] yāṇḍu Tulā-ḍāyiru maṇḍalāga niga[di*]-
 14 yāga nāṇḡu kalam[u]n=diruv-amidu śeluttam [pa]-
 15 di [l*] oru-poḷudaikku vēṇḍuvāṇa ariśi aṇṇ[e]ṭ=
 16 ṇiṭṭal nā=ṇāli kummāyattukku pa[ya]ṭṭu=
 17 pparupp-uri nivēḍikka paśuviṇ=ṇaṭu-ney[y]=u-
 18 lakku=ppaśuviṇ=ṭōy-tayir-uri-kkaruvāḷai-
 19 ppaḷa-nāṇḡu śarkkarai oru-palam kaṇi-am[i]-
 20 rdu kāyk[ku]ṇi oṇṇu pūṇḡaṇi iraṇḍu pūu-
 21 [k]kakkari oṇṇu porikkari oṇṇu ōṭṭi-kkari
 22 aiṇṇiṇṇukku=ḡaṇi paḍiṇ-pala[m]
 23 [ka]ṇi tumikkavum porikkavum paśuvi=ṇaṭu-ne-
 24 y ālakku=k[kūṭ]tukku paśuviṇ [t]ō[y]-tayi-
 25 r=uri-kkāyam iru-śevittu ilai-amirdu
 26 velḷilai ir-aḍṇukku aḍaikkāy pattu
 27 nūṭu oru-śevittu [l*] āga nigadi nāṇḡu
 28 poḷudaikku vēṇḍuvāṇa ariśi śo-
 29 nneṭ=ṇiṭṭal paḍiṇ-aṇu-nāli

Second Side of the Stone.

- 30 āga ōr=āṭṭai[k]kka ariśi śon[ne]-
 31 [ṭ]=ṇiṭṭal aṭuba[t]tu-nāṭ=
 32 [ka]lam [l*] ivai [ka]lav-ariśikku mu=[kkala]-
 33 nellāga nūṭu-tton[nū]ṭ-iru-gala-
 34 m [l*] payaṭṭu=pparupp=iru-
 35 nāli ivai nāli=pparuppa-
 36 kku mu=nnāli nellāga ōr=[ā]ṭ-
 37 ṭaikku nel irubattu-nāṭ=kalam [l*]
 38 paśuviṇ=ṇaṭu-ney nāli-uri i-
 39 vai nāli[i] ne[y*]kku muppadi=ṇāli ne-
 40 ḷlāga ōr=ā[ṭ*]ṭaikku nel nūṭ-ēnba-
 41 diṇ kalam [l*] paśuviṇ=ṭōy-[tayi]-
 42 r nā=ṇāli ivai nāli=t[ta]yirṇku
 43 mu=nnāli nell[ā]ga ōr=āṭṭaikku ne-
 44 l nā[ṭ]patt-ēn-galam [l*] karuvāḷai-ppa-
 45 lam paḍiṇ-āṇu ivai iraṇḍu[n]kku
 46 nāli nellāga ōr=āṭṭaikku ne[l]

¹ The phrase *mūḍal kēdāmai poli konḍu* corresponds to *mūḍa=ṇiṇṇa poli konḍu* of the Trichinopoly inscription; Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p. 275, text line 15 f.

² At the beginning of this line is a symbol which looks like *ra*, but which is probably a mere crack on the stone.



Scale 2/1

From inked estampages supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

Calcutta by Victor Platten, India Sale.



47 muppatt-iru-galam [i*] śarkkarai 'nāṅka[p]pa-
 48 [la]m i[du] oru-palattukku nāli-
 49 y-uri nellāga ōr=āṭṭaikku nel
 50 irubattu-nāṅ=kkalam [i*] kaṅgi nāṅpa-
 51 diṅ palam ivai paṅ-pa[la]-
 52 ttukku nāli nellāga ōr=ā[t]-
 53 ṭaikku nel pa[di*]ṅ-aṅu-kalam [i*] kāyam
 54 ālakke mu=checheviṭṭu idu
 55 uḷakku kāyattukk=aṅu-nā-

Third Side of the Stone.

56 [li] noll[ā]ga ōr=āṭ[tai]-
 57 kku nel patt[o]ṅ[ba]-
 58 [di]ṅ kalaṅḍ mu=kku[ṅu*]ṇi [i*]
 59 ilai-amirdu ve|-
 60 [li]lai iraṇḍu paṅṅu
 61 [i]vai oru-paṅṅuk[k-i]-
 62 [ru]-nāli nellāga ōr=[ā]-
 63 ṭaikku nel pa[di]-
 64 [ṅ-a]ṅu-galam aḍai[kkā]-
 65 y nāṅpaḍu ivai [i]-
 66 rabad=aḍaikkāy[kku] mu=n-
 67 [nā]ḷiy-uri nellāga
 68 ōr=āṭṭaikku nell=[i]-
 69 r[u]ba[tt]-oṅ-galam [i*] nūṭ[u]
 70 n[ā]ṅ=checheviṭṭu idu
 71 nāḷikk-iru-nāḷiy[āga]
 72 ōr=āṭṭaikku nel
 73 pann-iru-ku[ṅu*]ṇi [i*] el-
 74 l[ā]m ēṅgi ōr=ā[t]-
 75 ṭaikku vēṇa nel [ai=n]-
 76 nūṅṅ-[e]ṇbadiṅ kala[m] [i*]
 77 i-ppariṣu niyadi-
 78 [p]paḍi mutt[ā]mai
 79 u[e]ḍuṇ=gālamuṇ=je-
 80 lu[t]tuv[adā]ga vai[t*][t]ā-
 81 r śri-Varaṅa-Mahārāja[r*] [i*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8.) Hail ! By the grace of the blessed lord (*bhaṭṭarar*) ! **Varaṅa-Mahārāja**, being encamped² at **Araiśūr** on the bank of the (*river*) **Pennai** in **Toṇḍai-nāḍu**, gave into the hands³ of the members of the assembly of **Iṅṅōkkuḍi** two hundred and ninety *kāṣu*, from the interest of which—the capital remaining unspent⁴—offerings had to be provided for four times

¹ Read *nāṅ=paṅam*.

² *Vṛṭṭirundu* means literally 'being seated majestically.'

³ This is the literal translation. The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly.

⁴ Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed;' see note 1 on page 90 above.

(a day) to the lord of the glorious temple¹ of Tiruppōttudaiyār at Iṅgōkkudi in Muḷli-nāḍu.

(Il. 8 to 10.) For this (amount) the members of the assembly have to measure out five hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy per year (as) interest, at the rate of two *kalam* for each *kāṣu*.

(Il. 10 to 14.) Out of this (income) the servants of the lord (*blaṭṭarar*) and the committee of the assembly of Iṅgōkkudi shall jointly pay for offerings four times a day,² commencing from the month of Tula in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of Varaguna-Mahārāja, (according to the following) scale:—

(Il. 15 to 27.) (The following) are the requirements for a single offering:³— four *nāli* of clean superior rice;⁴ (one) *uri* of split green gram for the *kummāyam*;⁵ (one) *uḷakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality to be offered⁶ (by itself); (one) *uri* of cows' curds; four black plantain fruits; one *palam* of sugar; ten *palam* of vegetables (for) the vegetable offering (*kaṭi-amirdu*), (viz.) one *kāḷḷakari*,⁷ two *puḷiṅgari*,⁸ one *puḷukkukkari*,⁹ (and) one *porikkari*— in all, five (kinds of) curry; (one) *uḷakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality for seasoning¹⁰ and frying vegetables; (one) *uri* of cows' curds for the compound curry (*kūḷṭu*);¹¹ two *śarittu* of asaṭatida; two bundles of betel-leaves,¹² ten areca-nuts (and) one *śarittu* of lime (*nāru*) for the leaves offering.

(Il. 27 to 73.) The aggregate requirements for (the offerings) four times a day¹³ (are):— At the rate of sixteen *nāli* of clean superior rice (a day), sixty-four *kalam* of clean superior rice

¹ The word *śrīkōvil* means 'the sanctuary of a temple' according to Dr. Gundert. It is used here in the same sense as the Tamil *tirukōḷil*, 'a temple, a place of worship, a sacred shrine.' In the Tanjore inscriptions *śrīkōvil* is used to designate the orthodox Hindū temple as opposed to the temples of the Drāviḍian village deities and to the Jaina temples (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 48, note 8, and p. 59).

² The word *nigadi* occurs again in line 27.

³ Literally ' (the offering) at one time.'

⁴ With *śaṇel* compare *tiruchennadai-nel* in a Chōḷa inscription from Conjeevorum; *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 117.

⁵ This word occurs in a similar context in an inscription of Rājakesarivarman found at Tiruvellāri near Trichinopoly (No. 518 of 1905). In an unpublished record of the Chōḷa king Rājakesarivarman from Guḍimallam in the North Arcot district, split green gram (*śiru-payarru-paruppu*) is provided for *kummāya-amudu* (No. 222 of 1903). The modern meaning of the word *kummāyam*, viz. 'mortar,' will not do here. In Malayālam and in Kanarese the root *kumma* means 'to beat with a pestle,' and *kummāyam* might therefore denote something pounded, if the word is derived from that root.

⁶ The verb *nivāḍikka* in line 17 may also have to be taken with the words *layir* (l. 18), *karuvāḷaippalam* (l. 18 f.) and *śarkkarai* (l. 19), if not with all the items mentioned in ll. 19 to 27.

⁷ According to one of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I. (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. No. 26) pepper, mustard, and perhaps also salt were required for this preparation. Some vegetable must also have been added, though the fact is not specifically mentioned. Old rice, pulse, pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar and ghee were required for a similar preparation called *appakkāykkari*.

⁸ Pepper, mustard, cumin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horse-gram and plantain fruits were required for it according to the inscription quoted in the preceding note. *Puḷiṅṭṭadūṅgari* (consisting of pepper, cumin, tamarind, and perhaps some vegetable) was a similar preparation.

⁹ *Puḷukkukkari*, 'boiled curry,' is perhaps so called in order to distinguish it from *porikkari*, 'fried curry.' The former is not mentioned (at any rate under this name) in the Tanjore inscription quoted above, while ghee is provided for the latter. Evidently *porikkari* consisted of a vegetable fried in ghee.

¹⁰ The verb *tumi* means 'to sprinkle.' Condiment powder is even now sprinkled over boiled curry and the whole seasoned with boiling ghee, in which a small quantity of mustard is frying. The preparation is called *poḍiṭṭal*, 'powder sprinkling,' and the same is apparently indicated by the use of the verb *tumi* here. A story is told in connection with the Tamil poet Kamban, which shows that the noun *tumi* was not in common use during his time.

¹¹ *Kūḷṭu* is a liquid preparation still in use, and consists of (1) a vegetable cooked either with Bengal gram or beans, (2) two or more vegetables boiled together, or (3) specially made powder dissolved in curds. (1) and (2) do not, generally, require any curds.

¹² The word for betel-leaves both here as well as in the Tanjore inscriptions is *reḷḷilai*, 'white leaf,' while the modern Tamil form is *reḷḷilai*, 'empty leaf.'

¹³ Worship at six periods of the day is the rule at present in big temples. In the case of a minor shrine in the Tanjore temple, provision was made for offerings only three times (morning, midday and night, *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 146) and twice in the case of two other shrines (*ibid.* pp. 70 and 71).

for a year. At three *kalam* of paddy for one *kalam* of rice,¹ this (comes to) one hundred and ninety-two *kalam* (of paddy). The split green gram (required for a day) is two *nāli*. At the rate of three *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of split (green gram),² twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (have to be allotted) for this (item). Cows' ghee of the best quality (required for a day) is (one) *nāli* and (one) *uri*. At the rate of thirty *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of ghee,³ this (comes to) one hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy for a year. (The quantity of) cows' curds (required for a day) is four *nāli*. At the rate of three *nāli* of paddy for (one) *nāli* of curds,⁴ this (amounts to) forty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually. (The number of) black plantain fruits (required for a day) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) *nāli* of paddy for two (fruits),⁵ these (cost) thirty-two *kalam* of paddy annually. The sugar (required for a day is) four *palam*. At the rate of (one) *nāli* and (one) *uri* of paddy for every *palam*,⁶ this (item costs) twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year. (The daily consumption of) vegetables being forty *palam*, sixteen *kalam* of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) every year—at the rate of (one) *nāli* of paddy for ten *palam*.⁷ (One) *ālakku* and three *śevittu* of asafetida (being required daily), nineteen *kalam* and three *kuruni*⁸ of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) annually—at the rate of six *nāli* of paddy for (one) *ūlakku* of asafetida.⁹ (For) the leaves offering (are required) two bundles¹⁰ of betel-leaves (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāli* of paddy for one bundle, (come to) sixteen *kalam* of paddy for a year; forty areca-nuts (daily), which, at the rate of three *nāli* and (one) *uri* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (cost) twenty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually;¹¹ (and) four *śevittu* of lime (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāli* (of paddy) for (one) *nāli* (of lime), (cost) twelve *kuruni*¹² of paddy per year.

(Li. 73 to 81.) Altogether, the (quantity of) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty *kalam*.¹³ The glorious Varaguṇa-Mahārāja thus deposited (this money), in order that

¹ In Tanjore 5 *kalam* of paddy were required for 2 *kalam* of rice during the time of Rājārāja I.

² Pulse was exchanged at this rate during the time of Rājārāja I. at Tanjore.

³ In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Rājārāja I.

⁴ The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Rājārāja I.

⁵ There seem to have been three varieties of plantain fruits available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one *nāli* of paddy (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, pp. 75 and 77); five *nāli* of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (*ibid.* p. 127); the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each *kāsu* (*ibid.* p. 151).

⁶ Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. in the Chōla capital and the country surrounding it. Of the cheaper kind 3½ *palam* could be purchased for 2 *nāli*, 1 *uri*, 1 *ālakku* and 4 *śevittu* of paddy (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for ½ *palam* (*ibid.* pp. 70 and 71).

⁷ In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 *nāli* of paddy. The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned.

⁸ If this calculation is correct, a *kalam* must be equal to 15 instead of 12 *kuruni*, and a *kuruni* equal to 6 *nāli*.

⁹ Asafetida and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are specially provided for (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, pp. 75, 77 and 130). The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambasamudram record. Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pandya country during the time of Varaguṇa. It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment.

¹⁰ From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (*parṇu*) was equal to 4 *āṇakku* of betel-leaves.

¹¹ Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel-leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos. 6, 26 and 35 of *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II.): 1 *nāli* of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No. 6); 4 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 30 areca-nuts and 60 betel-leaves (No. 26); and 1 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 12 areca-nuts and 24 betel-leaves (No. 35).

¹² The actual calculation yields 36 *nāli* of lime annually, costing 72 *nāli* of paddy, i.e. 18 *nāli* less than a *kalam* (= 90 *nāli* according to this inscription) or 12 *kuruni*. But it has been pointed out that a *kalam* was made up of 15 *kuruni* (note 8 above). Thus the *kuruni* was equal to 6 *nāli* instead of the more common 8 *nāli*. With this equivalent of the *kuruni* the calculation in the text would be correct.

¹³ This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuruni* and a *kuruni* equal to 6 *nāli*; see the preceding note.

(the members of the village assembly) might provide (the requirements) day by day¹ for a long time² without (any) obstruction.

No. 11.—MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 984.

By STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

This inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I do not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions³ supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the plates as follows:—

"The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank; it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places these are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them; and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a dagger. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5" and 4½". The thickness of the ring is ¾". The seal is roughly 2½" in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case:—

Average breadth of plates	91"	91"	91"
Average height of plates	4½"	4"	4½"

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring 4½" at the ends and almost 4" in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same kind as in the Nādagām plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Samvat 979.⁴ The class nasal, and not the *Anusvāra*, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are °नोत्त° in l. 9, and वच° in l. 48. Consonants are doubled after °, except in °नजिता°, l. 26. व is written for व throughout. स has been substituted for श in महीसः, l. 25, and °सत°, l. 49. On the other hand, we find श for स in °द्योतप्रकः, l. 21, चाशीने, l. 39, and °रस्य, l. 51. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Nādagām plates. Note further such writings as समुत्तम, ll. 7 and 24, प्रत्याक्षित instead of प्रचारित, l. 3, and प्रद्योतम् instead of प्रद्योतम्, l. 19.

¹ The word *niyati* is apparently synonymous with *nīdam* which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with *nīdā* in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Varaguna (Director-General's *Annual* for 1903-4, p. 275, text line 19).

² In later inscriptions the phrase *niyati-gālamam* is replaced by the Sanskrit *chandrādityavat*, 'as long as the moon and the sun (endure).'

³ Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr. Venkayya.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 183 ff.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Naḍagām plates of Śāka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Naḍagām plates. They are, however, more carefully engraved and give several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king **Vajrahasta (III.)**, the son of **Kāmārṇava (II.)** of the **Gāṅga** lineage, and of **Vinayamahādēvi** of the **Vaidumba** family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Naḍagām plates, from **Guṇamahārṇava** downwards, including the date of **Vajrahasta's** coronation.¹ The inscription then goes on to state (l. 40 ff.) that 'the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the *Paramahatthāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the lord of the three **Kaliṅgas**, the glorious **Anantavarman Vajrahastadēva**, being in good health, issues the following order from **Kaliṅganagara**, having called together all the subjects, headed by the ministers:—“Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourselves, the village named **Tāmaracheru** in **Varāhavartani**, combined with the **Chikhali** hamlet (*vātaka*), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an *Agrahāra*, to five hundred learned Brāhmaṇas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, in the **Śaka year of the dice (4)**, the **Vasus (8)** and the treasures (9), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred *Murakas* of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god **Kōṭiśvara**² for (the maintenance of the rites of) *Bali*, *Ohara*, *Naiwēdya*, *Dipapūjā*, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brāhmaṇas living there.”

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king **Vajrahasta III.** We only learn that he also had the name **Anantavarman**, like his grandson **Chōḍagaṅga-dēva**.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, **Kaliṅganagara** has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti³ with the villages **Mukhalingam** and **Nagarakatakam** in the **Ganjam** district. **Varāhavartani** occurs in several **Gāṅga** grants.⁴ The village of **Tāmaracheru** is also known from **Gāṅga** inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the **Chicacole** plates of the **Mahārāja Dēvendrarvarman**,⁵ in which the village **Tāmaracheru** is granted to three hundred Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The **Chicacole** plates of the **Gāṅga Mahārāja Indrarvarman**, issued from **Kaliṅganagara** in **Gāṅgōya-Samvat 128**,⁶ further state that the village of **Tāmaracheru** was granted to certain Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of **Mārgaśira**. The latter inscription mentions *Tāmaracheru-grāman bā(vā)ṭakā(ka)-sahita[m]* (l. 8 f.). This *vātaka* is perhaps identical with the **Chikhali-vātaka** of our inscription. The village of **Tāmaracheru** has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of **Chicacole**.

The date of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading *krīta* is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly the **Śaka year 984**. If we take this to be

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 185; Vol. V. Appendix, p. 50, No. 355.

² This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaracheru.

³ Above, Vol. IV. p. 187 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 127, note 5; Vol. V. p. 185, note 5, etc.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 273 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 119 ff.

the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A.D. 1061-62. Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultzsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980—989 took place on the 20th June A.D. 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 श्री² स्वस्त³ श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनय[विनयद]यादान[दा]क्षिण्यसत्य[श्री]-
- 2 चशौर्ध्वैर्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाणामात्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचारा-
- 3 चारपुण्यसलिलप्रध्यालितकलिकालिकल्पमयीणां⁴ [महाम]हन्द्राचल-
- 4 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य मचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
- 5 र्माणैकसूत्रधारस्य⁵ शशाङ्क[चू]डांमणेर्भगवतो गो-
- 6 कर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्कभेरीप-
- 7⁶ समाहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमच[†*]मरवरवृषभलाञ्छनसमुज्ज्वल-
- 8⁷ सत्यस्तमाम्राज्यमाहिष्मामनेकसमरमङ्गदृष्टसमुपलब्धविजयलमी-
- 9 समालिङ्गितो[त्तु]ग[भु]जदण्डम[ण्ड]तानां चिकलिङ्गम[ही]भुजां [गा-]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 [ङ्गा]नामन्वयमलङ्कारि[णोर्व्विणोरि]व⁸ विक्र(†)माक्रान्तधरामण्डल-
- 11 स्य गुणमहार्णवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥०॥ पूर्व्व⁹ भूपतिभर्व्विभक्त्य
- 12 वसुधा या पञ्चभिः[*] ¹⁰पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो ¹¹भुजवलात्त[†*]मे-
- 13 क एव स्वयं [†*] एकीकृत¹² विजित्य मत्तनिवहान्¹³ श्रौव-
- 14 ¹⁴जहस्तस्यतुचात्वारिंशतमत्युदार(†)[स्म]रित्व[*] सर्व्वा-
- 15 मरचीत्समाः ॥ [†*] तस्य तनयो गुण्डमराज¹⁵ [व]षट्त्रयं-
- 16 मप[†*]लयद्गही ॥ तदनुजः कामार्णवदे[व]ः पञ्चत्रिंशतम-
- 17 [व्द]कान¹⁶ ॥ तस्यानुजो विनयादित्य[*] समाससः¹⁷ ॥ ततः¹⁸ कामार्णवा-
- 18 जातो जगतीक[ल्पभू]रुहः [†*] योराजद्राजितः¹⁹ अथो वज्रह(†)-

¹ From the original plates.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read स्वस्ति.⁴ Read °प्रचालितकलिकाल°.⁵ Read °चूडांमणेर्भगवतो गो- The 4 stroke is not visible in the ink-impression.⁶ Read °समाहाशब्द°, °च्छत्र°, °समुज्ज्वल°⁷ Read °समल°, °महिमा°, °समुपलब्ध°, °लक्ष्मी°.⁸ This looks like °हाश्रीशौर्ध्वैर्यादि°.⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read भूपतिभि°.¹⁰ Before पञ्चधा the engraver began to write स, but subsequently cancelled it.¹¹ Read °बला°.¹² Read °लक्ष्मी°.¹³ Read शत्रुनिवहान्°.¹⁴ Read °हस्तस्यतुचात्°, °रचितः°.¹⁵ Read °राजो वर्षट्त्रय°.¹⁶ Read °मन्दकान्°.¹⁷ Read समाससः°.¹⁸ Metre: Ślōka; read °वाजातो°.¹⁹ Read °द्राजितश्चाथो°.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 स्तोवनीपतिः ॥ [२*] 'प्रबोदभद्रगन्धलुब्धमधुपय्यालीढगण्डा[म्]जाकाल्यि-
 20 भ्यस्समदासहस्रमतुलो य[स्य]ागिनामप्रणी[: 1*] स(:) [श्रीम]ाननिय-
 21 ह्मभीमनृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोत्तंशकः³ (1) पञ्चविंशतमन्दकान्मम-⁴
 22 भुनक्विपथी⁵ [स्तु]तः पाल्यिधैः ॥ [३*] तदप्रसूतुः⁶ सुरराजसूनुना
 23 समस्समस्तां [श*]मितारिमण्डलः [1*] स्म पाति कामार्णवभूपतिर्भुव⁷
 24 सन्निहिमानर्हसमा⁸ समुज्ज्वलः ॥ [४*] तदनु⁹ तदनुजन्मो¹⁰ चित्तजन्मो(प)-
 25 पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुणमाख्यो महीसः¹¹ [1*] [स*]कलमिदमरक्षणी¹²
 26 वर्षाणि धात्रीवल्लयमल्लुतेजोनिर्जितारातिचक्रः ॥ [५*] ततो¹³ हेमातुरस्तस्य म-
 27 धुकामार्णवो नृपः । अवति स्मावनीमेताम[ष्ट]मिकर्णविंशति¹⁴ ॥ [६*] ० ॥

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 अथ¹⁵ वज्रहस्तनृपतेरप्रसुतादखिलगुणिजनाप्रस्यः [1*] कामा[र्णवा]-
 29 'ल्लवम्प्रगीयमानावदातशुभकीर्तिः ॥ [७*] श्रीय¹⁷ इव ¹⁸वेदुस्यान्वय[प]-
 30 यःपयोनिधिसमुद्भवायाच [1*] य(1): समजनि ¹⁹विनयम्[हा*]देव्याः श्रीवज्रह-
 31 स्त इति त[न*]यः ॥ [८*] ²⁰वियदृतुनिधिसंस्था²¹ याति ²²शाकाब्दसङ्के दिन[क]-
 32 [ति] वृषभस्ते²³ रोहिणीभि सुलग्ने [1*] धनुषि च सितपये²⁴ सूर्य[वारि] त-
 33 तीयांयुजि²⁵ सकलवरिचो रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः ॥ [९*] न्यायेन²⁶ यच
 34 समसाचरितुं चिवर्गे²⁷ मार्गेण रक्षति महीम²⁸ महितप्रतापे [1*] नि-
 [व्यर्]धय-
 35 च निरसाच²⁹ निरापदश्च शशत्पजा³⁰ भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमत्यः ॥ [१०*] व्या-³¹
 36 ते ³²गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य स्यशसा³³ दि[क्]कवालि शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन य-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 37 स भुवन(:)प्र[क्ष]ादसम्यादिना [1*] सिन्दूरैरतिसाम्प्रपङ्क[प*]टलै[:*] [कुम्भ]स्थली-
 38 पट्टकै[ष्व]ालिम्पन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणाम³⁴ ॥ [११*] ³⁵अनुराग-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read प्रसूतुः, °लुब्ध°.

² Read °नृपतिगाङ्गान्वयीत्तंशकः.

³ Metre: Vairāśāstha.

⁴ Metre: Mālinī.

⁵ Read °रक्षणीचि.

⁶ Metre: Giti.

⁷ Read वेदुस्या°.

⁸ Read °संस्था.

⁹ Read वृषभस्ते. The second व seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

¹⁰ Read सितपये.

¹¹ Read चिवर्गे.

¹² Read अचरपजा.

¹³ Read यशसा.

⁴ Read °मन्दकान्मम-.

⁵ Read °भुव.

⁶ Read °जन्मा.

⁷ Metre: Śloka; read हेमा°.

⁸ Read रक्षणीम्.

⁹ Read विनयमहा°.

¹⁰ Read शाकाब्द°.

¹¹ Read °वासुजि सकलधरिणी.

¹² Read महीम्.

¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁴ Read °वाज.

³ Read °गजानन्यि.

⁴ Read भुनक्पृथ्वी.

⁵ Read °समा समुज्ज्वलः.

⁶ Read महीशः.

⁷ Read °मन्दानेकावविंशति.

⁸ Metre: Giti; read श्रय.

⁹ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁰ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

¹¹ Read निरसाच.

¹² Read गङ्ग°.

¹³ Metre: Śloka.

- 39 ग गुणीनी¹ यस्य वक्षीमुखावयोः² [1*] आशीने³ श्रीसरस्वत्यावनुकूले
 40 विराजतः ॥ [१२*] •॥ 'कलिङ्गनगरातारममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टा-
 41 रक[म*]हाराजाधिराजचिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमदनन्तवर्मा व-
 42 जहस्तदेव[:*] कुशली⁴ 'समस्तामात्यप्रमुखजनपदान्तमा[ङ्ग]य [स]-
 43 माज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ वराहवर्त्त[न्यां] । तामरचे-
 44 दयामो नाम (i) चिखलीवाटकेन⁵ सममेकीकृत्य ॥ चतुस्त्रीमा-
 45 'वच्छिन्नस्रजलस्यलसर्वपीडाविवर्जितमाचन्द्रार्कचितिस-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 46 मकालं यावन्मातापितृरात्मनः पुण्यशोभि[वृद्धये कृत]व-
 47 सुनिधिशकाब्दे⁶ । सूर्यग्रहोपरागे । विद्वद्भ्यो य[ज]नया[ज]ना[ध्यय]-
 48 नाध्यापन[दान*]प्रतिग्रहपद्धत्यनिरतेभ्यो 'वज्रवर्चो[र्]मङ्गाः ॥ पंच-
 49 'सत[ब्राह्मणे]भ्य उदकपूर्वकं कृत्वाग्रहारोष्माभिः
 50 प्रदत्तस्तस्माद्भावविभ[र्भू]मि[पा]लेर्मुनोद्धर्मागौ-¹¹
 51 रवात्परिपालनीयमिति¹² ॥ अपरं च । कोटीश्वर-
 52 देवाय आचन्द्रार्कपर्यन्तं निर्व्विरोधा ।¹³ वलिचरुनैवेद्यदीपपू-
 53 जायत्य धान्यमुरकशतद्वयोत्पत्त्या¹⁴ भूमिर्इत्ता । तच्च च । खण्डस्फु-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 54 टितभग्नघटनं¹⁵ तच्चस्थवाङ्मणेरवस्यं कर्त्तव्यमिति ॥

No. 12.—TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I.; A.D. 660.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This inscription was first published by Messrs. A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the plates were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapalli Venkaṭa Redḍi of Pārlapalli

¹ Read गुणीनी.

² Read 'वक्षीमुखावयोः.

³ Read आशीने.

⁴ Read 'नगरात्परम'.

⁵ Read 'माय'.

⁶ The engraver had originally written 'वाटाकेन.

⁷ The engraver originally wrote 'जस्यलस्यल', but cancelled the first ल. Read 'विवर्जित'; after the ल an I has been cancelled.

⁸ Read 'ब्राह्मणे.

⁹ The reading of this word is very uncertain; read perhaps ब्रह्मवर्चो.

¹⁰ Read अतस्मात्.

¹¹ Read 'मुनिपाशेर्भूमुनीकधर्मागौ.

¹² Read 'पारमनीय इति.

¹³ Read वलि.

¹⁴ Read 'त्पत्त्या.

¹⁵ The engraver seems to have begun to write ताच⁰, but the d-stroke has been left unfinished: read 'ताचणेरवस्यं.

while ploughing some land known as *Talamanchupādi* in *Talamanchi* of Nellore taluk¹ where a flourishing village is said to have once stood." They "have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner." I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the original as follows:—

.. "Three copper-plates, of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only. They measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth. The height of the plates is not uniform. Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle.

	<i>Height in the margins.</i>	<i>Height in the middle.</i>
1st plate:	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
2nd plate:	$3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
3rd plate:	$3\frac{1}{4}$ " & $3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring $2\frac{3}{4}$ " by $3\frac{1}{8}$ ". It is nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a seal, which is also oval and measures 1" by $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar. The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas."

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the margins of plate i. and plate ii. a. The alphabet resembles that of two other grants of Vikramāditya I.² The *upadhānīya* is used once (l. 24), a final form of *m* twice (ll. 24, 27), and one of *n* once (l. 17). The three Dravidian letters *ḷ*, *ḻ* and *ṛ*, the second of which has the same shape as the *puḍmānīya*, occur in the two village names *Elasatti* (l. 23) and *Koḷchumko[nra]* (l. 22). The language is Sanskrit. There are four well-known Anuṣṭubh verses: one at the beginning and three near the end; the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

The document was issued in the sixth year of the reign (l. 20) of the (Western) *śālikya* (l. 5) **Vikramāditya (I.)**, the son of *Satyāśraya* (i.e. **Pulakēśin II.**), grandson of *Śrīvarman* (I.) and great-grandson of **Polikēśin (I.)**. Each of these four kings receives the same laudatory epithets as in other published grants of the same period. The new inscription records the grant of the village of *Elasatti*,³ north of *Koḷchumko[nra]*, to *Śrīmēghāchārya* ll. 22 and 31 f.), the preceptor (*guru*) of Vikramāditya I., and was written by *Vajravarman* of the **Vaidya** family.

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the date of the grant (l. 20 f.), regarding which Prof. Kielhorn kindly contributes the Postscript on p. 102 below. On the strength of the letter I have added the date "A.D. 660" to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

1 जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णो]र्वीराहं श्रीमितामर्ष[वं] [!*] दक्षि[णी]सतदंष्ट्राय-
विश्रान्तमु-

¹ On the map prefixed to the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Talamanchi is marked by the figure '32' on the north of Nellore town.

² *Journ. Bombay Br. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI. pp. 235 and 238.

³ Messrs Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti are unable to identify this village; see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Preface, p. vi.

⁴ From three sets of ink-impressions.

- 2 वन वपुः [॥ १*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्रा-
 3 णां सप्तलोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्षिताणां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तक-
 4 ल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्पारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराङ्गलाञ्छने-
 5 णक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहोभृतां चलिष्यानां कुलमलंकरिणीरश्वमे-
 6 धावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगात्रस्य श्रीपोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराज-
 7 स्य प्रपौत्रः 'पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरमृपतिमण्डलप्रणिवहविशुद्ध-
 8 '[वि]शुद्धकीर्त्तेश्रीकीर्त्तेश्रीकीर्त्तिवन्धपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-
 9 [सं]सप्तसकलौत्तराप[थे]श्वरश्री[हर्षवर्द्धनपरा]ज[योप]ल[ब्ध]परमेश्वरा-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 [पर]नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व[र]-
 11 [स्य] प्रियतनयः^१ चित्रकण्ठाख्यप्रवरतुरंगमैशैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकस-
 12 मरमुखेषु रिपुनृपतिरुधिरजलास्वादनरनायज्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रिंश-^२
 13 धारया च धृतधरणीभरभुजगभोगसदृशनजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः^३
 14 आत्मकवचावमग्नानेकप्रहारस्त्वगु[रीश्रिअय]मवनिपतिचित्तया-
 15 'क्षरितांमात्मसात्कृत्य 'कृतैकाधिष्ठितागे[धरा]ज्यभरस्तस्मिन्नाज्य-
 16 जये विनष्टानि देवस्वन्नद्वेद्यानि धर्मयशोभिवृषये स्वमुखेन स्या-
 17 पितवान् रणशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लक्ष्मी
 प्राप्य च
 18 परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः^४ विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृ-
 19 [थि]वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्त्व[र्वा]ना[ज्ञा]प[यति] [॥*] विधितः^५

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 20 [म]स्तु ^{१०}भोस्माभिः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यषट्पञ्चसप्ततमे^{११} आ-
 21 णमाससूर्यपक्षणि^{१२} उदकपूर्व साङ्गोपाङ्गवेदविदुषे वासिष्ठ-
 22 सगोत्राय श्रीमेघाचार्याय स्वकीयगुरवे को७३कुंको[न७७]ग्राम-
 23 स्थोत्तरपात्रे^{१३} एकसत्तिर्दाम ग्रामः^{१४} मातापित्रीरात्मन-
 24 ऽपुण्ययशोवाप्तये सर्व्ववोधपरिहार^{१५} दत्तम् [१*] आचन्द्रार्क-

^१ Read 'क्षान्'.

^२ Read 'तनयविष'.

^३ Read 'पुरास'.

^४ Read 'कृतैकाधिष्ठिताश्रय'.

^५ Read 'को'.

^६ Read 'पात्र'.

^७ Cancel the second 'विशुद्ध' and the second 'कीर्त्तेश्री'; read 'कीर्त्तिवन्द'.

^८ Instead of 'वनास' and 'रसनायमान'.

^९ Cancel the *anusvara* of 'ता' and read 'सारङ्गरवा'.

^{१०} Read 'द्वितीय'.

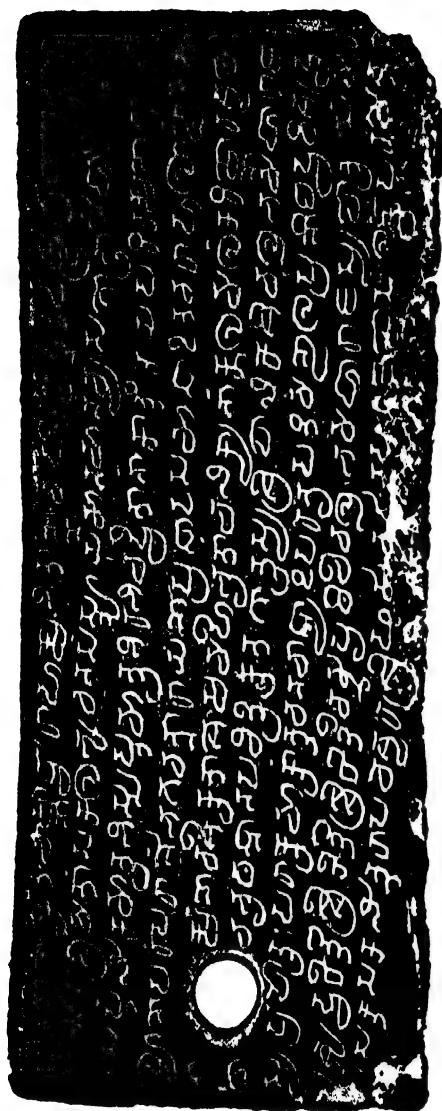
^{११} Read 'षष्ठसप्ततरे'.

^{१२} Read 'शमी'.

^{१३} Read 'विधित'.

^{१४} Read 'यष्टय'.

^{१५} Read 'सर्व्ववोधपरिहारी दत्त'.



2

4

6

8

iii.



10

12

14

16

18

- 25 धरावर्धवस्त्रितिसमकालं यशस्विषीषुभिस्त्वदन्तिनिर्विशेषं परि-
 26 पालनीयं [॥*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छब्दं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [॥*] दानं
 27 वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छेयोनृपालनमिमं [॥ २*]

Third Plate.

- 28 उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन^१ [॥*] बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता
 29 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [॥*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 30 तदा फलं [॥ १*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरित वसुधरा[म् ॥*] षष्टिं व-
 31 र्षसहस्राणि विधायां जायते किमिरिति । [४*] श्रीमेघाचा-
 32 र्यस्यान्वयस्य शासनं वैद्यान्वयश्रीवत्सवर्म्मणा लिखितं [॥*]
 33 स्वस्यस्तु गोत्राद्भ्यः [॥*] श्री^२ ॥—

TRANSLATION.

[Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu.]

(Line 2.) The great-grandson of the glorious Polikéśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (and) who adorned the family of the glorious Chalikyās;⁴

(L. 7.) The grandson of the glorious Kirtivarma-Prithivivallabha-Mahārāja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as Vanavāsi, which had been subdued by (his) valour;

(L. 8.) The dear son of Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,⁵ who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (paramēśvara) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (him) in battle;

(L. 11.) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakaṇṭha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth; unto whose own armour many blows had plunged; who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings,⁶ caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone; who, for the increase of (his) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brāhmaṇas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms; the son of whose valour (became) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (paramēśvara); Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivivallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara commands all people (as follows):—

(L. 19.) "Be it known to you (that), in the sixth year of (Our) reign of growing victory, at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the village named Elasatti on

¹ Read 'नमिति.

² The 4 of श्री is expressed twice.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The usual epithets of this family (ll. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.

⁵ I.e. Pulakéśin II.

⁶ Vis. the Chōja, Pāṇḍya and Kēraja. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramāditya I. in the grants of his son Vinayāditya, above, Vol. V. p. 202, note 16.

the northern side of the village of **Kolchumko[nra]** has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (*guru*) **Śrīmēghāchārya** of the *Vāsisṭha gōtra*, who knows the *Vēdas* with (their) *Angas* and *Upāṅgas*, in order that (Our) mother and father and Ourselves might obtain merit and fame. As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (*this grant*) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame."

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(I. 31.) (*This*) edict (*in favour*) of the family of **Śrīmēghāchārya** was written by the illustrious **Vajravarmaṇ** of the **Vaidya** family. Let there be welfare to cows and *Brāhmaṇas*! *Om*.

POSTSCRIPT.

By PROFESSOR F. KIEHLHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultzsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W. Chalukya **Vikramāditya I.**, at the time of a solar eclipse in the month **Śrāvaṇa**. From page 2 of Appendix II. to Vol. VIII. of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A.D. 635 and 685; and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to most probably was one that was visible at **Bādāmi**, the capital of the W. Chalukyas, situated in about Long. 76° and Lat. 16°.

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A.D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* month **Śrāvaṇa**, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at **Bādāmi**, viz. the eclipse which took place 3 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise of **Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660**. That eclipse, an annular one, was **fully visible at Bādāmi**, and the 13th July A.D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* **Śrāvaṇa**. We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the *Paṭṭadakal* duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W. Chalukya **Kirtivarman II.** (No. 48 of my *Southern List*), of the 25th June A.D. 754, which likewise took place in the *pūrṇimānta* **Śrāvaṇa**; and to show that in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* **Bhādrapada**, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* **Phālguna**.

Monday, the 13th July A.D. 660 (in Śaka-samvat 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date; that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the *Nerūr* plates of the queen **Vijayabhaktikā** (No. 23 of my *Southern List*). That date corresponds to the **23rd September A.D. 659**, and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of **Vikramāditya's** eldest brother **Chandrāditya** or of **Vikramāditya** himself. Since we now have a date in A.D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of **Vikramāditya I.**, the date in A.D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that **Vikramāditya I.** commenced to reign between some time in **September A.D. 654** and **July A.D. 655**.¹

¹ Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 863, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of A.D. 655."

NO. 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAH II. OF MALAVA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELMORN, C.I.E.; GÜRTINGEN.

Of the Paramāra kings, who ruled over Mālava for more than three hundred years, there have been published hitherto the texts of twelve copper-plate and three stone inscriptions. We have besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small extent or importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 1824, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by FitzEdward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Bal Gangadhar Shastri in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from those *éditiones principes* the genealogy of the Paramāras of Mālava, with most of their dates, might have been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. App. I. pp. 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayāditya we even to-day hardly possess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing of Udayāditya's family.' I mention this to show how little that is really new we have learnt about Mālava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to the officials of the Archaeological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the history of that country. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mālava country will be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has been well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhār the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII. p. 96 ff. and p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were found, at or near Māndhātā, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates are of some value inasmuch as they show how Dēvapāla, one of the later kings of Mālava who was already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two sons of his, Jaitugidēva and Jayavarman [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

A.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF DĒVAPĀLA; [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 1382.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Siddhēśvara at Māndhātā, an island in the Narmadā (Narbada, Nerubudda) river attached to the Nimār district of the Central Provinces.¹ They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 8½" long by 1' 5½" broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, to which they have been presented by Rao Jaswant Singh of Māndhātā. The first account of them was given by an old pupil of mine, Mr. Lelo, Director of Education in the Dhār State;² and a transcript of the inscription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the authorities by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nimār. The text and a translation, with an introduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, Director of the Nāgpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on these plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Cousens.

The inscription is on three plates, which are stated to measure about 1' 5½" broad by 1' high, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are

¹ See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 257 ff.; *Constable's Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, C d; and above, Vol. III. p. 46. On the temple of Siddhēśvara see also *Archaeol. Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04*, p. 57.

² Mr. Lelo at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other prevented from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which he has made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhār inscriptions published in Vol. VIII. of this Journal.

inscribed on one side only. The writing on the several sides covers a space between 1' 4" and 1' 4½" broad by between 10½" and 11½" high. In the lower proper right corner of the first side of the third plate a space about 2" broad by 3" high is marked off by double lines, which enclose an engraving of the mythical bird Garuḍa, the exact shape of which may be seen from the accompanying photo-lithograph.¹ The plates are held together by two rings for which there are two holes in each plate; these rings, I am informed, are open and were apparently never soldered together.

The three plates contain 80 lines of well-engraved writing, which is in so perfect a state of preservation that, with the exception of not more than three *akṣharas*, every letter may be read with absolute certainty. In line 40 a vacant space is left for four *akṣharas* which may have been illegible in the original from which the inscription was copied; and there is a similar vacant space for two *akṣharas* in line 54. The size of the letters is between ⅞" and ¾". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, and the language is Sanskrit. The forms of individual letters hardly call for any remarks. Attention may be drawn to the initial *i* and *ī* (e.g. in *iva*, l. 4, and *Udai*°, l. 50), and to the initial *ē* (in *ēsha*, l. 17) and *au* (e.g. in *Audalya*, l. 27, and *Aurva*, l. 40); perhaps also to the forms of *th* (e.g. in *purushārtha*, l. 1.) and *kṣh* (e.g. in *sikṣhāt*°, l. 1). It may also be stated that the signs for *t* and *bh*, and those for *ddh* and *dv*, often are so much alike that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. As the 22 verses in lines 1-17 are all numbered, the inscription offers specimens of all numeral figures; and in lines 28, 34, 49 and 50, it gives the fraction ½, denoted by two vertical lines, placed, as the case may be, after a numeral or the sign for nought.² In line 79 before the word *rakṣitam*°, the text contains a peculiar symbol (perhaps a monogram), the meaning of which I am unable to explain.—As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*; the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal about 30 times, and the palatal instead of the dental about 25 times (even in such ordinary words as *śutaḥ* for *sutaḥ*, l. 1; *Śāmarveda*- for *Sāmarveda*°, l. 29, etc.); *ri* is used for *ṛi* in *Rishi*°, l. 60, and *ṛi* for *ri* in *tri*° for *tri*° (i.e. *trivēda*°), l. 29 and elsewhere, and in *Saktri*- for *Saktri*°, ll. 23 and 71; *j* is employed instead of *y* in *jasō*- for *yaśō*°, l. 73, and in the names *Jasōdhara*°, l. 29, and *Jasōdva*°- (for *Yaśōdva*°), l. 64; and *kṣh* for *khy* in *Sikṣhāyana*°, l. 46. The occasional employment of *dy* for *dv* and *dhv* for *ddy*, *dḍv* and *ddhv* need perhaps hardly be mentioned; but I may add that the word *tāmratām* is written *tāmratām* in line 2, and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed three times, in *sōsibhuta*°, l. 15, *°dīdyōṣyam*°, l. 75, and *vudhvāṣmad*°, l. 75. There are a few clerical errors not referred to in the above, that can all be easily corrected.—The inscription, in lines 1-17, has 22 verses which chiefly contain genealogical matter, and of which verses 1-19 were already known to us from the three grants of king Arjunavarman.³ In addition to them, we have in lines 20-22 the well-known verse commencing with *Vātābhra-vibhramam-idaṁ vasudh-ādhipatyam* which, with a single exception,⁴ occurs in all Paramāra plates; and in lines 75-79 four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which, commencing with *Iti kamaladalāmbuvindu-lālām*, is common to all Paramāra plates. The rest of the text is in prose. In the poetical portion we find in line 6 the (as far as I can see, perfectly correct) adjective *uddāman*,⁵ instead of *uddāma* which alone is given by the dictionaries. And in the prose part there occurs, in lines 72 and

¹ Similar representations of Garuḍa are found on all complete plates of the Paramāras of Mālava, of which facsimiles have been published; compare e.g. above, Vol. III. Plate opposite p. 50.

² Compare above, Vol. VII. p. 85.

³ Nos. 195, 197 and 198 of my *Northern List*.

⁴ Viz. the Ujjain plates of Vākpatirāja, published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV. p. 160.

⁵ I know of no grammatical rule by which a compound formed of *ud* and *dāman* (in the sense of *dāma udgataḥ*) would become *uddāma*, and most of the passages, which in the dictionaries are quoted under *uddāma*, might just as well be placed under *uddāman*. In his commentary on *Raghuvamśa* I. 78, Mallinātha actually explains *uddāma-diggajā* by *uddāmanō dāma udgataḥ diggajā*.

73, the strange revenue term *shamhalātama[ka]-samanvita*, which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Paramāra* (or *Pramāra*) king — *Mahārāja*, as he is styled in line 80—*Dēvapāla* of *Mālava*. A full translation of the introductory verses will be given below. As has been already stated, up to the end of verse 19 (in line 15) the text is identical with the introductory part of the three published grants of the *Paramāra* *Arjunavarman*, and so far contains little more than a list of kings who were ruling over *Mālava*: *Bhōjadēva*, *Udayāditya*, his son *Naravarman*, his son *Yaśōvarman*, his son *Ajayavarman*, his son *Vindhyavarman*, his son *Subhāṭavarman*, and his son *Arjuna* (*Arjunavarman*). *Vindhyavarman* and *Subhāṭavarman* were at war with the *Gūrjaras*, and the first of them recovered *Dhārā*, which must have been taken possession of by the enemy.¹ *Arjuna* in his youth put to flight *Jayasimha*, of whom it is elsewhere said that he was a king of *Gūrjara* and belonged to the *Chaulukya* family (of *Aṇahilapātaka*).² To the nineteen verses of *Arjunavarman*'s grants only three new verses (vv. 20-22) are added here, which tell us that on *Arjuna*'s death he was succeeded in the government of *Mālava* by *Dēvapāla* and record the name of this king's father. When I published the *Harsaudā* inscription of *Dēvapāla*, I had to point out³ that by certain epithets in that inscription *Dēvapāla* was clearly connected with the *Mahākumāras* *Lakshmiyarmadēva*, his son *Harīschandradēva*, and his son *Udayayarmadēva* of *Dhārā*. Verse 21 of our inscription now informs us that *Dēvapāla* actually was a son of *Harīschandra* (and therefore a brother of the *Mahākumāra* *Udayavarman*, whose plates are dated in A.D. 1200), in the *Harsaudā* inscription, which is dated in A.D. 1218, only three years after the date of the latest known grant of *Arjunavarman*, *Dēvapāla*, unlike his brother and his father and grandfather, is styled *Mahārājādhirāja*. This, together with the fact that he succeeded *Arjunavarman*, would indicate that in him the two branches of the *Paramāra* family which till then had separately held sway over *Mālava* became reunited, or that one of them ceased to exist.⁴ Besides the *Harsaudā* stone and the present plates, the date of which will be considered below, we know of two inscriptions of *Dēvapāla*'s reign, dated in about A.D. 1229 and probably 1232.⁵

In lines 17 ff. *Dēvapāla* informs all king's officers, *Brāhmanas* and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of *Satājūṇā* in the *Mahuaḍa pratijāgarakaḥa*, that, while staying at *Māhishmati*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon⁶ on the full-moon *tithi* in the month *Bhādrapada* in the year 1282 (given in words), after bathing in the *Réva* (i.e. *Narmadā*) and worshipping *Śiva* (at the temple) in the neighbourhood of (the temple of *Viṣṇu*) *Deityasūdana*, he granted the village of *Satājūṇā*, (as stated in lines 72 and 73) well defined as to its four boundaries (*kaṅkaṣa*), etc., to certain *Brāhmanas* enumerated in lines 22-71; and (in line 74) he orders the resident *Paṭṭakila* and others to give to these *Brāhmanas* the customary share of the produce and money-rent, etc., excepting what was already enjoyed

¹ The context would indicate that *Dhārā* had been taken by the *Gūrjaras*.

² See now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99; compare also below, p. 118, note 2.—In *Mōrutunga's Prabandhachintamani*, p. 249 f., we are told that the *Mālava* king *Sōhāḍa* (i.e. *Subhāṭavarman*), when about to invade the *Gūrjara* country, turned back from its frontier on hearing the verse: *Pratāpō rājamarṭaṇḍa pūrvasyāmācra rājāt | ta tēa cālayam yāti pācchīmāśvālambināḥ ||*; but that afterwards the *Gūrjara* country was 'broken' by his son *Arjunadēva*.

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 311.

⁴ See *ibid.* Vol. XIX. p. 348.

⁵ Nos. 207 and 214 of my *Northern List*.

⁶ The text has *sōma-parvayāni* instead of the fuller and ordinary *sōmagrahaṇa-parvayāni*; similarly *sūrya-parvayāni* is used instead of *sūryagrahaṇa-parvayāni*, e.g. in the dates of No. 356 of my *Northern List* and of Nos. 339 and 380 of my *Southern List*.—I may add that, excepting the *Māndhitā* plates of *Jayasimha*, published above, Vol. III. p. 48, the word *parvayāni* occurs in the dates of all fully preserved *Paramāra* plates that have been hitherto published. We have *pavitṛaka-parvayāni* in No. 46 of my *Northern List*, *sōmagrahaṇa-parvayāni* in Nos. 40 and 121, *udagayana-parvayāni* in No. 57, *saṃjāta-sūrya-parvayāni* in No. 172, *Mahā-Vaidikhyāni parvayāni* in No. 189, *śiśhika-parvayāni* in No. 196, *sūryagrahaṇa-parvayāni* in No. 197, and *chandrōparāya-parvayāni* in No. 198.

by gods (*i.e.* temples) and Brāhmapas. After the usual appeal to future kings to preserve this grant and the imprecatory verses, the date (in line 79) is repeated in figures, with the additional remark that the day was a Thursday.

I may state here at once that, so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect. The full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada ended—

in the current *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1282: 10 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 30th August A.D. 1224;

in the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1282: on Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225; and

in the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1282: on Monday, the 7th September A.D. 1226.

None of the possible equivalents of the date therefore was a Thursday. On the other hand, there was an eclipse of the moon—a partial one—from 17 h. 45 m. to 20 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India, on the second of the three possible days, and I have no doubt that that day, Tuesday, the 19th August A.D. 1225, is really the day on which the grant was made, and that in line 79 'Thursday' has been erroneously put down instead of 'Tuesday.'

Of the localities mentioned above, Māhishmatl, from where the grant was made, is Maheswar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, situated in Long. 75° 37' and Lat. 22° 11', on the northern bank of the Narmadā (Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, B d). The village of Satājūṇā exists still under the same name—the *Indian Atlas* has 'Satajana'—about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā in Long. 76° 3' and Lat. 22° 8' (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 54). Mahuṇḍa, after which the *pratiḍḡaranaka* or district was called, probably is the village of 'Mohol,' about 25 miles south of 'Satajana,' in Long. 76° and Lat. 21° 48'. Below, in line 23 of the inscription B, we have *Mahuṇḍa-pathakē*, clearly equivalent to *Mahuṇḍa-pratiḍḡaranakē*. Among other Paramāra grants, the word for 'district' is *pathaka* also in No. 57 of my *Northern List*, and *pratiḍḡaranaka* in Nos. 172, 189, 195 and 198. The latter term long ago has been identified with the modern *parganā*, 'a district or tract of country including a number of villages.'

An abstract list of the donees will be given below, p. 115 f. From that list it will be seen that their number was 32, and that the proceeds of the village granted to them were divided into 32½ shares (*vaṇṭaka*),¹ in such a manner that 26 donees received one share each, 3 half a share each, 2 one share and a half each, and 1 (the *mahārāja-panḍita* or 'king's Panḍit' Gōśeś) two shares. The original in each case gives the *gōtra* and *pravara*s of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, and his place (or country) of origin; also, with two exceptions, the Vêdic *sākhā* or Vêda studied by him. The *gōtras*, *sākhās* and localities so mentioned may be seen from the list; the names of the donees' fathers and grandfathers are given in a separate, alphabetical list, below, p. 116 f. The two lists will show that, with a single exception, the people referred to in the preceding are distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names, and which generally refer to their religious occupation and are mostly given in abbreviated forms. In alphabetical order, these epithets are: *agni*°, *i.e.* *agnihôtrin*; *āva*° or *āvasathika*; *upā*°, *i.e.* *upādhyāya*; *cha*° or *chaturvêda*; *ṭha*°, *i.e.* *ṭhakkura*; *tri*° (for *trē*°), *i.e.* *trivêda*; *di*°, *i.e.* *dīkshita*; *dvī*°, *i.e.* *dvivêda*; *pa*° or *paṇḍr*°, *i.e.* *panḍita*; *pāṭha*°, *i.e.* *pāṭhaka*; *yājñi*°, *i.e.* *yājñika*; *śu*° or *sakla*; *śrôtri*°, *i.e.* *śrôtriya*. In addition to these, we have *pañcha*° in line 71, *rājan* in line 37, and *mahārājapanḍita* in line 39. About the meaning of *pañcha*° I am somewhat doubtful. The meaning that first suggested itself to me was *pañchakula*; but as most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations, I would rather

¹ The inscription B. (in lines 32, 34, 36 and 37) shows that the word *vaṇṭaka* is synonymous with *padā*, 'share.'

² He probably is the Gōśeśa, mentioned in line 51 of the inscription B.

take *pañcha*^o to be equivalent to *pañchakalpin* (*pañchôli*) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS., Vol. II. p. 96. In the case of 20 donees the same epithet is borne by grandfather, father and son; in 7 cases the grandfather and father have the same epithet, and the son has a different one; and in one case the epithet of father and son is the same, while that of the grandfather differs. In the four remaining cases we have the sequences: *dikshita, dvasathika, sukla*; *upādhyāya, agnihōtrin, dikshita*; *agnihōtrin, dikshita, dvasathika*; and *agnihōtrin, upādhyāya, dvasathika*. Speaking from personal experience, I remember that many of my Indian pupils had one or the other of the above mentioned terms as surnames — Dikshit, Pailhye, Pathak, Pandit, Shukle, *etc.* — which they probably have handed down unchanged to their children and children's children.

Of the places with which the donees are connected, I take **Mahāvana-sthāna** to be Mulāhan, a town in the Muttra district of the United Provinces (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, C b); **Tripuri-sthāna** is Towar, a village in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, about six miles west of Jabalpur; **Akôla-sthāna** probably is Akola in Berar (*ibid.* Plate 31, D a), and **Mathurā-sthāna** is Muttra in the United Provinces (*ibid.* Plate 27, C b). **Diṇḍvānaka-sthāna** apparently is the *Diṇḍvānaka*, mentioned above, Vol. V. p. 210, now the town of Didwāna¹ in Jōdhpur, Rājputāna (*ibid.* Plate 27, B b). Regarding the remaining places I cannot offer any definite suggestions. **Mutāvathū-sthāna** is the same place which is mentioned as **Muktāvasthū-sthāna** in the three grants of Arjunavarman;² and **Hastināpura** may be the village of Hathiāvara (on the northern bank of the Narmadā in the *Paṅārā pratijāgarānaka*), which was granted by Arjunavarman's grant published in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 27. With **Takāri-sthāna** compare 'Takāri,' above, Vol. III. p. 350, and note 13. The names **Āsrama-sthāna** and **Sarasvatī-sthāna** I have not found elsewhere. On the other hand, **Madhyadēsa** is too well known to call for any remark here.

After the date in line 79, the text of our inscription has the three *aksharas* *dū° śrī mu*, followed by the numeral 3 and a peculiar mark the exact shape of which may be seen from the photolithograph. The first *akshara* of course stands for *dūtakaḥ* or *dūtaḥ*, and should be followed by a name to which the word *śrī* would have been prefixed; but I do not know whether any or what name may be intended to be denoted by *mu 3* and the following symbol. We find the same *mu 3* (probably followed by the same mark which we have here) also in the two grants of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 29 and 33.

The inscription then has the statement that 'this was composed by the king's preceptor (*rāja-guru*) **Madana**, with the approbation of the *mahāsindhivīgrahika* (or great minister of peace and war), the learned **Bilhapa** '—a statement which occurs also in Arjunavarman's grant in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 33, and (with *mahāpaṇḍita* instead of *mahāsindhivīgrahika-paṇḍita*) in the same king's grant in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379. On Madana, who may reasonably be taken to have composed merely the introductory verses of the inscription, see now above, Vol. VIII. p. 99. As regards Bilhapa, in verse 7 of the *prastāvi* at the end of Āśādharā's *Dharmāmṛita*³ 'the learned Bilhapa, the lord of poets,' is described as 'the *mahāsindhivīgrahika* of the glorious king Vindhya (*Vindhya-bhūpati*).' Since this king Vindhya can be no other than Arjunavarman's grandfather Vindhavarman,⁴ it might seem as if his *mahāsindhivīgrahika* Bilhapa could not be the Bilhapa of Arjunavarman's grant and of the present inscription. But in my opinion there are not for the present any valid reasons why the

¹ In Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App. I. p. 335, the town is called *Diṇḍardnanagara*.

² See *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. pp. 27 and 32, and *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 379 (where the published text has *Muktāvastu-sthāna*).

³ See Dr. Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.* during 1883-84, p. 391.

⁴ *Vindhya-bhūpati* has been taken to mean 'king of the Vindhyas or Mālava'; but as *Arjuna-bhūpati* in the same *prastāvi* denotes Arjunavarman, the former can only denote Vindhavarman.

two should not be considered to be identical. Of the length of the reign of Arjunavarman's father we know nothing; and all we know in this respect about Arjunavarman is, that he reigned during the five years from A.D. 1211 to A.D. 1215. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Āśādhara himself, from whose work the above statement is taken, was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Mālava, from Vindhyaavarman to Dēvapāla's son Jaitugīdēva.¹

The inscription ends with the words: 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the Mahārāja, the glorious Dēvapāladēva,' followed by the usual *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ || Ōm namaḥ puruṣārtha-chūḍāmaṇyaḥ dharmmaḥ || ⁴Prativimva-⁵nibhād-
bhāmāḥ kṛtvā sākṣāt-pratigrahaṁ | jagad-āhlādayan=disyā[d*]-dvi-jēṁ-
- 2 drō maṅgalāni vaḥ |(II) 1 |(II) Jiyāt-Parasurāmō=sau kṣatṛaiḥ kṣhupam
raṇ-āhataiḥ | saṁdhyārka-vimvam-⁶ēv-ōrvvī-dātur=yasy-ē(ni)ti tāmvratān⁷ |(II) 2 ||
- 3 Yēna Maṁdōdarivāṣpa-vāribhiḥ sa(śa)mitō mridhō | prāṇōśva(śva)ri-viyōgāgñiḥ
sa Kāmaḥ śrēyaś-etu vaḥ |(II) 3 |(II) Bhimēn=āpi dhṛitā mū[r*]ddhni
yat-pādāḥ
- 4 sa Yudhiṣṭhirah | vams(ś)-ādyēn=ēmdunā jiyāt=su-tulya⁸ iva nirmitaḥ |(II)
4 |(II) Paramārakul-ōttamasaḥ Kāmasajin-mahimā nṛpaḥ | śrī-Bhōjadēva ity=ā-
- 5 sin-nāsirakṛānta-bhūtalaḥ |(II) 5 |(II) Yad-yaśaschaimdrik-ōdyōtō⁹ digutsamga-
turaṁgitō | dvishannṛpa-yaśahpumiḥpumiḥdārka[r*]=nimilitam |(II) 6 |(II) Tatō-
bhū-
- 6 d-Udayādityō nityōtsāh-aikakantukī | aśādhāraṇa-vīraśrīr-śrī-hētur-virōdhinām |(II)
7 |(II) Mahākulaha-kalpāntō yasy-ōddāmabhir=āsu(su)-
- 7 gaḥ | kati n=ōnmūlitās tūṅgā bhūbhṛitah kuṭak-ōlvapāḥ |(II) 8 |(II)
Tasmāch=chhīnna-dvishaṇmarmā Naravarmā narādhipaḥ | dharmō(rm-ā)-
bhyuddharaṇō dhīmān-abhūt=śimā
- 8 mahābhujām |(II) 9 |(II) Prati-prabhātām viprēbhyō dattai[r]=grāma-padaiḥ svayam |
anēkapadatām ninyō dharmmō yēn=aika-pād=api |(II) 10 |(II) Taty(sy)=ājani
Yaśōvarmanma
- 9 putrah kṣatriya-śākharaḥ | tasmād=Ajayavarm-ābhūj=jayāśrīr-vīśrūtaḥ su(su)taḥ
|(II) 11 |(II) Tat-sānur=vvīra-mārdhanyō dhany-ōtpati(tti)r=ajāyata | Gūrjarō-
chchhēda-
- 10 nirvvanādhī¹⁰ Vimdhyavarmā mahā-bhujah |(II) 12 |(II) Dhāray=ōddhṛitayā
sārdhām dadhāti sma tridhātām | sāmyuginasya yasy=āsis=trātum lōku-
trayim=iva |(II) 13 |(II)
- 11 Tasy=āmushyāyanaḥ putrah Sutrāma-śrīr=ath=āśishat | bhūpaḥ Subhājavarmm-ēti
dharmmō tishṭhan=mahī-talam |(II) 14 |(II) Yasya jvalati dig-jētuh pratāpas-
tapuna-dyu-
- 12 tēḥ | dāvāgni-chchhadman=ādy=āpi ¹¹garjjad-Gūrjjara-pattanō |(II) 15 |(II) Dēva-
bhūyam gatō tasmin=namānō-rjjuna-bhūpatti(ti)ḥ | dōṣhāḥ dhātā=dhunā
dhāttri-valayam valayam

¹ See the inscription B., below.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Read *prativimba*.

⁴ Read *tāmvratām*.

⁵ Read *ōdyōtō*.

⁶ The editions of the plates of Arjunavarman have *garjan*=; but *garjjad*= is the reading also of B., below, p. 121, line 14.

⁷ From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens.

⁸ Metre of verses 1-22: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁹ Read *bimbam*.

¹⁰ Read *sva-śalya*.

¹¹ Read *śrī-śamdhāt*.

- 13 yathā I(II) 16 I(II) Vā(bā)lalil-āhavā yasya Jayasimhē palāyitā | dikpālāhāsa-
vyājēna yasō dikshu vijimbhitam I(II) 17 I(II) Kāvya-gāndharvva-sarvvvasva-
nidhinā
14 * yōna¹ sāmpratam | bhār-āvatarapaṇi² dēvyās-chakrē pustaka-viṇayōh I(II) 18
I(II) Yēna trividha-virēpa tridhā pallavitam yasah | dhavalatvam dadhus-
.. triṇi ja-
15 gamti katham=amya(nya)thā I(II) 19 I(II) Ath=ārthinām=apunyēna punyēna
svargga-subhruvām | sō sdbhutatyāgāsilaś=cha śrīmgarī cha divam gatah I(II)
20 I(II) Ta-
16 taḥ Prāmūra-chamdrasya Hariśchamdrasya naīdanah | raksha Mālava-
kshōṇīm Dēvapālāḥ pratāpavān I(II) 21 I(II) Pavitra-karapudmaśyu(sya)
dāmavāri-vijrīm-
17 bhītaiḥ | na vidmō Dēvapālasya dēvapālasya ch-āntaram I(II) 22 I(II) Sa
śha nara-nāyakaḥ sarvv-ābhyudayi ||³ Mahuaḍa-pratijāgarapakō Satā-
18 juṇā-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān=vṛā(brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān=pratinivāsi(sī)-puttakila-jam-
pad-ādīnīś-cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saividi-
19 tam yathā ||⁴ śrī-Mahishmati-sthitair=asmābhiḥ⁵=⁶dvyasītyadhika-dvādaśasāta-
samvatsarē Bhādrapadē māśē paurṇamāsyām sō-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 20 ma-parvvaṇi Rēvāyām snātva śrī-Daityasūdana-sannidhan bhagavantam
Bhavāni-patim samabhyarcheya samśārasy=āsaratām dṛishyā | tathā hi ||
Vā.⁶
21 tābhra-vibhramam=idam vaśu(su)dh-ādhipatyam=⁶āpātamatra-madhurō viśhay-
ōpulhōgah | prāpās=trīnāgrajalavindu-samā narāṇām dha-
22 rmanah sukha param=ahō paralōka-yānō || iti sarvvam vimpiśy=ādṛishṭa-
phalam=āṅgikṛitya ||⁷ Āśramasthāna-vinirggatāya Vājīmādhyamindināś-
23 kh-ādhyāyīnō Parāśa[rn*]-gōtrāya Parāśu-Śakti-Vasishṭh-ēti⁸ tri-pravarāya śrōtri⁹
Dāmōdara-putrāya śrōtri⁹ Vra(brā)hma-putrāya śrōtri⁹ Gaṅgādha-
24 rasu(sa)rmmaṇō vṛā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṭṭakam-ōkam 1 Mahāvanasthāna-
vinirggatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivit-Āṅgiras-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśva-
25 lāyanaśākha-ādhyāyīnō di¹⁰ Gaṅgādharā-putrāya āvaśa(sa)thika-Mahāditya-putrāya
śukla-Bhadresva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmaṇō vṛā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṭṭakam-ō-
26 kam 1 Mahāvanasthāna-vinirggatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivit-Āṅgiras-ēti
tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākha-ādhyāyīnō di¹⁰ Śim(śim)ha-
27 kam[ha]-putrāya śu¹¹ Madhukamṭha-putrāya śu¹⁰ Chamdrakamṭhasa(sa)rmmaṇō
vṛā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṭṭakam=ōkam 1 Mahāvanasthā[n*]-vinirggatāya Audalya-
gōtrāya¹² Mā-
28 dhyamindināśākha-ādhyāyīnō di¹⁰ Padmasvāmi-putrāya di¹⁰ Trilōchana-putrāya di¹⁰
Nārāyaṇa(śa)rmmaṇō vṛā(brā)hmaṇāya sārldham vaiṭṭakam=ōkam 1¹² Ma-

¹ Originally *yōma* was engraved.² The edition of the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 26, has *bhāradvajanam*.³ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.⁴ Read *asmābhiḥ*.⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.⁶ Instead of the *akshara dhā* originally *dha* seems to have been engraved.⁷ This sign of punctuation is superfluous. Here and in other places below the rules of *samdhī* have not been observed.⁸ Originally *Parāśa-Śa* was engraved. Read *Parāśara-Śakti-Vasishṭh-ēti*, where the name *Śakti*, elsewhere, would stand for the more correct *Śakti*. See below, line 71.⁹ I.e., here and below, *śrōtriya*.¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *dikshita*.¹¹ I.e., here and below, *śukla*.¹² Here the *pravaras* are omitted.

- 29 hāvanasthāna-vinirggatāya Kātyāyana-gōtrāya¹ Śā(sā)maṇḍ-ādhyāyinaḥ tṛi²
Rāmēsva(śva)ra-pautrāya tṛi² Jāsōdhara-³putrāya tṛi² Sūrasarmmaṇḍ⁴
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ
- 30 kaṁ 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāja-Āṁgīrasa-
Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-pravarāya Kauthumaśākḥ-ādhyāyi-
- 31 nō tṛi² Dāḷapa-pautrāya tṛi² Āśādhara-putrāya tṛi² Visvōsvaraśarmmaṇḍ⁵
vra(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-
- 32 ja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāja-Āṁgīrasa-Vā(bā)rhasya(spa)ty-ēti tri-pravarāya Mādhyamīna-
śākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ di⁶ Kēlhaṇa-pautrāya di⁶ Madhu-putrāya di⁶ Rā-
- 33 masa(śa)rmmaṇḍē vrā(brā)hmaṇā[y]ja vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Tripurīsthāna-
vinirggatāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāja-Āṁgīrasa-Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-
prava-
- 34 rāya paṁ⁷ Haridhara-pautrāya paṁ⁷ Mahīdhara-putrāya paṁ⁷ Bhṛṅga-
śarmmaṇḍē⁸ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya sārddhaṁ vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1½ Mutavathūsthāna-
vinirggatāya
- 35 Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyapa(p-Ā)vatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-
ādhyāyinaḥ cha¹⁰ Pṛithivīdhara-pautrāya cha¹⁰ Āśā(śā)dhara-pu-
- 36 trāya agni¹¹ Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇḍē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1
Akōlāsthāna-vinirggatāya Parāvaśu(su)-gōtrāya Parāvaśu(su)-Kāṁkāya-
- 37 na-Kaikaśya¹² tri-pravarāya tha¹³ Bharatapāla-pautrāya tha¹³ Dāḷapa-putrāya
rāja-Gōśa(śa)śarmmaṇḍē¹⁴ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthā-
- 38 na-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ Vasi(sī)shṭha-gōtrāya Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-
Vasi(sī)shṭh-ēti tri-pravarāya chaturvvēda-Janārdhana-pautrā-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 39 ya chaturvvēda-Dharaṇīdhara-putrāya mahārājapamḍita-śrī-Gōśēśarmmaṇḍē¹⁵
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitaka-dvayaṁ 2 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Ā-
- 40 śvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvān¹⁶
Anuvva-Jāmadagny-ēti pañcha-pravarāya cha¹⁰ . . . 16-pautrāya cha¹⁰
- 41 Vishṇu-putrāya cha¹⁰ Rāmēsva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmaṇḍē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=
ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalā[yā*]naśākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ Kāśyapa-
gōtrā-
- 42 ya Kāśyapa-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁰ Samuddhara-pautrāya cha¹⁰
Dēvadhara-putrāya cha¹⁰ Gadādharaśa(śa)rmmaṇḍē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=
ēkaṁ 1 Ma-
- 43 thurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyinaḥ Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-
Vaitahavya-Sāvatas-ēti tri-pravarāya cha¹⁰ Pavitra-pautrā-
- 44 ya cha¹⁰ Dharaṇīdhara-putrāya cha¹⁰ Garbhēsva(śva)raśarmmaṇḍē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākḥ-ādhyāyi-

¹ Kātyāyana-gōtrāya was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line. Here, again, the *pravarā* are omitted.

² Here and below for *tṛi*², i.e. *tri-ṇḍa*.

³ For *Yasōdhara*.

⁴ For *Sūrasarmmaṇḍ*.

⁵ In the place of the *akṣara* *ra* originally *da* was engraved.

⁶ Read *Viśvōsvara*.

⁷ This, or *paṁ*⁷, here and below, = *pamḍita*.

⁸ The *śikṣā* of this man is omitted.

⁹ Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is *Matdevathā*.

¹⁰ I.e., here and below, *chaturvḍa*.

¹¹ I.e., here and below, *agniśōtri*.

¹² Read *Kaikaśya*.

¹³ I.e., here and below, *thakkura*.

¹⁴ The *śikṣā* of this man is omitted.

¹⁵ Read *Āpnavāna*; see below, lines 52 and 66.

¹⁶ Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.

i.[illegible]

iii

[illegible]

- 45 nē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Samuddhara-
pautrāya cha° Dēvadhara-putrāya cha° Lōhataśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇā-
- 46 ya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Pīṭhādvānakasthāna-vinirggatāya 1¹ Śāṁkshāyanaśāk-
hādhyāyinē Gautama-gōtrāya Gautam-Āṁgirasa-Autatthy-ēti² tri-prava-
- 47 rāya cha° Dharapīdhara-pautrāya cha° Vra(bra)hma-putrāya cha° Purushōttama-
śarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mutāvathūsthāna-vinirggatāya
- .. Mādhyam-
- 48 dinasākh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya
dvi°³ Gōvināda-pautrāya dvi° Vāsadhara-putrāya dvi° Gadā-
- 49 dharaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitaka(k-ā)rdham ½ Mutāvathūsthāna-
vinirggatāya Mādhyamdināsākh-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-
Naidhru-
- 50 v-ēti tri-pravarāya di° Gaṁgādhara-pautrāya di° Kēśava-putrāya Udaśar-
mmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitaka(k-ā)rdham ½ Mahāvanasthā[na*]-
vinirggatāya Kau-
- 51 thumaśāk-ādhyāyinē Gautama-gōtrāya Gautam-Āṁgirasa-Autatthy-ēti tri-
pravarāya paṁ° Madana-pautrāya paṁ° Kālha(nha)da-putrāya paṁ°
Kuladharaśa(śa)rmmaṇē
- 52 vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Takāristhāna-vinirggatāya⁴ Kauthumaśāk-
hādhyāyinē Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvān⁵ Aurva-Jāmadagny-ē-
- 53 ti paṁcha-pravarāya tṛi° Janārdhana-pautrāya tṛi° Naraśim(sim)ha-putrāya Ava⁶
Abhinandāśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Madhyadēśa-
vinirggatā-
- 54 ya Mādhyamdi[na*]śāk-ādhyāyinē Mudgala-gōtrāya Āṁgirasa(sa)-Bhara . . sa-
Mudgal-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Chelhitū-pautrāya agni° Dharapīdhara-putrā-
- 55 ya agni° Anantaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Madhyadēśa-
vinirggatāya Mādhyamdināsākh-ādhyāyinē Śāṁḍilya-gōtrāya Śāṁḍilya-Asi(si)ta-
- 56 Dēval-ēti tri-pravarāya yājñi°⁷ Nāgadēva-pautrāya yājñi° Kṛishṇa-putrāya agni°
Sthānēśva(śva)raśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-
vini-
- 57 rggatāya Āśvalāyanaśāk-ādhyāyinē Dhaumya-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-[Nai*]dhruv-
ēti⁸ tri-pravarāya cha° Vishṇu-pautrāya cha° Sādhāraṇa-putrā-
- 58 ya cha° Ūdha[ra]śarmmaṇē⁹ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=ēkaṁ 1 Mathurāsthāna-
vinirggatāya 1¹⁰ Rāpāyiniśāk-ādhyāyinē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Āṁgi-
- 59 rasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tṛi° Mādhyava-pautrāya¹¹ tṛi°
Sōmēśva(śva)ra-putrāya tṛi° Kuladharaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaitakam=
ēkaṁ 1

Third Plate.

- 0 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Rāpāyiniśāk-ādhyāyinē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Āṁgirasa-
Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tṛi° Rī(ṛi)shi-pautrāya tṛi°

¹ Read *Śāṁkshyāna*° or, more correctly, *Śāṁkshyāna*°.

² *Autatthy* = *Auchatthy*; see below, B., line 33.

³ *I.e.*, here and below, *dvi* or *da*.

⁴ Originally *Gāṁgā*° was engraved, but the first *d* has been struck out.

⁵ Originally *sthāna*° or *vi*° was engraved.

⁶ Read *Apnava*°.

⁷ *I.e.*, here and below, *dvasthika*°.

⁸ In this name an open space is left for two syllables. The name which one would have expected is *dharmyasva*.

⁹ *I.e.*, here and below, *yājñika*°.

¹⁰ The *akshara* *es* is engraved above the line.

¹¹ Originally *Ūdhapa*° was engraved.

¹² Read, here and below, *Rāṁḍantyāśāk*°.

¹³ The *akshara* *dha* is engraved above the line.

- 61 Mārkaṇḍa-putrāya tri° Madhusūdanaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkam 1
Sarasvatīsthāna-vinirggatāya Kaṭhaśākha-ādhyāyinē [Har]ita-Kutsa-
- 62 gōtrāya Āṅgiraśa(sa)-¹ Anva(ba)rīsha-Yauvanāsv(śv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Vijayt-
pautrāya cha° Ajayī-putrāya cha° Allīśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkam 1
- 63 Madhyadēśa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamīnaśākha-ādhyāyinē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-
Āvata-sara-Naidhruv-ēti tri-pravarāya upā² Nārāyaṇa-pautrāya agni°³ ..
- 64 Jasadēva-putrāya di° Lāhaḍaśarmmaṇē⁴ vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkam 1
Madhyadēśa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamīnaśākha-ādhyāyinē Sāmḍilya-gōtrāya A-
- 65 śi(si)ta-Dēvala-Sām(sām)ḍily-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Kaṭuka-pautrāya di° Pura-
śhōttama-putrāya āva° Narasimhaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkam 1
Ma-
- 66 dhyadēśa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamīnaśākha-ādhyāyinē Mārkaṇḍeya-gōtrāya
Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnavān° Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti pañcha-pravarāya agni°
Chehbitū-pau-
- 67 trāya upā° Dāmōdara-putrāya āva° Mārkaṇḍeyaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaiṇṭakam ēkam 1 Madhyadēśa-vinirggatāya Mādhyamīnaśākha-ādhyāyinē
Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 68 trāya Āṅgiraśa(sa)-⁷ Vā(bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya divi° Nārāyaṇa-
pautrāya divi° Padmaubha-putrāya pāṭha°⁸ Vāyudēvaśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya
vaiṇṭaka-
- 69 m-ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākha-ādhyāyinē Kautsa-gōtrāya
Āṅgiraśa(sa)-Anva(ba)rīsha-Yauvanāsv(śv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Hari-pau-
- 70 trāya cha° Janārdana-putrāya cha° Rājēśarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam-
ardham ½ Hastināpura-vinirggatāya Kauthumaśākha-ādhyāyinē Pārāsa(sa)ra-gōtrā-
- 71 ya Pārāsa(sa)ra-Śakti-⁹ Vasi(si)śhṭh-ēti tri-pravarāya pañcha°¹⁰ Kālma(nha)ḍa-
pautrāya pañcha° Kumara-putrāya pañḍi°¹¹ Kusumapālśarmmaṇē
vrā(brā)hmaṇāya vaiṇṭakam=ēkam 1
- 72 samastō pi grāmās-cha¹² tūhka¹³ mka¹⁴ ka¹⁵ sa-vṛkṣhamālākulaḥ
hiraṇyabhāgabhōgah s-ōparikuraḥ sarvvādāya-samētaḥ sa-nidhikṣhēpaḥ sha-
- 73 mhalātama[ka]-¹⁶ sumanvitō mātāpitṛr-ātmanas-cha punyajasō-¹⁷ bhivṛiddhaye
chandrārkaṇḍāvakṣhiti-samakālam yāvat-paraya(yā) bhaktyā śāsā(sa)nēn-ōdaka-
pūrvvām pradattaḥ [!°] tan-ma-
- 74 tvā tannivāsi(si)-pa[tta] kilajanapadair=yathādīyamāna-bhāgabhōgakarahiraṇyādikaḥ
dēvavrā(brā)hmaṇabhukti-varjjam=ājñā-vidhēyair=bhūtvā sarvvam-ēbhyaḥ vrā(brā)-
hmaṇēbhyaḥ dātavyam [!°]
- 75 sūmānyam ch=aitat=punya-phalam vudhvā¹⁸ smadvamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-
bhōkṭṛibhir-asmatpradatta-dharmmadāyō¹⁹ syam=anumantavyaḥ pālaniyās=cha²⁰ ||
Uktam cha || ²¹ Va(ba)hubhir=vaśu(su)dhā

¹ Originally *Āṅgiriśa*- was engraved.² This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line.³ For *Yasiddha*-.⁴ Read *Āpnavāna*-.⁵ I.e. *pāṭhaka*-.⁶ I.e., here and below, *paṭhaka* 'pi- (P).⁷ The *akṣhara* in brackets might possibly be read *chā*. As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between *id* and *ta* at the commencement of line 73 is larger than it generally is between two *akṣharas*.⁸ Read *punyasāś*-.⁹ Read *buddhā*-.¹⁰ One would have expected *dharmaḍḍyō*; but *dharmaḍḍyō* is the reading of most of the Paramāra copper-plates.¹¹ Originally *śi-chaś* was engraved.¹² Metre of this verse and the next: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).¹³ I.e., here and below, *upādhyāya*-.¹⁴ Originally *Lāhaḍa*° was engraved.¹⁵ Originally *Āṅgiriśa*- was engraved.¹⁶ Read *Śakti*-, and see above, p. 109, note 8.¹⁷ I.e. *pañḍita*-.¹⁸ Read *chatuskhamaka*-.

- 76 bhuktā rājabbhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasja yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalaṁ || Sva-dattān para-dattān vā yō harēta vasubdharān | su
vishṭhāyām kṛimīr=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha
- 77 majjati || ¹Sarvvān=ēvaṁ bhāvino bhūmipālān-bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō
Rāmabhadraḥ ([*] sāmānyō=yam dharmma-s'tur-nṛpāpān kālō kālō pālani-
- 78 yō bhavadbhiḥ || Iti² kaṇaladulāmvu(bu)vindu-lōlān sriyam-anuchintya
manushya-jlvitān cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitān cha vudhvā³ na hi pu-
- 79 rusbhiḥ para-kirttayō vilōpyā iti || Samvat 1282 varshē Bhādra-sudi 15 Gurau ||
Dū⁴ śrimu 3||⁵ Rachitam=ida[m*] mahāsāndhi-
- 80 vigrahika-paṇḍita-śrī-Vi(bij)hāṇa-saṁmatōna |⁶ rāja-gururā Madanēna | Sva-hastō=
yam mahārāja-śrī-Dēvapālādēvasya || Maṅgalān mahā-śrīḥ ||⁷

TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-23.

Om! Om! Obeisance to *dharma*,⁷ the crest-jewel of the aims of man!

(Verse 1.) May (the Moon), the Lord of the twice-born, gladdener of the world, after having openly accepted the earth in the guise of its reflection,⁸ bestow blessings on you!

(V. 2.) May that Paraśurāma be victorious, for whom, when he granted the earth (to the *Bṛāhman*s) the very orb of the twilight-sun, pierced by the Kshatriyas slain (by him) in fight, became the copper-plate!⁹

(V. 3.) May Rāma minister to your welfare, he who in battle quenched the fire of separation from his life's mistress by the water of Mandōdari's¹⁰ tears!

(V. 4.) May Yudhishtīra be victorious, whose feet even Bhīma placed on his head, (and) whom the Moon, the progenitor of his race, framed as it were equal unto himself!

(V. 5.) There was a king, great like Kāṁsa's conqueror,¹¹ an ornament of the Paramāra family, the glorious Bhōjadēva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army.¹²

¹ Metre: Śālini.

² Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

³ Read *buddhva*.

⁴ I.e. *dātaka* or *dātā* (as in the inscription B.).

⁵ For the exact shape of this mark, which is not a sign of punctuation, see the accompanying photo-lithograph.

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁷ I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit *dharma*: in the present case 'religious me-it' would perhaps best convey some idea of what is intended. The four aims of man are *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mōksha*.

⁸ The spot (*kālāṅka*) in the moon is by poets taken to be the reflected image of the earth. Prof. Jacobi, who first drew my attention to this notion, quotes *Raghuvamśa* XIV. 40, and especially *Haraviṣaya* XLI. 61; and I find that the idea is clearly expressed in verse 1982 of the *Subhāshitāvalī*, according to which 'others have said' that the spot in the moon is 'the reflected image of the earth' (*bhūmāś=cha himṣam parē*); compare also *ibid.* v. 2544, *śaśalākṣhmaṇaḥ paripatā prithet kalakṣkṛyāḥ*. With *pratibimba-nibhit* compare *pratibimba-mishṭ* in the *Pārijātamañjari*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 110, line 50; and with *jagad-āhlādayan*, as applied to the moon, *āhlādayan-risam* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 208, line 1.—The Moon being a *devī* (or *Bṛāhman*), one of his privileges is to receive gifts (*pratigraha*), just as it is his duty to make them (*dāna*).

⁹ The verse has been called awkward, because it has not been understood. Since warriors slain in battle enter heaven through the sun, this luminary, covered with their blood, assumes the reddish hue of copper. In this state it appears in the twilight sky, and is thus represented to be the very copper-plate charter (*dāma*) by which Paraśurāma granted the earth to the *Bṛāhman*s. For the idea of warriors who are slain in battle splitting the sun compare, e.g., *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 192, v. 33; *Subhāshitāvalī*, v. 2274; and the pretty verse, given to illustrate the figure of *sakṣhma*, in *Ēkdant*, Bombay ed., p. 325: *Narēṣu kāntēṣu kṛitābhilāṣdhā svargāṅgandhā prākṣhya mart-himāḥ | Nṛsiṁha bhōpāla tav-āha-ṣhu kampākulaṁ darśayati svalinbam*; afraid of being split, the sun trembles.

¹⁰ Mandōdari was Rāvaṇa's favourite wife.

¹¹ I.e. the god Kṛishṇa.

¹² The word *nāstra* (i.e. *sāśa-mukha*) occurs in the *Pārijātamañjari*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 116, l. 78; also, e.g., in the *Naiṣadhyācharita*, XII. 78 and XIII. 23.

(V. 6.) When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day-lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings.

(V. 7.) Then came Udayāditya, whose one desire was constant enterprise; who, of unequalled glory as a hero, made inglorious his adversaries.

(V. 8.) As lofty mountains, abounding in ridges, at the end of a mundane period are uprooted by impetuous winds, so in fierce contest how many rulers of the earth, abounding in armies, were not uprooted by his irresistible arrows!

(V. 9.) From him sprang king Naravarman, who cleft the vital parts of adversaries; the acme of kings, wise in upholding religion.

(V. 10.) At every dawn freely granting shares of villages to Brāhmanas, he made religion, one-footed though it is (*in this Kali age*), possessed of several feet.¹

(V. 11.) His son was Yaśōvarman, the chaplet of Kshatriyas; (*and*) from him sprang his son Ajayavarman, renowned for the glory of victory.

(V. 12.) His son, of auspicious birth, the foremost of heroes, was Vindhyaavarman, long of arm, eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras.

(V. 13.) The sword of this (*king*) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges,² to protect as it were the three worlds.

(V. 14.) Then the son of that illustrious one, king Subhaṭavarman, abiding by religion, ruled the surface of the earth, glorious like Indra.

(V. 15.) The fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters, whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest-fire even to-day blazes in the town³ of the blustering Gūrjara.⁴

(V. 16.) Now⁵ that he has attained unto godhead, his son king Arjuna supports with his arm the circle of the earth like a bracelet.

(V. 17.) When in the battle which was his childhood's frolic Jayasimha took to flight, his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the quarters' guardians.

(V. 18.) A treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvatī) of the burden of her books and lyre.

(V. 19.) This triple hero⁶ made his fame triply sprout. How otherwise did the three worlds acquire their whiteness?

¹ In the golden age *dharma* had four feet, of which it lost one in each subsequent age (*Pardārasmyitī*, ed. by Vāman Śāstri Islāmpurkar, Vol. I. P. I. p. 82). The word for 'share' in the original being *pāda*, i.e. 'foot,' the king by granting shares of villages increased the number of *dharma's* feet and so brought back as it were the golden age. Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 218, l. 19: *mahāddāndīy-atūṅgāni kurvaṇ=pareddīy=andkaiśaḥ | dharmamāy=atridhād=yō=śhrta*; see also *ibid.* Vol. XII. p. 159, l. 7.

² By itself the sword had two edges (*dhārā*); the town of Dhārā, retaken by it, became its third edge (*dhārā*). The author suggests that the sword became like the *tridhārā*, i.e. the 'three-streamed' Gaṅgā, which flows through, and purifies, heaven, earth, and the lower regions.

³ The word *pattana* may also be taken as a proper name of the well-known Pattana (see e.g. above, Vol. VIII. p. 224, No. XII., and p. 229, No. XXXII.).

⁴ *Gurjjar-Gūrjara* occurs also above, p. 35. l. 27; compare also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 217, l. 11: *m=airam G[ū]rjjara gurjja*.

⁵ This 'now' is really inappropriate in inscriptions of Arjunavarman's successors, but the verses 16-19 have been taken over unchanged from that king's own grants.

⁶ I.e. a hero in fight, in compassion (like Jñātesādhana), and in bounty (like Bali)—*yuddha-vīra*, *daya-vīra*, and *dāna-vīra*; compare Vāmanabārya in his edition of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 113; *Śrīngārātilaka*, III. 14 (*trividdhō nāyakaḥ*); and similar works. In the *Pārijātamañjarī*, above, Vol. VIII. p. 102, l. 7, and p. 103, l. 13, Arjunavarman is styled *trividdhastra-vāldāman*. The same epithet I find applied to a person named Udaya, in three Mount Ābh inscriptions of the Vikrama years 1245 and 1291 (Mr. Consens' List, Nos. 1725, 1726 and 1810). With the whole verse one may compare *Śikāvalī*, p. 258: *Narasimha mahāpāla kīrtiṣa-tripathagā tava | na kasya bhavati śāḍghyā punān bhuvanatrayam* !

(V. 20.) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven.

(V. 21.) Then *Dēvapāla*, full of prowess—the son of *Hariśchandra*, the moon of the *Pramāras*—came to rule the *Mālava* country.

(V. 22.) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds *kusa* grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between *Dēvapāla* and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the *Dānavas* caused to take the *argha* in his lotus-hand (to make a respectful offering)].¹

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71.

Number.	Name of donee.	Description.	Gōtra.	Śākha or Vēda.	Place of origin.	Shares.
1	Guṅgādihara ²	śrōtriya	Parāśa[ra]	Vājimādhyandina	Āśrama ³	1
2	Bhadraśvara	śukla	Pavitra	Āśvalāyana	Mahāvana	1
3	Chandrakaṇṭha	"	"	"	"	1
4	Nārāyapa	dikshita	Audalya	Mādhyandina	"	1½
5	Śūra	trivēda	Kātyāyana	Sāmaveda	"	1
6	Viśvāśvara	"	Bhāradvāja	Kaushuma	Takari	1
7	Rāma	dikshita	"	Mādhyandina	"	1
8	Bhṛigu	paṇḍita	"	omitted.	Triputi	1½
9	Nārāyapa	agnihōtrin	Kāśyapa	Āśvalāyana	Mutavathū	1
					Carried over	10

¹ The king *Dēvapāla* and the guardian of the gods (*dēvapāla*, i.e. the god Indra) are alike because either of them is *dānavādri-riṣṭimhitaḥ pavitrakarapadmaḥ*. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt; it means both 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (*dāna-rātri*), and 'the exploits of the enemy of the *Dānavas*' (*Dānava-ari*, i.e. the god Vishnu-Krishna). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding *pavitra* (i.e. *kusa* or *darbha* grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus-hand.' Applied to Indra, I take it to mean 'make a respectful offering to Vishnu.' In support of this explanation I would quote *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 124, 2, where Brahman offers to Vishnu the *argha-salila*, when he sees how the latter has cheated Bali. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word *padma* to have been used in two different senses in the compound.—From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in *Ind. Ant.* I. XVIII. p. 218, ll. 19 and 20: *Śriyaṁ bābhāra vidhivad-dānavādrītītōshitaḥ Mahāndravād-dvijārāśhṭha-rggasat-saṅgam-āgataḥ* II, where *dānavādrītītōshitaḥ* means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the *Dānavas*.' *Dānavādrī* also has a third meaning, 'the rutting-juice of phanta' (*mada-jala*), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the *Dānavas*' the word is used in the *Naishadhhyacharita*, XIII. vv. 3 and 23, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to suggest the *śriyaṁ bābhāra* . . . *dānavādrītītōshitaḥ Mahāndra*[h] of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that *Pañchanaltya* is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 18th *yuga* of the *Naishadhhyacharita*.) In *Śikṣavālī*, p. 200, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because he holds the *dānavādrī*.

² All these names have the word *śarma* attached to them.

³ With the exception of *Mādhyandina* and *Pañchindrapura*, these names have the word *sthāna* attached to them.

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71—*contd.*

Number.	Name of donee.	Description.	Gôtra.	Śākhā or Vēda.	Place or origin.	Shures
					Brought forward	10
10	Gōsala	rājan	Parāvasu	<i>omitted.</i>	Akōlā	1
11	Gōsō	mahārājapāṇḍita	Vasiṣṭha	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	2
12	Rāmēśvara	chaturvēda	Bhārgava	"	"	1
13	Gadādhara	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
14	Garbhēśvara	"	Bhārgava	"	"	1
15	Lōhaṭa	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
16	Purushōttama	"	Gautama	Śāṅkhāyana	Diḍdvānaka	1
17	Gadādhara	dvivēda	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamīdina	Mutāvathū	1
18	Udai (Udayi)	<i>omitted.</i>	"	"	"	1
19	Kuladhara	pāṇḍita	Gautama	Kauthuma	Muhāvana	1
20	Abhinanda	āvasathika	Vatsa	"	Takāri	1
21	Ananta	agnihōtrin	Mudgala	Mādhyamīdina	Madhyadēśa	1
22	Śhānēśvara	"	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
23	Ādha[ra]	chaturvēda	Dhaumya	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	1
24	Kuladhara	trivēda	Bhāradvāja	Rāṇyini	"	1
25	Madhusūdana	"	"	"	"	1
26	Alli	chaturvēda	Harita-Kutsa	Kaṭha	Sarasvatī	1
27	Lāhaḍa	dikṣita	Kāśyapa	Mādhyamīdina	Madhyadēśa	1
28	Narasimha	āvasathika	Śāṇḍilya	"	"	1
29	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	"	1
30	Vāyudēva	pāṭhaka	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
31	Rājō	chaturvēda	Kautsa	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	1
32	Kusumapāla	pāṇḍita	Parāśara	Kauthuma	Hastināpura	1
TOTAL						32

NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.

Ajayi, chaturvēda, l. 62.

Āśādhara, trivēda, l. 31; chaturvēda, l. 35.

Bharatapāla, śhakkura, l. 37.

Brahman, śrōtriya, l. 23; chaturvēda, l. 47.

Chhūtā, agnihōtrin, ll. 54, 66.

Dālapa, trivēda, l. 31.

Dālāpa, śhakkura, l. 37.

Dāmōdara, śrōtriya, l. 23; upādhyāya, l. 67.

Dhādhara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.

Dharaṇḍhara, chaturvēda, ll. 39, 44, 47; agnihōtrin, l. 54.

Gaṅgādhara, dikshita, ll. 25, 50.

Gōvinda, dvivēda, l. 48.

Hari, chaturvēda, l. 69.

Haridhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.

Janārdana, chaturvēda, ll. 38, 70; trivēda, l. 53.

Jasādēva, agnihōtrin, l. 64.

Jasōdhara, trivēda, l. 29.

Kāuhaḍa, paṇḍita, l. 51; pañchakalpin(?), l. 71.

Kaṭuka, agnihōtrin, l. 65.

Kōlhaṇa, dikshita, l. 32.

Kōśava, dikshita, l. 50.

Krishṇa, yājñika, l. 56.

Kumara, pañchakalpin(?), l. 71.

Madana, paṇḍita, l. 51.

Mādhava, trivēda, l. 59.

Madhu, dikshita, l. 32.

Madhukaptha, śukla, l. 27.

Mahāditya, āvasathika, l. 25.

Mahidhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.

Mārkaṇḍa, trivēda, l. 61.

Nāgadēva, yājñika, l. 56.

Narasimha, trivēda, l. 53.

Nārāyaṇa, upādhyāya, l. 63; dvivēda, l. 68.

Padmanābha, dvivēda, l. 68.

Padmasvāmin, dikshita, l. 28.

Pavitra, chaturvēda, l. 43.

Prithivīdhara, chaturvēda, l. 35.

Purushōttama, dikshita, l. 65.

Rāmēśvara, trivēda, l. 29.

Rishi, trivēda, l. 60.

Sādharāṇa, chaturvēda, l. 57.

Samuddhara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.

Simhakaṇṭha, dikshita, l. 26.

Sōmēśvara, trivēda, l. 59.

Trilōchana, dikshita, l. 28.

Vāsadhara, dvivēda, l. 48.

Vijayī, chaturvēda, l. 62.

Vishṇu, chaturvēda, ll. 41, 57.

B.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN II.; [VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1317.]

These are **two plates** which were found by Mr. Lele,¹ some time in 1904, at the village of Godarpura opposite the island of **Māndhātā**, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. They were sent by the Deputy Commissioner of Nimār to the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. They measure about 1' 5½" broad by 10¾" high, and are held together by two rings, now cut, for which there are two holes in either plate. I edit the inscription which they contain from impressions sent to me by the Government Epigraphist.

The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing both on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1' 4" broad by between 9½" and 10" high, that on the second side of the second plate 1' 4½" broad by 8" high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well-engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3" broad by 4" high, which contains an engraving of Garuḍa, with, below it, the words *śva-lakṣṭhō-yaṁ mahārājasya* ll, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about ¾". The characters are Nāgari, closely resembling those of the inscription A., and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. The sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*; the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in *sata*, l. 25; as is often the case elsewhere, *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* are employed instead of *ddy*, *ddv* and *ddhv*; *Janārdana* is written *Janārjjana* in line 34, and *śaṭbhira* as *śaṭbhira* in line 37. The sign of *avagraha* is employed seven times; and, excepting in *simprataṁ*, l. 16, *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse

¹ The plates were first mentioned by Mr. Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archaeological work in the Dhar State, dated the 24th August 1904.

is denoted by the sign for *m*, not by that of *anusvāra*.—In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A.; and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with *Vātābhra-ribhṛatam idam vasuṭh-ādhipatyaṃ*, and in lines 42-48 five benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with *Iti kamaladālāmbucindu-lōlām*. There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, *asmābhīḥ . . . Gāṅgadēva-pārsvat . . . grāmā-yam tribhṛā brāhmaṇābhīḥ dāpitāḥ*, 'we have caused Gāṅgadēva to give this village to three Brāhmaṇas.'¹

The inscription records an order by the **Paramāra Mahārājādhirāja Jayavarman [II.]** of **Mālava**, dated, as will be shown below, in A.D. 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings²) with the same verses of the inscription A., and contain therefore the same list of kings from **Bhōjadēva** to **Dēvapāla**. The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus:—

"When³ that king, the glorious **Dēvapāla**, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (*while*) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king **Jaitugidēva**, the glorious **Mālava** chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young **Nārāyaṇa**."⁴

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king **Jayavarman**, rules the land."

Dēvapāla, therefore, was succeeded by his son **Jaitugidēva**, and he by his younger brother **Jayavarman [II.]**.—**Jaitugidēva** was known already from the *prasaṣti* in **Āśādharā's Dharmamṛita**, referred to above,⁵ according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the **Paramāra Dēvapāla's** son **Jaitugidēva**, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A.D. 1243. In my *Northern List*, No. 223, I have assumed that **Jaitugidēva** is identical with a king who is mentioned in a **Rāhatgaḍh** inscription of the 28th August A.D. 1256, noticed by me in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 84, where I have given the king's name as **Jaya[simha]dēva**. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether **Sir A. Cunningham**⁶ was not right in reading the same name as **Jaya[varman]dēva**, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at **Udaypur** in **Gwālior**,⁷ which seems to be of the reign of a king **Jayasīnghadēva** and to be dated in the [**Vikrama**] year 1311 (in Jan-

¹ Exactly the same construction occurs in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1891, p. 11: *Itā . . . lēkhaka-Sōhādā-pārsvat-lēkhāpitā*, 'he caused the writer Sōhādā to write (a certain MS.)' With the use of *pārsvat* we may compare that of *hasāt* in Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 29: *Udayachandraganinā Jinabhadralēkhaka-hasāt-Vimalachandraganī-hastich-cha Ōghaniryuktisūtram lēhitam*.

² In verse 17 this inscription has *Jaitrasīmḥ* instead of *Jayasīmḥ*, and in verse 21 *prasaṣti* instead of *varakṣha*.—For the reading *Jaitrasīmḥ* see above, Vol. VIII. p. 303, where a certain person is called both *Jayasīmha* and *Jaitrasīmha*. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it would in my opinion show that the *Jayasīmha*, who was defeated by **Arjunavarman**, undoubtedly was the **Chaulukya Jayantasīmha (Jayasīmha) Abhivavāsiddharāja**.

³ The text actually has: "Now that **Dēvapāla** has resorted to Indra's abode, his son **Jaitugidēva** rules this land." The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of **Jaitugidēva** himself.

⁴ **Bāla-Nārāyaṇa** most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare **Kumara-Nārāyaṇa**, as an epithet of the **Paramāra Sindhūrāja**, in the *Navasāhasakāśākhya*, l. 69.

⁵ See above, p. 107.

⁶ See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. X. p. 31. Judging from **Sir A. Cunningham's** rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two *akṣaras* between *Jaya* and *dēva* are almost completely broken away.

⁷ I am writing this with **Sir A. Cunningham's** rubbing of the inscription before me.

uary 1255). For the present, what is certain is, that Jaitugidēva¹ was reigning in A.D. 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A.D. 1260-61.

In lines 23 ff. of our inscription Jayavarman informs all king's officers, Brāhmanas and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of *Vaḍaūda* in the *Mahuḍa paṭhaka*, that, while staying at *Maṇḍapadurga*, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the *Pratihāra*² *Gāṅgadēva* to give the village of *Vaḍaūda* to three Brāhmanas.

* And, according to lines 28 ff., the *Pratihāra* *Gāṅgadēva*, on Sunday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of *Āgrahāyana* (*Mārgaśīrsha*) of the year 1317, while the *nakṣatra* was *Pūrvāṣāḍhā* and the *yōga* *Sūla*, at *Amaréśvara-kṣhētra* on the southern bank of the *Révā* (*Narmadā*), after bathing at the confluence of the *Révā* and *Kapilā* and worshipping the holy *Amaréśvaradēva* (*Śiva*) with the five offerings,³ gave the village of *Vaḍaūda*, divided into six shares (*paṇṭaka*) so that—

four shares (*paṇḍa*) were assigned to the *agnihōtrīn*⁴ *Mādhavaśarma*—a son of the *pīṭhaka* *Harīśarma* and grandson of the *devīdā* *Vēda*—a Brāhman of the *Bhārgava gōtra*⁵ and student of the *Mādhyaṃdina śākhā*, who had come from *Navagāṃva*;⁶

one share (*paṇḍa*) to the *chaturvēda* *Janārdana*—a son of the *devīdā* *Limadēva* and grandson of the *devīdā* *Lāshū*—a Brāhman of the *Gautama gōtra* and student of the *Āśvalāyana śākhā*, who had come from *Takāri*; and

one share (*paṇḍa*) to the *devīdā* *Dhāmadēvaśarma*—a son of the *dīkṣita* *Divākara* and grandson of the *dīkṣita* *Kōkū*—a Brāhman of the *Bhāradvāja gōtra* and student of the *Mādhyaṃdina śākhā*, who had come from *Ghaṭāṇshari*.

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over ere. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information:—

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of *Jyēṣṭha* of the year 1317, this king's order (*raja-sāsana*) was written 'here, at *Maṇḍapadurga*,' by *Harṣadēva*, a son of the learned *aviśa*, with the approbation of the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war), the *paṇḍita* *Āladhara*, an official of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious *Jayavarmadēva*; and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (*śāhika*) *Āmadēva*, a disciple of the learned *osika* (*tiṣṭh*)⁷ 'who knew the boundless essence of legal science.' The grant was engraved by the *prāṇādhāra* *Kāuṇḍa*. The *dūta* was the great minister (*mahāpradhāna*), *Rājā* *Ajyadēva*.

The words 'this is the own hand (*i.e.* the sign-manual) of the *Mahārāja*' are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of *Garuḍa* on the second side of the second plate.

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 23 & 29, for the expired (*Chaitrārdi* or *Kārttikārdi*) *Vikrama* year 1317 corresponds to Sunday, 7th November A.D. 1260. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. m.; the *nakṣatra* was *Pūrvāṣāḍhā*, by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 17 h. 4 m., according

¹ In the first half of the 13th century A.D. we find the name *Jaitugi* twice in the family of the *Yadavas* of *agiri*; and there was a [Śīlāra] *Koṣkanachakravartin Jaitugidēva*, an unpublished inscription (belonging to Bombay As. Soc.) of whom apparently is dated in A.D. 1207.

² Given in the abbreviated form *pratt*. The word *pratihāra* means 'a door-keeper', but denotes a high official.

³ Compare *pañchōpachāra-plājā*, e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 347, l. 10, and above, Vol. III. p. 215, l. 5, p. 301, l. 42. The five articles presented are *gandha*, *pushpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa* and *nairṇḍya*; compare *Sūdra-alākara*, p. 140 f., where *pañchōpachāra*, *dasōpachāra* and similar terms are explained.

⁴ These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms *agni*, *pa*, *devi*, *cha*, and *dt*.

⁵ In the original the *pravaras* also are given.

⁶ The names of the places of origin here also have the word *sthāna* attached to them.

⁷ See above, p. 106.

to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the equal space system from 10 h. 30 m.; and the *yôga* was Śūla for 20 h. 46 m., after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired *Kīrttikādi* Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Thursday, the 12th May A.D. 1261, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h. 46 m. after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a *Kīrttikādi* year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, **Maṇḍapadurga**, from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogarh (Māṇḍā), a deserted town in the Dhār State, in Long. 75° 4' and Lat. 22° 21' (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Piplīnagar plates of king Arjunavarman.¹ On **Mahuaḍa**, see above, p. 106. **Vaḍaūda** perhaps is the village of 'Burud' which according to the *Indian Atlas* is about three miles north-east of 'Satajana,' the village granted by the inscription A. I have already pointed out that *Mahuaḍa-pathakā* of this inscription is equivalent to *Mahuaḍa-pratijigarapakā* of the inscription A.; and I may state that a (or the ?) village of Vaḍaūda is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramāras Yaśovarman and Lakshmi-varman, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 352, ll. 5 and 13. **Amarēśvara-kṣhētra** is the Amarēśvara-tīrtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 27 was issued, and the Amarēśvara mentioned in the plates of Jayasinha, above, Vol. III. p. 47; it is near the island of Māṇḍhātā, on the southern bank of the river Narmadā. The grant in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* quoted just now also mentions the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā, which is now called 'Kapila Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narmadā.'² Of the places of origin of the donees, **Takāri-sthāna** is one of the places mentioned in A.; **Navagāmva-sthāna** may be the town of Nawgaon in the Chāudā district, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces; **Ghaṭāushari-sthāna** I am unable to identify.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 || Onī namah puruṣhārtha-chūdāmanayā dharmāyā || 'Prativimva-⁴nibhād=bhūmībh
kṛtvā sākṣhāt pratigrahaṃ | jagad ā-
- 2 hlāḍyaṇ-diśyā[d*] dvijēndrō⁵ maṅgalāni vah || 1 [||*] Jīyāt-Parasūrāmō-sa
kṣhatrīn kṣhūṇṇān raṇ-āhataih⁶ | samādhyārka-vimvam-⁷śō-
- 3 v-ovvī-dātūr-yasy nīti tāmratām || 2 [||*] Yōna Maṇḍōdarivashpa-vāribhū
śamitō mṛidhō [||*] prāpēsvari-viyōgāgnih sa
- 4 Rāmah śrēyasō ssta vah || 3 [||*] Bhīmān=āpi dhṛitā mūrdhni
yat-pādāh sa Yudhishthirah | vanś-ādyān-ēndunā jīyāt-sva-tulya i-
- 5 va nirmmitah || 4 [||*] Paramārakul-ōttamīsalā Kamsajin-mahimā nṛipah |
śrī-Bhōjadēva ity-āsin=nāśirakrānta-bhūtalah⁸
- 6 || 5 [||*] Yād-yaśāśchāmḍrik-ōdyōtō⁹ digntsaṅga-taraṅgitō | dvishannṛipa-
yaśahpunjapumḍarikair-nūmilitam || 6 [||*] Tatō śbhād=U-
- 7 dayadityō nityōtsāh-aikakautukī | arādhārāya-vīraśrī=aśrī-hētur=vvirōdhinām ||
7 [||*] Mahākālaha-kalpā-

¹ See *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. V. p. 879. — The town is called *Maṇḍapapura* in line 16 of the Dec. 246 inscription published *ibid.* Vol. LII. P. I. p. 70.

² See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 258.

³ Metre of verses 1-21. Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁴ After *drō* another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.

⁵ This sign of punctuation was originally omitted.

⁶ In the place of *ta* originally *la* was engraved.

⁷ Read -*ddyōtō*. — Between the *akṣaras* *ta* and *ścham* a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

⁸ From an impression supplied by Dr. Sten Konow

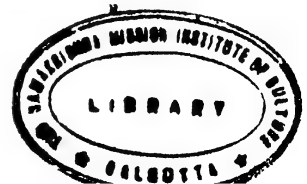
⁹ Read *pratīlimba*.

¹⁰ Read -*bimam*.

- 8 utē yasy-ōddāmbhir-āsugaiḥ | kati n=ōnmūlitās=tuṅgā bhūbhṛitāḥ kaṭak-ōlvaṇāḥ
 (11) 8 [11*] Tasmāch-ohinna-dvishanmarmmā Narava-
 9 rmmā narādhipaḥ | dharmm-ābhyuddharaṇē dhīmān-abbhūt-simā mahibhujām ||
 9 [11*] Prati-prabhātām viprēbhyō dattair-grāma-padaḥ svaya-
 10 m | anōkapaḍatām ninyō dharmmō yēn-aika-pād-āpi || 10 [11*] Tasy-ājani
 Yaśōvarmmā putraḥ kahatriya-sēkharah | tasmād=Ajayava-
 11 rmm-ābbhūj-jayaśrī-vīśrūtaḥ sutaḥ || 11 [11*] Tat-sūnur-vvīra-mūrdhanyō
 dhany-ōtpattir-ajāyata | Gūrjjarōchohēda-nirvvaṇmā¹ Vīmḍhyavarmmā
 mah[ā]-
 12 bhujāḥ || 12 [11*] Dhāray-ōddhṛitayā sārḍham dadhāti sma tridhātām |
 sāmuyuginasya yasy-āsis-trātum lōka-trayim=iva || 13 [11*] Tasy-ā-
 13 muḥyāyapaḥ putraḥ Sutrāma-śrīr-ath-āśishat | bhūpaḥ Subhaṭavarmm-ēti
 dharmmē tishṭhan-mahī-talam || 14 [11*] Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jō-
 14 tuḥ pratāpa-tāpana-dyutōḥ | dāvāgnī-chehhadmā(dma)n-ādy-āpi | garjjad-
 Gūrjjara-pattanō || 15 [11*] Dēva-bhūyaḥ gatō tasmin=namdanō-rjuna-
 bhūpati[h*]
 15 | dōḥṇā dhattō sḍhunā dhātri-²valayam valayam yathā || 16 [11*]
 Vā(bā)lālī-āhavē yasya Jaitrasimhē³ palāyitē | dikpalāhā-
 16 sa-vyājēna yaśō dikshu vijrimbhitam || 17 [11*] Kāvyagāṇḍharvva-sarvvasva-
 nidhinā yēna sāmpratam | bhār-āvataranam dēvyāś-chakrē
 17 pustaka-vinayō⁴ || 18 [11*] Yēna trividha-vīrēna tridhā pallavitam yaśah |
 dhavalatvam dadhus-trīpi jaganti katham-anyathā ||
 18 19 [11*] Ath-ārthinām-sapunyēna punyēna svargga-subhruvām | sō sḍbhuta-
 tyāgastlāś=cha śringārī cha divam gataḥ
 19 || 20 [11*] Tataḥ Pramāra-chandrasya Hariśchamdrasya namdanah ||(1)
 praśāstī⁵ Mālava-kshōpim Dēvapālāḥ pratāpavā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 20 n || 21 [11*] ⁶Tasminn=Aimdra-padam mud-āśritavati śrī-Dēvapālē⁷ nripē
 tat-sūnur=dvishad-āntakō nija-guṇair=lōkā-
 21 n=sadā rajjayan | dhīmān(ū)-Jaitugidēva ēsha nripatiḥ śrī-Mālav-ākhamḍalaḥ
 śāsti kshōpim=imām=udāra-cha-
 22 ritaiḥ svair=Vvā(bā)lanārāyapaḥ || 22 [11*] Bhuktva⁸ rājya-sukham tasmin=
 prāptē tridāsa-mamdiram | śāsti tasy-ānujaḥ kshōpim Jaya-
 23 varmmā janādhipaḥ || 23 [11*] Sa ēsha nara-nāyakaḥ sarvv-ābhyudayi ||⁹
 Mahuṇḍa-pathakē Vāḍaūda-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān=vvā(bā)-
 24 hmaṇ-ōttarān-pratinivāsi-peṭṭakila-janapad-ādīmś=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ
 samviditam yathā ||¹⁰ śrīman-Mamḍapadurgga-sṭhitai=n-
 25 smābbhiḥ saptadaśadhika-trayōdaśasa(sa)ta-samvatsarē ||¹¹ saṁśāasy=āśratām
 dṛishṭvā || tathā hi || ¹²Vātābbra-vibhramam=idam vasa-
 26 dh-ādhipatyam=āpātāmātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prāḥās=trijāgrajalavimdu-samā
 narāṇām dharmmaḥ sakḥā param-ahō

¹ Read -nirvvaṇmā.² Originally dhātri- was engraved.³ In A. and in the three grants of Arjunavarman the name is Jayasimhā.⁴ In the place of et originally eś was engraved.⁵ Instead of this word A. has rāṇakḥa.⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁷ The akḥara pā of this word seems to be corrected out of lē which was originally engraved.⁸ Metre : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).⁹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.¹⁰ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

- 27 paralōka-yānē [||*] iti sarvvaṁ vimrśya dāpan-ādīśṣṭaphalam=saṅgikṛitya ||
prati°² śrī-Gāṅgadēva-pārsvat°³ Vedaūda-grāmō=yam
- 28 tribhyō vrā(brā)hmanēbhyō dāpitah | Tēna cha prati° śrī-Gāṅgadēvena
sammat°⁴ 1317 Āgrahana-⁵śukla-tṛitīyāyām tithau
- 29 Ravi-vāsarē Pūrvvāśādhā-nakṣatrē Śūla-nāmnī yōgē śrīmad-Amarēśvara-
kṣétrē Rēvāyā dakṣiṇē kūlē Rēvā-Kapilā-
- 30 saṅgamē snātva bhagavantaṁ charāchara-gurum śrīmad-Amarēśvarī°⁶
dōvaṁ pañcōpachāraiḥ samabhyarchya ||¹ jīvitam vidyuch-chañchalām
jūātva
- 31 Navagāmvasthāna-vinirgatāya Bhārgava-sagotrāya Bhārgava-Chyāvana-⁷Āpnāna-
Aurva-Jāmadagny-ōti pañcō-pravarāya Mādhyam-
- 32 dinasākh-ādhyāyinē dvi°⁸ Veda-pautrāya°⁹ pā°¹⁰ Harisarmma-putrāya agni°¹¹
Mādhasasarmmaṇē vrā(brā)hmanāya padāni chatvāri
- 33 4 Takāristhāna-vinirgatāya Gautama-sagotrāya Gautam-Āṅgīrasa-Auchatthy-ēti
tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyā-
- 34 yinē dvi° Lāshū-pautrāya dvi° Limadēva-putrāya cha°¹² Janārjjanaśarmmaṇē°¹³
vrā(brā)hmanāya padam-ēkam 1 Ghaṭāusharisthā-
- 35 na-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-sagotrāya Āṅgīrasa-Vā(bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti
tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdināsākh-ādhyāyinē
- 36 di°¹⁴ Kēkū-pautrāya di° Divākara-putrāya dvi° Dhāmadēvaśarmmaṇē
vrā(brā)hmanāya padam-ēkam 1 ōvam=ēbhyaḥ=°¹⁵tribhyō
- 37 vrā(brā)hmanēbhyah śha(bhīr=°¹⁶vamtakair=Vedaūda-grāmō=yam samastō=pi
chatuḥkarmkṛta-¹⁷visuddhah sa-vṛikṣhamālākulaḥ sa-hiraṇyabhā-
- 38 gabdhōgah s-ōparikarah sarvvādāya-samētaḥ sa-nidhē(dhi)nikṣhēpō mātāpitrōr-
ātmanas-cha puṇyayāsōsbhivriddhayē
- 39 chandrāṅkkārṇava[kṣh]jīti-samakālām yāvat-parayā bhaktyā dēvavrā(brā)hmana-
bhukti-varjjam śāsanēn=ōdaka-pū-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 40 rvva[m] pradattaḥ || tan=matvā tannivāsi-paṭṭakilajanapadair=yathādīyamāna-
bhāgabdhōgnakarairanyādikam=ājñā-vidhā-
- 41 yair-bhūtva sarvvam=ētēbhyah samapanētavyam°¹⁸ | sāmānyam oh=aitad=dharma-
phalam vu(ba)ddhv=āsmadvamśajair=anyair=api bhāvi-bhōktrībhīr=a-
- 42 smatpradāpita-dharmmadāyō°¹⁹ syam=anumantavyah pālaniyaś=cha || Uktaṁ cha ||
°²⁰Va(ba)hubhīr=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhīh Sagar-ādī-
- 43 bhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Sva-dattām
para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdharam

¹ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

² I.e., here and below, *prathidra*.

³ Read -*parśvat*.

⁴ Originally *sammat* seems to have been engraved. Read *samvat*.

⁵ Read *Āgrahāyana*.

⁶ The *akṣara* *re* of this word in the engraving is really *ra*.

⁷ Read *Chyavana*; this correction may have been made already in the original.—Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁸ I.e., here and below, *dviśāla*.

⁹ Originally -*chaudrāya* was engraved.

¹⁰ I.e. *pāthaka*.

¹¹ I.e. *agnihōtri*.

¹² I.e. *chaturvīda*.

¹³ Read *Sandrdana*.

¹⁴ I.e., here and below, *dhakṣita*.

¹⁵ Read -*ēbhyaḥ*.

¹⁶ Read *śhaḍbhīr*.

¹⁷ Read *chaturvīda*.

¹⁸ Originally -*śatavyam* was engraved.

¹⁹ Compare above, p. 112, note 16.

²⁰ Metre of this and the next two verses : Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

- 44 | vishthāyān sa kṛimīr-bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha majjati | (||) Shashtīm varsha-
sahasrāpi svargē tishṭhati bhūmidāḥ |
- 45 āchchhettā ch=ānumattā(ntā) cha tāny-ēva narakē vasēt | (||) ¹Sarvvān=ēvaṁ
bhāvinō bhūmipālān-bhūyō bhū-
- 46 yō yāchatō Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmānyō syām dharmma-sētur-nṛipāṇām kālō kālō
pālaniyō
- 47 bhavadbhiḥ || Iti² kamaladalān-vu(bu)viṇḍu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-
jvitam cha | saka-
- 48 lam=idam=udāhritam cha vudhvā³ na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti
||⁴|| Samvat
- 49 1317 Jyēshṭha-śudi 11 Gurāv-ady-ēcha śrī-Mamḍapadurgē mähārājādhirāja-
śrīmaj-Jayavarman-
- 50 dēva-niyuktēna sāmḍhivirga(gra)hika-patn⁵ śrī-Mālādhara-sammatēna ||⁵
⁶Pa[m]jditāndra-Gaviśasya sūnūnā vidushā spu(sphu)ṭam |
- 51 Harshadēv-ābhidhēn-ēdām lēkhitam⁷ rāja-sāsanaṁ⁸ | (||) Yō⁹ vēṭṭy-apāram
smṛtiśāstra-sāram Gōśēka-nāmnō vu(bu)dha-puṅgava-
- 52 sya | śishyaḥ sudhiḥ sāvdi(bdi)ka Āmadōvō bhūpasya lēkhyam samaśōdhi-
tēna | (||) Utkirṇam=idam ru(rū)pakāra-Kānhaḍēna |
- 53 Dātō mahāpradhāna-rāja-śrī-Ajayadēvaḥ | (||)
¹⁰Sva-hastō=yaṁ mahārājasya ||

NO. 14.—KANKER INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHANUDEVA;
THE [SAKA] YEAR 1242.

By HIRA LAL, B.A.; NAGPUR.

This inscription or *prasasti*, as it is called in line 19, is lying in the veranda of the school house at Kanker, the capital of the Feudatory State of that name in the Central Provinces, and was brought away from the ruins between the Diwān and Śitalā tanks in that town. It was first brought to my notice by Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State, who kindly furnished me with an inked estampage, and further estampages were supplied to me by the Diwān of the Kanker State and the Agency Inspector of Schools, Chhattisgarh Feudatories.

The stone is a cubit square and half a cubit thick, and the writing covers a space of 18" by 17" in 19 lines. The letters are bold and well formed, the average size being $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Dēvanāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the commencement (*ōm śiddhiḥ*) in line 1, and the concluding portion (ll. 18 and 19) containing the date and the names of the erector and the writer of the inscription. There are altogether eight verses, of which six are in the Śārdūlavikṛīḍita metre, and the first and the last in Śragdharā and Anuṣṭubh respectively. The principal orthographical peculiarities are the indifferent use of *ś* for *s* and *vice versa* (ll. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 19) and the use of *b* for *v* (ll. 2, 12, 14). Some of the letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been doubled specially *m* and *t*, others not. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all. Final forms of occur in ll. 12 and 18.

¹ Metre: Śālit.

² I.e. *paṇḍita*.

³ Read *lēkhitam*.

⁴ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

⁶ Originally -*sāsanaṁ* was engraved.

⁷ Read *buddhā*.

⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁹ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁰ These words are engraved in small letters under the figure of Garuḍa which is on the proper right of the plate between lines 42 and 50.

The inscription is an eulogy of the *Nāyaka Vāsudēva*, the minister of king *Bhānudēva* of *Kākāira*.¹ It states that he constructed two temples of *Mahādēva*, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in the [Śaka] year 1242 bearing the name *Raudra*, on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Jyāishṭha*, corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A.D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repetition of the Hindū date *pañchami* in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that *Vāsudēva*'s ancestors were elephant-catchers (?). Though in the *Kanker State* wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included.² The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the *Kākāira* chiefs, mentioning in order the following:—*Simharāj*, *Vyāghra*, *Vōpadēva*, *Kṛishṇa*, *Jaitarāja*, *Sōmachandra* and *Bhānudēva*. The dynasty is stated to be lunar, and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them:—*avanīśa* (l. 1), *nṛpa* (ll. 2 and 5), *dharanīdhara* (l. 6), *bhūpāla* (l. 7) and *nṛipati* (ll. 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word 'king.' In two copper-plate grants of *Pamparājadēva* found in the *Kanker State*³ the king is styled *Sōmavamsānvaya-prasūta-mahāmāṇḍalika* (feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present *Rāj* family of *Kanker* is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family.⁴ According to its own traditions it claims to have come from *Orissa*. Its original ancestor was ruling at *Jagannāthapurī*, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At *Sihāwā*, close to *Kanker* and now in the *Dhantari tahsil* of the *Raipur* district, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people⁵ persuaded him to stay on at *Sihāwā* and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that *Sihāwā* was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the *Saka* year 1114. The capital was finally removed to *Kanker*. This must have been done prior to *Bhānudēva*'s times. For in line 12 we read: *Kākāira nṛpa-Bhānudēva-nagarā* (in *Kākāira*, the town or capital of king *Bhānudēva*), and in lines 3 to 5: *Kākāira . . . śrī-Jaitarājō-bhavat* (there was the illustrious *Jaitarāja* in *Kākāira*). This *Jaitarāja* was the grandfather of *Bhānudēva*. Thus *Kākāira* has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. *Kanker* once included the rich *Dhantari tahsil* of the *Raipur*

¹ This is really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as *Kanker*. In General Cunningham's *Report for 1873-74* it is spelt as *Kākēr*, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it *Kākāira*.

² The Central Provinces, called *Goudwānā* by the *Muslimāns*, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like *Jabalpur*, which were and are far less jungly than *Kanker* had their quota of wild elephants. See *Jarrett's Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 196, where the following occurs:—"Garha (2 miles from *Jabalpur*) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mohurs and elephants." About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in *Rairākhōl*, a State now transferred to *Bengal*, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

³ These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

⁴ *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 236.

⁵ It is said that the installation of the *Kanker* chief is up to this day confirmed by the *Halbas* by anointing the *Rājā* before the shrine of *Mulidēvī*. The *Halbas* are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These *Halbas* claim to have come from *Orissa* along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the *Kanker* chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of *Oriyā*, *Chhattisgarhī* (a form of *Eastern Hindī*) and *Marāṭhī*; see Dr. *Crierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VII. p. 331.

district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6' and 20° 34' N. and 80° 41' and 81° 40' E.

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Diwān and Śitalā talāos, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Śitalā talāo—a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Śitalā was constructed on its bank—is the *Kauḍika-bandha* of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Diwān talāo or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a *taḍḍa* apparently distinguished it from the *bandha*, i.e. the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name *Kauḍika-bandha* indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a *bandha* (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of *kauḍikas*,¹ a Sanskritised form of *kauḍis* (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value.

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr. Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A.D., and he alludes to them in his private Journal² thus:— "Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village; one has a *bijak* giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now." This *bijak* was seen on the gate of the Mahādēva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a *puratōbhadrā* with a *pratōli*, about which latter Dr. Vogel has written an article in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1906, p. 539. He has proved that *pratōli* really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps.³ I have not been able to find *puratōbhadrā* in the *Kōśas* to which I have access, but *sarvatōbhadrā* is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters.⁴ From this I infer that a *puratōbhadrā* was a building with only one door in front. And the Kākāra *puratōbhadrā* was actually furnished with a gate-way (*pratōli*).

¹ In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit *kapardika*), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pamparājādēva alluded to before, the coin *ṣaṅka* of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called *kauḍhat*, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

² Quoted in Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, Vol. VII. p. 147.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43.

⁴ The idea seems to have been taken from a *sarvatōbhadrā* village, which is described in the *Mānasa*, a book of the highest authority on Hindū architecture, as "a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Mahādeva. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 3, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village; at the angular points should be erected halls, porticoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south-east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahākālī, and the huts of Chandālas or outcasts should be placed distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes."—See Ram Raz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, 1834, p. 43.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः ॥ चाशीवशे¹ हिमासोर्महितगुणगणसिंहराडैरिसिंहसत्माद्वाप्राव-
नोशोभव-
- 2 दतुलयश तेजसापास्तशूर्यः² ॥ जज्ञे सोपि स्ववीर्योचितनृपतिस्वकं³ बीपदेवं
स चैवं क्षय-⁴
- 3 खं वैरिराजव्रजदलनपरं विक्रमाक्रांतविह्वं⁵ ॥१॥ काकीरेवनिपालमौलिसुकुट-
प्रोद्गा-
- 4 'सिंहरीरांकुरज्योतिद्योतितपादपंकजनस्रज्योतिस्त्रकाश' भुवि ॥ संधामागणवीर-
विक्र-
- 5 मगुणः श्रीजैतराजोभवत्तस्मादद्भुतसम्प्रतापमहसः श्रीसोमचन्द्री नृपः ॥२॥
तस्मात्श्री-⁶
- 6 गुणसागरादभिनवस्वर्वागवेजोज्वलः⁷ श्रीभानुर्धरणीधरः क्षितितले⁸ स्रग्ध्रप्रतिष्ठो-
दयः [।*]
- 7 जागर्त्ति⁹ प्रतिपक्षपक्षदलनो भूपालचूडामणिर्यस्मिन्शाश्रित¹⁰ लोक एव सुकृती
जागर्त्ति श-¹¹
- 8 हासनः ॥३॥ देशः¹² पुण्यनिरीतिशास्त्रतधनस्रस्त्रार्मनिष्ठा विजाः खेष्टापूर्त-
पराः प्रजाष्कि-¹³
- 9 मपरं पौराः परं धार्मिकाः [।*] सभ्याः¹⁴ शास्त्रविचारधौतमनसो धर्मावि-
तारे कलौ राज्यं शास-
- 10 ति भानुदेवनृपतौ किं किं न लोकीत्तरं ॥४॥ वंशे नागदलोपजीवन-
जनस्कीर्तेभवन्ना-
- 11 यकः श्रीदामोदरसूनुवज्रलयश¹⁵ पो[लू]प्रजानायकः ॥ ख्यातस्तन्तनय-
स्वभावसर-
- 12 लो भीमाभिधस्तत्सुतो काकीरे नृपभानुदेवनगरे¹⁶ श्रीवासुदेवोभवत् ॥५॥
स्त्रंभोयं [न]-
- 13 गरस्य जातिजनतानध्यप्रभानायको¹⁷ विष्णुतत्किल¹⁸ भानुदेवनृपतेः¹⁹ पादांशुजा-
राधकः [।*]

¹ Read चासीवशे हिमाश्री°.² Read क्षयाख्यं.³ Read 'ज्योतिःप्रकाशी.⁴ Read 'स्रग्ध्र'.⁵ Read सहासनः.⁶ The original has *iditro*°.⁷ Read 'स्रग्ध्र'.⁸ Read 'शूर्य'.⁹ Read 'ज्ञानविश्व'.¹⁰ Read 'तस्मात्क्षी'.¹¹ Read 'जागर्त्ति'.¹² Read 'शाश्रित'.¹³ Read 'वज्रलय'.¹⁴ Read विख्यातः किञ्च भानुदेव°.¹⁵ Read बीप°.¹⁶ Read 'ज्योतिर्द्योतित'.¹⁷ Read 'बीजज्वलः'.¹⁸ Read 'जिह्वासति'.¹⁹ Read प्रजाः कि°.²⁰ Read श्रीवासु°.²¹ Read पादांशुजा°.

- 14 संप्रामांगणसादिवर्गपुरतः ख्यातप्रभावो ¹महाजगत्पुत्रविक्रमो धृतिधरः
बीबा-²
- 15 सुदेवो भुवि ॥६॥ देवश्रीसिंभूषणस्य³ कृतिना देवालयं कारितं युग्मं
मंडपशोभितं च
- 16 पुरतोभद्रं प्रतोष्या सह । वेवेशस्य तथा सुरालयवरं स्मीतं [त*]-
डागं तथा बंधं कौडिकसंज्ञकं
- 17 बहुजलं दीर्घं तथा खानितं ॥७॥ ⁴‘इष्टापूर्सपरस्याग्नीत्सुकीत्तिशसि-
चंद्रिका’ [।*] वासुदे-
- 18 वस्य विस्कारा स्थिताचन्द्रार्कतारकं ॥८॥ संवत् १२४२ रौद्रसंवत्सरे ।
ज्येष्ठ⁵ वदि
- 19 पंचम्यां । ⁶प्रसस्तिस्समारोपिता नायकवासुदेवेन ॥ लिखिता ⁷सत्तिकुमा-
रेण ॥ शिवं [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Om. Success! (Verse 1.) In the race of the Moon there was (born) Simharāj, a (very) lion to enemies, (and) praised as possessing numerous virtues. From him was born king Vyāghra, of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour. He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness: Vōpadēva; and the latter, likewise, (had a son) named Kri[shṇa], who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (and) who dominated the universe by (his) valour.

(V. 2.) (Then) there was in Kākaira the illustrious Jaitarāja, the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (still more) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (prostrating themselves before him) to the ground, (and) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field. From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (was born) the illustrious king Sōmachandra.

(V. 3.) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (was born) a young king: the illustrious Bhānu, who was brilliant by (his) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, he destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings. (He) is (now) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (all) virtuous (and) well-intentioned.

(V. 4.) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (all) calamities; the twice-born are devoted to good actions; the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts. What more? The citizens are very virtuous (and) refined, (and) their minds are purified by the study of the Śāstras. What wonder does not (happen) in (this) iron age, while king Bhānudeva, the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V. 5.) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (catching?) groups of elephants there was the Nāyaka Pō[ī], of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious Mmōdara. His famous, straightforward son was called Bhīma. His son was the illustrious 'Bānudeva, (who resided) in Kākaira, the town of king Bhānudeva.

¹ Read महाजगत्.² Read बीबा°.³ Read °शसि°.⁴ Read इष्टा°.⁵ °सासीक° and °शसि°.⁶ Read उद्येष्ट.⁷ Read प्रशक्ति°.⁸ Read शक्ति°.

(V. 6.) This illustrious **Vāsudēva**, the pillar of the city, the chief gem (*shining*) with priceless splendour amongst (*his*) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-feet of king **Bhānudēva**, known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (*and*) patience, is (*now*) administering the country.

(V. 7.) (*This*) clever (*minister*) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (*viz.* Mahādēva), together with halls, a *puratōbhadrā* with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (*dedicated*) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (*he*) caused to be dug a large pond (*taḍḍa*) and a long tank (*bandha*) called **Kauṭika**, which contained a great quantity of water.

(V. 8.) The moon-light of the true fame of **Vāsudēva**, devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (*and*) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Line 18.) **Saṃvat 1242**, in the **Raudra** year, on the 5th (*tīthi*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of **Jyāishṭha**, (*this*) *pratistī* was erected by the *Nāyaka* **Vāsudēva**. Written by Śaktikumāra. Hail!

POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÜTTINGEN.

Prof. Hultzsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr. Hira Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two copper-plate inscriptions of the **Kākaira (Kanker)** chief **Pamparājadēva**, which are about to be published by Mr. Hira Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr. Hira Lal: *Saṃvat 1242 Raudra-saṃvatsarē | Jyāishṭha-vadī pañchamyaṃ* |. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a *Raudra-saṃvatsara*. *A priori* the expression *saṃvat 1242* would be taken here to denote the **Vikrama year 1242**; but there is no **Vikrama year 1242** that could be called a **Raudra** year. Nearest to V. 1242, **Raudra**, by the southern system, would be the expired *Chaitrādī* **Vikrama year 1257**; and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A.D. 1195 to the 8th November A.D. 1196, in the expired *Chaitrādī* or *Kārttikādī* **Vikrama years 1252 and 1253**. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired *Kārttikādī* **Vikrama year 1252**, in which case the 5th of the dark half of **Jyāishṭha** would undoubtedly fall in a **Raudra year**; but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression *saṃvat 1242*, as has been done by Mr. Hira Lal, to denote the expired **Śaka year 1242**, which by the southern system was a **Raudra year**. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the **Śaka era** in inscriptions I have shown¹ that among 400 **Śaka** dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word *Śaka* or *Śāka*, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verso. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the **Śaka year 1242** by some such expression as *Śakā 1242*, not by *saṃvat 1242*. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the **Śaka year 1242** can be described as a **Raudra year**.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 149.

As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations.¹ To me the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious. And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Śaka date, it would correspond, for the *pūrṇimānta* Jyāishṭha, to Monday, the 28th April A.D. 1320, and for the *amānta* Jyāishṭha, as stated by Mr. Hira Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May,² A.D. 1320.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparāja, one is clearly dated as follows :—

[L. 7]
[L. 8] *saṁvatsarē Kārtika-māsē Chitrā-rikshē Ravi-dinē suryōparāgē*
[L. 10] *saṁvat 966*

i.e. "in the *Īśvara* year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month Kārttika, in the year 966."

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the *Kalachuri* era.

In *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 53 ff., I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 793 and 958, which hitherto have been available, that the *Kalachuri* (Chōdi) era commenced on the 5th September A.D. 248, that the years were *Āvinādi* years and the months *pūrṇimānta* months, and that therefore, to convert an expired *Kalachuri* year into an expired year of the *Kaliyuga*, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of *Āśvina* or in any month from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 3350 in all other cases. Applying this here, we find that our date, for the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika of the expired *Kalachuri* year 966 = *Kaliyuga* expired 966 + 3349 = 4315, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, when the 15th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 33 m., and when the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise. On the same day there was a total eclipse of the sun, the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long. 82° and Lat. 20°) was four digits.³

It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date; but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted the year *Īśvara* instead of the immediately following year *Bahudhānya*. By the northern mean-sign system *Īśvara* lasted from the 2nd September A.D. 1212 to the 29th August A.D. 1213. By the northern luni-solar system therefore *Īśvara* was the proper name of *Kaliyuga* 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, viz. *Kaliyuga* 4315 expired, which according to the northern luni-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name *Bahudhānya*. For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result.⁴

The date of the other copper-plate of Pamparāja I read thus :—

[L. 9] | *saṁvata* | 965 Bhādrapadē vadi 1[0]
[L. 10] *Mṛiga-rikshē Śa[ma]-dinē* |

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the *tithi* and the second *akshara* of the name of the weekday. As regards the latter, it appears to

¹ If the year were 1244 (instead of 1242), it might be taken to be a *Kalachuri* year, in which case the date would have fallen in a *Raudra* year. I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be assigned to so late a period (A.D. 1492-98).

² The 5th *tithi* commenced 1 h. 4 m. before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 0 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise of the Wednesday.

³ Between A.D. 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kārttika that could have been visible at Kanker.

⁴ Mr. Hira Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. According to the original date, this day should fall in the year *Parābhava*; but by the northern luni-solar system it would fall in the year *Plavaṅga* which follows immediately upon *Parābhava*, and by the southern system in the year *Viśvāvasu* which immediately precedes *Parābhava*.

me evident that the engraver after the *akṣhara śā* in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter *d* (of *dinś*), and that he then altered this *d* to *ma*. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is *Sōma-dina* or 'Monday.' Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the *tithi*. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhādrapada and during it the *nakṣatra* Mriga (Mrigaśirsha). Now in the dark half the *nakṣatra* will ordinarily be Mriga about the 8th *tithi* of the *amānta* and the 10th *tithi* of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada; and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word *vadi* is actually followed by 10, the 0 of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation "the year 965, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of (the *pūrṇimānta*) Bhādrapada, with the *nakṣatra* Mriga and a Monday." And treating the year again as a Kalachuri year, I find the following equivalents :—

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kaliyuga expired 965 + 3850 = 4315 : Saturday, the 2nd August A.D. 1214, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada ended 18 h. 25 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h. 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 20 h. 21 m., after mean sunrise.

For the current Kalachuri year 965 = Kaliyuga 4315 current : Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada commenced 7 h., and when the *nakṣatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 14 h. 27 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, as the true equivalent of our date. That the *tithi* of the date was a current *tithi* can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Seorinārāyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated—

Kalachuri-samvatsarā || 898 || *Āsvina-sudi* 2 *Sōma-dinś*.

According to the photograph the date really is—

Kalachuri-samvatsarā || 898 || *Āsvina-sudi* 7¹ *Sōma-dinś*, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A.D. 1145, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.

NO. 15.—NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

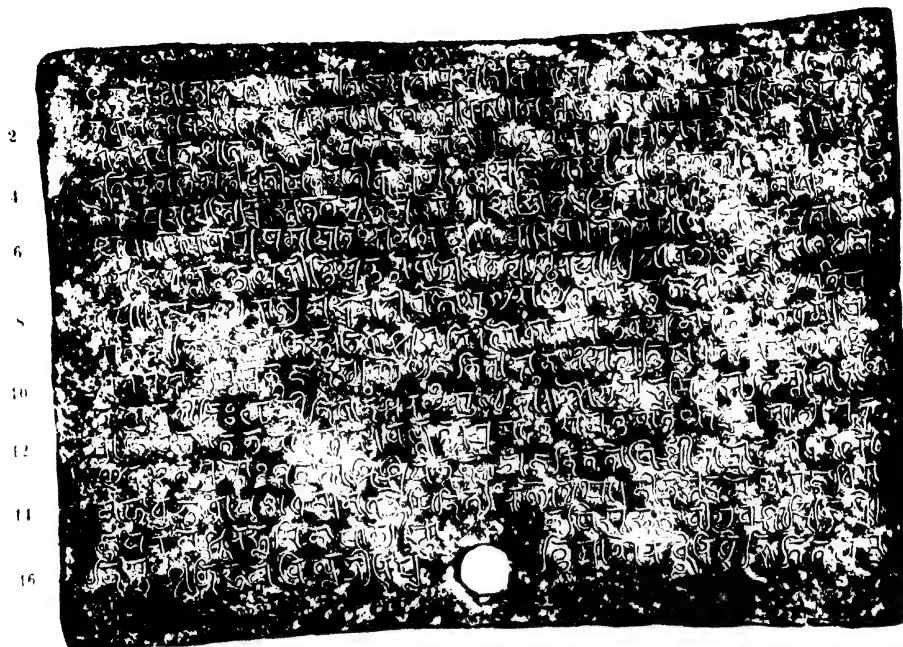
BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E. ; GÖTTINGEN.

While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahēndrapala of Kanauj, published above, p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultzsck excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my texts, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the collotype facsimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II. Yoga, which Prof. Hultzsck had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

On the plates A., those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows :—

"The two plates are about 13" broad and about 9½" high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, 2½" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

¹ So the *tithi* was already given, correctly, in *As. Res.* Vol. XV. p. 305.



11a.



Scale 45

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

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a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the *abhaya-hasta*. Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter."

On the plates B., those of Avanivarman II. Yôga, Mr. Venkayya writes :—

"The three plates are between $12\frac{1}{4}$ " and $12\frac{1}{2}$ " broad and between $8\frac{3}{4}$ " and 9" high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly mutilated and measures nearly 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs, I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial *i* and *ê*, e.g. in *iha*, l. 33, and *êam*-, l. 45; to the sign for *ry*, e.g. in *sauryasya*, l. 11; to the final *t*, e.g. in *=bhât*, l. 32; and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 68.

In my text of the inscription the word *śrī*- has by an oversight been omitted before *Ta[ru]nâ-*, above, p. 10, l. 57.

No. 16.—VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddharaju Venkataraju of Vandram, a village in the Bhīmavaram taluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks :—

"These are five copper-plates, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and $3\frac{3}{4}$ " in height. They have high rims more than $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{3}{4}$ ", and is nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures $2\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhū[vanīhkuṣa]*, with a boar facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the boar, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant head in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate i. a small portion is missing. Plate ii.b is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate iii.b and some letters of the two last lines of plate iv.a are damaged by corrosion. Of plate iv.b the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (v.) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS. of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr. Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the secular form of the secondary *ḍ* in *-mārttā-*, l. 18, and *samdhāya*, l. 36 f. The language is Sanskrit; but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both *paṃs* and *verses*.

The inscription opens with the genealogy of Ammarāja (II.) of the (Eastern) Chālukya (I. 5) dynasty. Ll. 1-17 are practically identical with ll. 1-23 of the Elavayya grant of the same king.¹ But Vikramāditya (I.) receives the title Yuvarāja (l. 13), and the name Kollabigaṇḍa is twice (ll. 14 and 17) spelt with *b*, not with *bh*.

Ammarāja II. is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Paṇḍakalūru grant,² where they are however differently arranged.³ The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Maliyapūṇḍi grant.⁴ It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate ii.b (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verso 6) of the Vandram plates is engraved over another grant of Ammarāja II., which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible.⁵ I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the original inscription on plate ii.b which can still be made out.

- 20 स समस्तभुवनाय्यत्रीविजयादिस्म-
 21 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुध्या-
 22 यी वेगिसहस्रराष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिनस्समाङ्गयेयमाप्ता-
 23 पयति [I*] विदितम् स वंशि वशिष्ठगोचो विद्वान् पा-

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (ll. 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll. 30-36 of the Elavayya grant.⁶ Ammarāja II., who is here styled 'Samastabhuvanāśraya, the glorious Vijayāditya (VI.) Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the Rāshtrakūṭas, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) Prāṇḍoru in the Pāvunavāra district (vishaya).'⁷

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood. But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible. Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the dohee (ll. 37-61) knew so little Sanskrit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it. The whole of this passage seems to be in verso. Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23. Verse 8 praises the family (gōtra) named Mitrāyu. A descendant of it was Tūrkkaṇya-Peddiya⁸ (v. 9), who lived in the large village Rāviparṇu (v. 10), his son Vijayāditya (v. 11) and his grandson Tūrkkiya-Yajvan (v. 12). The last had by Kandamāmbā a son named Kuppānāyya (v. 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (amātya, v. 15) and vassal (samanta, v. 16). He had the surname Vipranārā[yapa] (v. 21) and founded a shrine of Śiva at Drākshārāma.⁹

"To this Kuppān[ā]mātya, who is devoted to Me, the village named Tāṇḍoru has been given by Us, having made (it) an Agrahāra; to whom (the village) named [Beṭi]pūṇḍi (in the neighbourhood) of Prāṇḍoru⁹ in your district¹⁰ (vishaya), together with the share of gold,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII. p. 91 ff.

² *Ibid.* Vol. VII. p. 15 ff.

³ The verses of the Paṇḍakalūru grant (ll. 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates: 1, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7, 2; and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4.

⁴ Above, p. 47 ff.

⁵ Both sides of plate v. also exhibit traces of obliterated writing. A grant of Bhitma I. is a similar palimpsest; see Prof. Kielhorn's remarks, above, vol. V. p. 127.

⁶ In the latter the epithet *mātapitṛpādānudyōtā* (l. 35) is however missing.

⁷ With Tūrkkaṇya compare the name: Tūrkasarmān (above, Vol. V. p. 120, note 14) and Tūrkkaṇa (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 214, text l. 49).

⁸ *Drākshārāmē Kṛitā-Śiva-nīlayō*; v. 22 (l. 58).

⁹ Prāṇḍorī is the Telugu genitive of Prāṇḍoru (l. 85).

¹⁰ *I.e.* in the Pāvunavāra-vishaya of l. 35.

was given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*." I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tāṇḍeru or to Beṭipūṇḍi or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pāvunavāra-vishaya.

61 तस्मै कुप्यन[१*]म[१]त्या[य]

62 महत्ताय¹ ताण्डे²नामग्रामग्रहारिकृत्योक्ताभिदत्त³ । य[स्य भव]द्दि-

63 षये प्रान्दो⁴ति [वटि]पूण्डिनाम सह[१*]टकभागमग्रहा[री*]कृत्य सर्व[कर]-

64 पर⁵ दत्त इति विदितमस्तु व[ः] ॥ अस्य (स) ग्रामस्यावधय[ः*] ॥

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll. 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory transcript. The remainder of the inscription (ll. 67-72) is nearly identical with ll. 57-60 of the Elavaggu grant.⁶ The last line (72) seems to read:—

य(१) ते कृमिः ॥ [२५*] आश्रयतिः कट्टकराजः [१*] महा[का]भट्टक[१*]व्यं [१*]
जोत्ताचार्येण लिखितं ॥

Accordingly the *Ajñapti* was the *Kaṭṭakarāja*,⁶ the poet⁷ Mahā[kāḥ?]bhaṭṭa, and the writer Jontāchārya.⁸

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drākshārāma is well-known,⁹ and the Pāvunavāra-vishaya is probably the same as Pāgunavara-vishaya in a grant of Bhīma II,¹⁰ The villages Prāndoru, Beṭipūṇḍi, Tāṇḍeru and Rāvipaggu I am unable to identify.

FIRST HALF OF THE TEXT.¹¹

First Plate.

1 ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसमीचाणां हा-

2 रीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानां मातृगणपरिपालीतानां¹² स्वा-

3 मिमहासेनपादानुध्यायीनां¹³ भगवन्मारायणप्रसादसमासादित-

4 वरवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवमीकृतारातिमण्डलानाम-

5 ¹⁴श्वमेधावभृतज्ञानपवित्रीकृततवपुषां चालुक्यानां कुलम-

6 लंकरिणोः सत्य[१*]श्रयवत्तभेन्द्र[स्य*] भ्राता कुलविष्णुवर्धनोष्टाद-

7 श वर्षे[१]णि वेगिदेशमपालयत् ॥ तत्पुत्री जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिगतं । त-

8 दनुजेन्द्ररा[जनन्दनो] विष्णुवर्धनो नव । तत्सूनुर्मगियुवराजः पंचविं-¹⁵

9 शतिं । तत्पुत्री जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तद्वरजः कोकिलिः षण्मासान् ॥

¹ Read महत्ताय.

² Read °हारीकृत्योक्ताभिदत्तः.

³ Read परिहारण.

⁴ Instead of *tath-ōktah Vydsēna*, l. 69 reads *tathā ch-ōktah Vydsā-bhaṭṭa[1*]rakēna(ṇa)*.

⁵ Read कट्टक°.

⁶ See above, p. 49 f.

⁷ I.e. the author of the verses describing the donee. In other grants of Ammarāja II, Pōtanabhaṭṭa and Mādhavabhaṭṭa are mentioned as 'poets.'

⁸ The same person was the writer of the Elavaggu and Paḍaṣkalūru grants

⁹ See e.g. above, Vol. IV. p. 87, note 3.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 218.

¹¹ From two sets of ink-impressions and the original copper-plates.

¹² Read °पालितानां.

°ध्यायिनां.

¹⁴ Read °नव°.

¹⁵ The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

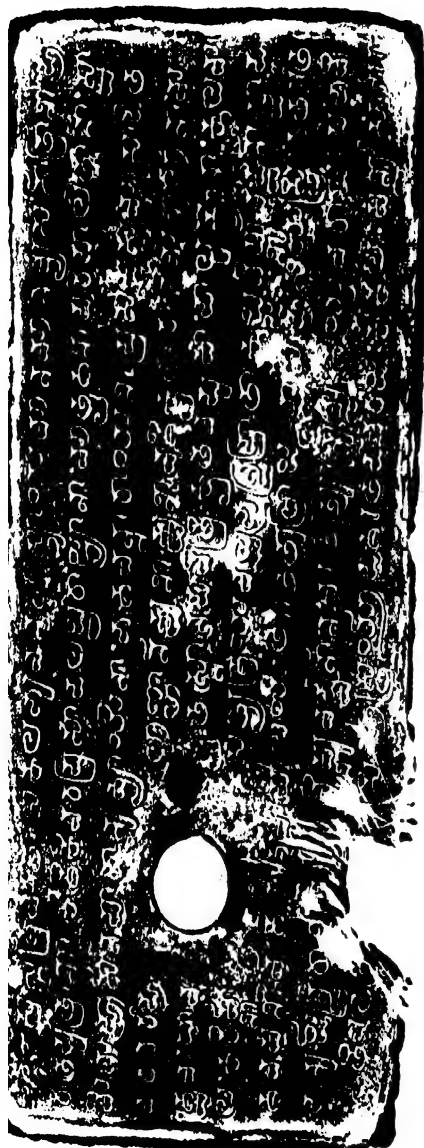
Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तुचाय सप्तचिंशतं । तत्पुत्री विजया-
दित्यभट्टार-
- 11 कोष्टादश । तत्पुत्री विष्णुवर्धनः षड्विंशतं । तत्पुत्री विजयादित्यनरेन्द्र-
मृगराज-
- 12 याष्टाचत्वारिंशतं । तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्धनोऽष्टवर्ष । तत्पुत्री गुणगा-
कविजया-
- 13 दित्यष्टतुष्टवारिंशतं । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यभूपतेः सप्तुष्टालु-
- 14 'क्यभिममूपास्त्रिंशतं । तत्पुत्रः कौस्तुभिगण्डविजयादित्यः षष्मासान् ।
तत्पुत्र-
- 15 म्मराजः सप्त वर्षाणि^१ । तत्पुत्रविजयादित्यं बालस्तुचाय तालपो मासमेकं [१*]
16 तं जित्वा चालुक्यभीमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश मासान् । ततस्ता-
लपराजस्य सुतो युव-
- 17 मन्तः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कौस्तुभिगण्डविजयादित्यसुतो भीमराजो,
द्वादश वर्षाणि । तस्य म-
- 18 इं[श्य]रमूर्त्तेश्मासमानाकृतेः कुमारभः [१*] लोकमहादेव्याः खलु यस्मिन्-
भवदम्भराजा-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 19 ख्यः ॥ [१*] यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महेन्द्रमहिमकरसुरमहसा
[१*] हरमरिपुरद-
- 20 हनेन न्यकुर्व(१)भाति विदितदिगवजिर्गतिः^२ ॥ [२*] कविगायककल्पतरु-
द्विजमुनि-^३
- 21 दीनाम्यबन्धुजनसु(न)रभिः । याचकजनचिन्तामन्त्रिचरित्रम-^४
- 22 निर्मोहोद्यमहसा सुमणि[१*] ॥ [३*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो वि-
- 23 विधायुधकोविदो [विलीनारिकुल]ः । करितुरगागमकुश-
- 24 लो हरचर मधुपः^५ श्रीमान् ॥ [४*] गिरि-
- 25 सवसुसंख्याभ्ये^६ सक[स] [श्री]र्वमासेस्मिन् [१*] ज्ञान-
प्रयो-
- 26 दशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्ष[त्रे] ॥ [५*] धनुषि रवौ घटलग्ने द्वाद-
- 27 [श]वर्षे तु [जन्मनः] पटं । योधादुदयगिरिस्थो^७ रवि[रि]व कौका-

^१ Read 'कभीम'.^२ Read वर्षाणि.^३ Read 'कौर्ति'. From here to the end (l. 27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest.^४ Read 'तद्विज'.^५ Read 'रवनीशमणि'.^६ Read 'हरचरणाभीजयुगलमधुप'.^७ Read 'ख्याभ्ये शकसमये मार्गशीर्षे'.^८ Read 'क्षीरीश्री रविनिव'.



ii a.



E. Hultzsch.

Scale 1/8

Counter-type by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, used for binding multiple leaves together.

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, used for binding multiple leaves together.

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 नुरागाय ॥ [६*] यस्मिन्^१ सासति नृपतौ परिपक्वानेकसस्यसं-^२
 29 पञ्चाक्षिः । ^३सततपयोधेनुरभिर्णिरीतिरपग्निरस्तचोरो
 30 देशः ॥ [७*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगण-
 31 मधुकरनिकरपरिचुंबितचरणसरसिरुहयुग-
 32 लोयु[ग*]लोचनपदकमलविलसद्भिरेफायमानो^४ मा-
 33 नोन्नतोदितः^५ समस्तलोकः समस्तभुवनाग्र्यश्रीविज-
 34 यादित्यमहाराजाधिराजप[र*]मेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमन्न-
 35 क्षयः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः पावनवारविषये प्राप्नोति-
 36 [द्वाद]शग्रामनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखाकुटुंबिनस्समाह-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 37 धैर्यमाप्नापयति ॥

No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By F. W. THOMAS, M.A. ; LONDON.

The Mathurā lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji under circumstances detailed in his article on *The Northern Kshatrapas* edited and published by Professor E. J. Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 541-554; see in particular pp. 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar devoted to Śitalā on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindūs at Mathurā, but not more definitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr. Bhagvanlal, the capital was conveyed to Bombay; subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now be seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer himself; but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS. was entrusted by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Bühler, who was able to compare the readings with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr. James Burgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI. 1894, pp. 525-540, Prof. Bühler observes that "the collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr. Bhagvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefixed an introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

^१ Read यस्मिन्सासति.

^२ The *anuvāda* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^३ Read °रणीर्णिरीति°.

^४ Read °माधी.

^५ The Elavāṅṅ grant (l. 33 f.) supplies the correct reading सानोन्नतो नतोदितसमस्तलोकः.

While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof. Bühler, I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr. J. F. Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagvanlal and Prof. Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates; but some particulars demand a verbal description. In the first place, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof. Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amarāvati Stūpa prove this shaft to have supported a *Dharma-chakra*, referring to the Archaeological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii. figs. 1 and 6, and Plate xl. figs. 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archaeological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi., viii., x.), Sāñchi (Maisey, Plates xix., xxxiii.), Mathurā (V. A. Smith, Plates xliii.-xlv. and xlix.-l.), Amarāvati (Burgess, p. 93, Plates xlix., liii., liv., lv., and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv.), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

Secondly, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, e.g. in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator's left (J. 1. 1) the large *rea* is followed by traces of two or three *aksharas* of equal size leading to a partly visible *sa* (?), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in *puk*.¹

In size the *aksharas* vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B. E. F. I. J. M. on the front and back of the stone (among which I. perhaps exceeds the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in. in height; (2) G. N. P. E'', on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in.; (3) A. (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K. L. (on the breast of the left lion), O. Q. R. (underneath), J'. (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in.; (4) C. D. E'. (which may be estimated from E', slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E.), circa 1 in.; (5) H. H', slightly incised in small characters, of about ½ in., at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the *aksharas* generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

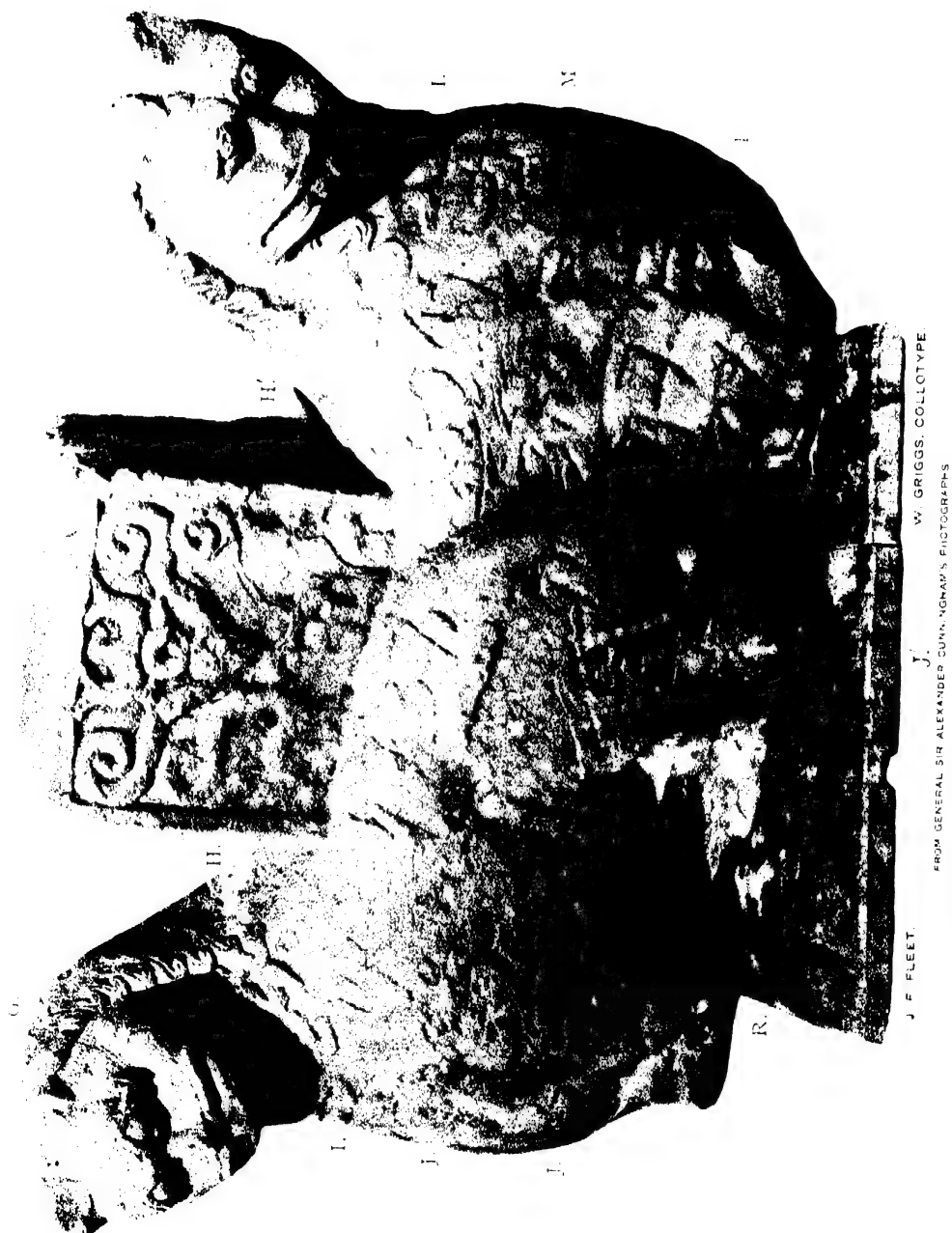
In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject-matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been compared by Prof. Bühler to those of the Shāhbāzgarhī and Mansera versions of the Edicts of Asoka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler's *Indian Palæography*, where the columns viii. and ix.

¹ In quoting Kharoṣṭhī records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original in question.

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum.

Plate I.

Front of the capital



of Plate No. 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as intermediate between the Aśoka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dhammapada MS. and those discovered by Dr. Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Mānikīāla and other places and the inscription of Sūo-Vihār (see the Plate given by Dr. Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. facing p. 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical with that exhibited in any of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol. IV. facing p. 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find, a near congener. The inscriptions edited by M. Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. XIII. (1899), p. 526 ff. and Vol. IV. (1894), p. 504 ff. (No. 35), are also in similar characters (see the Plates).

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of *pha*, *sa*, *mu*, *śpa*, the position of medial *e* and the looped form of *u* have been described by Bühler. Attention may be called to the *rda* in Q. 1, the *spa* in A. 7, the *rna* (?) in I. 1, the curious form in J. 1 interpreted by Bühler as *shṭ*, the archaic *ma* with the original angle beneath in A. 2. A few points call for further consideration. The form of *ta*, which occurs many times, has in other records the value of *tra* (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J. 2, in *kirita*), and perhaps two others (E" in *krakṛita*?, and R. 1 in *Tachhīlāsa* or *Rachhīlāsa*?), where the bottom curve is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes. In supposing it to be a *da* Bühler, who in his articles in the *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. XLIII. pp. 133 and 291-6 has read a similar character as *tt* (so also Johansson, *Der Dialekt der Shāhbazgarhi-Redaktion*, I. p. 126), was influenced by finding it in *pratṣṣ* (M. 2) and similar cases. But the regular form of *da* is several times instanced, and the *t* for *d* in *pratṣṣ* and elsewhere is a diacritical, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharoṣṭhī records.

The only question remaining, as concerns *ta*, is part of a larger matter. How do we find represented the conjunct *r*? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined to the left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A. 1 (*chhatra*°), A. 6 (*mātrā*), A. 7 (*pītrā*°). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with *tā*, which shows (see the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another device is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke; see B. 1 and 3 (*chhatra*°), B. 2 (*putra*), M. 1 (*chhatra*°), Q. 2 (*chhatra*°). There remain A. 3 (where *te* is written), A. 5 (where I can detect no clear indication of the *r*-stroke or dot), G. 1 (where there is nothing attached to the *ta*, though the reading may be *chhratara*, if not *chekhatara*), G. 2 (*chhatara*), A. 9 (where we seem to have *atraūrēna* for *atrē*°). In A. 1 we have two strokes, both of which seem to be intentional; one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic and Pahlavi *t*, I have conjectured to denote a doubled *t* before the *r*. Of a cerebral (*ṭa*) I can find no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A. 13.

With other consonants than *t* the *r* is regularly inserted where required. We may quote *bhra* in A. 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), *gra* in A. 2 and N. 2, *pra* in A. 10 (*praḥhravīra*°), A. 11 (*prati*°), M. 3 (*pratṣṣ*), N. 3, *qhra* in A. 10 and M. 2, *chhra* (*chekha*?) in G. 2 and I. 1 (*chhratava*° and *chhratava*). In the last example, as also in *praḥhravī* (A. 10, *praḥhravī* in I. 2), it would seem to be even repeated; but this may be a feature of pronunciation rather than of writing. A really otiose *r*-stroke is found in *mahēshri*, A. 2, and probably in *Pispasri*, A. 7.

The case of *kra* is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E", it is found four times, in *bhakravatā* (A. 12), *nākravaasa* (F. 1 and N. 1), and *sakrastinasa* (P. 1), i.e. in places where we expect a simple *ga*. This can hardly be accidental; it would seem probable that in these cases the combination *kra* represents a spirantic pronunciation of *ga*, analogous to the Persian *ḡ*; more especially as in the name of Scistān (Pahlavi *Saghistān*) this sound no doubt prevailed at the time.

A few further points remain to be noticed. (1) In *atsūrēna* and *hōrakīparivārēna* (A. 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the *na*, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here *na*? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate iv.

(2) *Sa* varies between the forms with and without the small adjunct near the centre (see Plate iv). In N. 3 the addition of the *r*-stroke makes *sah*. In E. 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate *sah*, anticipating *sa* in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing *syā* is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B. 2.

(3) The two occurrences of *kharaōsta* (A. 4 and E. 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where *h* is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading *rha*=*hra*.

(4) In A. 2 *a* has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A. 13 we have the distinguishing mark of *ś* vertical and at the top; elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The *śē* of A. 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the *śē* of the previous line,—apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated *jo* of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner, *The Coins of Bactria*, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the *anusvara*, e.g. in J., where we should thus arrive at a reading *Sarvāstivādinam*.

The **Prākṛit** in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskrit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal *k* (*niḡaraa*, *kuśūlaa*, *māhāsāṅghia*), only in *ateūreṇi* (for *°vurēna*?), *śaśpa*[t]jō. In *ayaria* and *puya* (= *āchārya* and *pūjā*) we have a weakening of *ch* to *y*. I have suggested (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this *y* was that of the French *j*, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word *chhatrava* are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of *g* and *d* to *kr* and *t* has been already dealt with; on the other hand *p* appears in *thāra* and *pratiḥāritō* as *v*, never *b* as *p*. Conjunct *s* is, except in foreign and technical names (*kharaōsta*, *sakastāna*, *sarvāstivāda*), assimilated ([t]thāva, *kadhavāra*, *prati*[f]thārita, *bhi*[k]khu); *r*, on the other hand, remains both as prior (*sarva*, *kharaā*), and as posterior member of a conjunction. The forms of the *a* and *ā* declensions are very well preserved. The nominative sing. masc. appears both as *a* (in *thāra*, etc.) and as *o* (*kharaōstō*, etc.); the neuter is in *a*[m] (*śarira*[m]), the genitive singular in [*s*]sa, twice written *syā*. In *-munisa* the *i* declension shows the Prākṛit form; of the *i* inflexion we have several forms (instrumental -*id*, etc.). The *r*-stems seem to be regular (*dhite* in A. 3 being a miswriting for *dhitrā*), while in *yavarāṇa*[h] in A. 4 we have an ultra-Sanskrit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of *sarvāstivāda* in place of *°vādin*. The only pronouns occurring are *imō*, nominative masculine, and *iṣṭ*, a locative, and the only finite verb *bhasari* (certainly not *bhāsati*, as Bühler read) presents a problem; see the note to A. 13. The false concord *śarira pratiḥāritō* is found elsewhere (see the note *ad loc.*).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 5-11 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Rājula, with whom are associated various members of her family, and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Muthurā, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the

names **Buddhila** (or **Budhila**) and **Bu[d]dhadēva**. The last named, who is termed an *śchōrya* and represented as a champion of the **Sarvāstivādin** school against the rival **Māhāsāṅghikas**, bears a name which cannot have been rare; one teacher of this name is mentioned by **Tāranātha** as a leader of the **Vaibhāshikas** (see Schiefner's translation, pp. 4 and 67, and the references in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*), and we have therefore no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap **Rājūla** himself and his son, the Satrap **Śuḍāsa**, have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurā (see Bühler, pp. 531-2, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. pp. 195-6, 199; Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. III. p. 30, and Vol. XX. pp. 48-9; V. A. Smith, *Mathurā*, p. 21; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the Yuvārjia **Kharāḍsta** with the **Kharamōsta**, son of **Artas**, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap **Kusūlaa Pādika** with **Pātika**, son of the Satrap **Liaka Kusūlaka**, named in the **Taxila** plate, is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,—for the **Taxila** Plate is dated in the year **78**, (in the time) of the Great King **Mōga**,—but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the **Kshatrapa** dominion in Northern India; and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P. as 'in honour of the whole **Saka** realm' (*Sakastāna*). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906 (pp. 181-216; see also pp. 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that **Sakas** inhabited the region now known as **Sistan** as early as the time of **Darius the Great** and **Alexander**; (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of **Persian** and **Saka** nomenclature; and I have inferred that the **Kshatrapas** of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed **Parthian** and **Saka** domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that **Pātika** of **Taxila**, who bears himself a distinctively **Persian** name, mentions as his overlord the Great King **Mōga**, whose name is with equal distinctiveness **Saka**.

I may here refer to a small point in the **Taxila** inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase **chhatrapasa Liakō Kusūlakō nāma tasa** (for **chhatrapasa Liakasa Kusūlakasa**), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Bühler compared with passages in two of the **Jaina** inscriptions from Mathurā. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later **Sanskrit** inscriptions and in the style of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitōpadēśa*. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the **Achæmenids** that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest **Indian** architecture, derived through the **Satraps** from a **Persian** model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the **etymology** of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned:—

1. The name **Kharāḍsta** or **Kharha(hra)ḍsta**, as = **kshathra**, 'sovereignty,' + **ḍsta**, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial **kha**, which reappears in **khaharāta** with variant **kshaharāta**, presents no difficulty; it recurs in the **kharapallina** (no doubt = **kshathrapallina**, 'defence of sovereignty,') of the new **Sārnāth** inscription (above, Vol. VIII. p. 173 ff.). The variation in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in **chhatrapa**, is of the same nature as that in **caralier** and **chivalry**, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.¹

¹ On a coin given by Prof. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. iii. No. 1, we have **Kshahardta** in **Brāhmī** together with **Khaharāta** in **Kharoshthī**; some of the **Nāsik** inscriptions have **Khakharāta**, etc.

The *kra*, from *thra*, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, *Mihra* (Skt. *Mihira*) being a variant of *Mithra*,¹ of which a still more simplified form is found in *Miraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. X. Vol. III. (1904) pp. 463-4); the old Persian dialect had also *s*, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars.

2. *Mevaki* is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name *Mauakes* *Μεακας*, which we find attached to the king *Maues* and *Môga* (= *Mauaka*).

3. The two names *Kâlûi*, *Kâmûîô* show a Pahlavi suffix *ûi*, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4. *Nauûdo* is no doubt for *Naurûdô*, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavi or Afghan *l* for *r*.

5. The element *Khala-* appears in *Khalama* and *Khalašamušo*.

6. The termination *-ûs* in *Kômûsî* and *°samûšo* seems to be Scythic.

7. The element *-si* in *Āyasi Kômûsî*, *Nandasikasa*, *Pispasi* is certainly not the Sanskrit *śri*, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the *-si*, *-zî* (Pahlavi *-cik*) which appears in many Iranian names.

8. The *y* in *Āyasi*, *Haynarana*, *Āyimisa*, found also on the coins as an alternative for *z* in *Āyîlisa*, etc. (see Gardner, *op. cit.* pp. 93, 173), most probably represents a *j* sound resembling the French *j*, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the *ayaria* (= *ācharya*) and *paya* (= *pājā*) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a *y*.

9. The name *Abûhólâ* doubtless consists of two members, *Abû* (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in *Αβουλις* (see Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v.) + *hólâ*, a variant of the *hóra* in *Spalahôra* and the *hórakî* of our inscriptions. That *spâla* is a Pahlavi form of O. Pers. *spâda* = Zend *spâda* = Neo-Pers. *spâh* is plain from its occurrence in *Spâlapati*, which corresponds to the Persian *Ispahbad*, Pahlavi *Spâkpat* (see Justi, *op. cit.* and Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian *ahura* is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form *hóra* is to be traced in the common (Sassanian) name *Hormisdas*, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of *Abûhólâ* and that her *hórakîparicîtra* was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies).'

10. As regards the term *Kusûlâa* (= *Kusûlaka* of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the *Kuyûla*, *Kujûla*, *Κοζουλα* applied to Kadphises and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sârânâth inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of *Šâhîb*, *Bahâdur*, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are:—

(1) The family of Râjûla:—

(a) Râjûla himself with his sons **Kharaôsta** (*Yurarâja*,² son of the Chief Queen **Abûhólâ**), **Sudâsa** (entitled Satrap), **Khalama** (entitled *Kumâra*³), and **Maja** (entitled *Kanishka*).—the two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen **Abûhólâ**— and his daughter **Hana**.

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons: **Kâlûi**, **Nauûdô**, **Kâmûîô**, **Āyimisa** **Khalašamušo**. These were perhaps relatives of Râjûla.

(3) Friendly satraps, namely **Kusûlâa Pâdika**, **Mevaki Miyika**,³ **K(r)ônina**, **Khardea**, **Tachhila** (**Rachhila**).

(4) A Buddhist *āchârya*, named **Buddhila** (Budhila), and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named **Buddhadêva**.

¹ Cf. Hüsing in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 562 ff., and Foy, Vol. XXXVI. p. 480 ff.

² On this and other similar titles see M. Lévi's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX. Vol. XIX. p. 95 ff.

³ The name of a satrap *Mevaka* is traced by Prof. Rapson on a coin (*J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 549).

The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date; but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Mōga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as 120 B. C.

TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

A. I.

- 1 Mahachhatra(ttra)vasa rajulasa [Mahāchhatravassa Rājūlassa]
- 2 agra(ggra)maheshriayasia(o ?) [agramahēshi-Āyasiā]
- 3 komusaa dhite [Kōmūsā dhite]
- 4 khara(rha ?)ostasa yuvarāṇa [Kharaōstassa yuvarāṇaḥ]
- 5 mata nadadi(si ?)akasa .. [mātā Namdadi(si ?)akasa ..]

A. II.

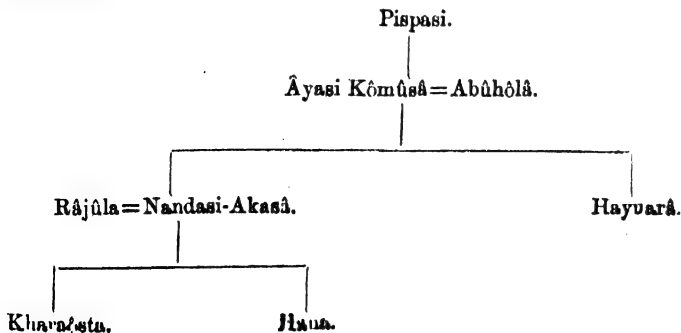
- 6 sadha mata(tra) abuholaa(c ?) [sadha mātā Abūhōlā]
- 7 pitramahi pispasria bhra [pitāmahi-Pispasiā bhrā-]
- 8 tra haynarana sadha hanadhitra(?) [-trā Haynarāṇā sadha Hana-dhitrā]
- 9 atra(to)ūrena horakapa [antēūrēṇa hōrakāpa-]
- 10 rivarena ise praḍhraviprate [-rivārēṇa iśa praḍhravipratō-]
- 11 śe(śre ?) nisime śarira pratīhavitō [-śō nissimō śarira[m] pratī[hāvitō]
- 12 bhakravato śakamunisa budhasa [bhakravatō Śakamunissa Buddhasa]
- 13 ma(mra ?)kite(hi ?)ra(?)ya saśpaḥ bhusaveti(?) [. . . rāya saśpaḥ bhūśa-v-iti]
- 14 thuya cha sagharama cha chatu [thūva cha saṅghārāma cha chatu-]
- 15 diśosa saghasa sarva [-ddiśassa saṅghassa Sarvā-]
- 16 stivatana parigraho [-stivātānaṁ parigrahō].

TRANSLATION.

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla, daughter of Āyasi Kōmūsā, mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaōsta, Nandasi-Akasā (by name), together with her mother Abūhōlā, her paternal grandmother Pispasi, her brother Hayvarā (?), her daughter Hana, her household and court of *hōrakās* (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a *stūpa* with the thought: 'May it be for the eternal . . . of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha.' And the *stūpa* and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal Saṅgha of the Sarvāstivādins.

NOTES.

Genealogy.—The scheme appears to be as follows:—



Readings.—L. 1. The additional stroke in the *tra*, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L. 2, *aggra* with a cross stroke; *ma* in *mahēshi* has the original form with a subscribed angle; *shri* has the otiose *r*-stroke found elsewhere.

L. 3, *te* in *dhite* is quite clear; it must be due to an error, as the regular form of *ta* occurs several times in the inscription.

L. 4. Is the side stroke in the *r* of *kharādstusa* accidental, or does it possibly represent *h*? See p. 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants.

L. 5. No doubt *naṃḍasi* should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the *akshara* is entailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive *da* in Bühler's Table, col. viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *-sāḍ*. On the *ta* in *māṭā* see p. 137 above.

L. 8. From what nominative form the instrumental *Hayuarānā* is to be derived is not obvious.

L. 9, *a[ph]teūrīna* presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are: (1) *śaṣṇā* for *śaṣṇatē*, l. 13 (if that is the correct reading); (2) *k* in *nīkṛaraassa* and *mīkhāsaṅghāna*; and (3) *kharādaassa*. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word *hōrakā* see p. 140 above.

L. 11, *nīṣime*. Bühler takes this as denoting a *stūpa*, and he quotes Professor Pischel's view that it is a Prākṛit form of *nīṣama*, used in the sense of 'high', hence = *stūpa*. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase *nīṣiṇā kārīta nīṣitītō* in inscription J.; but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the *nissimamālaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, c. xxxii: *raṇṇō karīraṃ jhūpēsūṃ yasmin nissimamālaka*.

L. 13. The last *akshara* is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after *ri*. Bühler's reading *bhūṣati* is out of the question. We must apparently take *bhūṣi* as a strange or tative form.

L. 12. The sign for *tō* is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting *tra*. I do not detect a sign for *r*.

L. 6. Whether *māṭā* or *mātrā* is inscribed I cannot determine.

L. 7, *tra* is clear in *pitra*, and *sri* in *Pispasri*.

L. 9. The second *akshara* resembles *tra* more than anything else; if it is really *tē* (which in any case must be meant), the sign for *ē* is added to the earlier form of *ta*.

L. 13. Bühler's reading *mukihitāya*. The first *akshara* is certainly not *mu*, but might be *mra*, unless it is simply *ma*, and the third is far from being an ordinary *hi*; the expression *Buddhasya mukihitāya* does not present an orthodox appearance.

L. 15, *sē* seems clear; compare *śē* in l. 10.

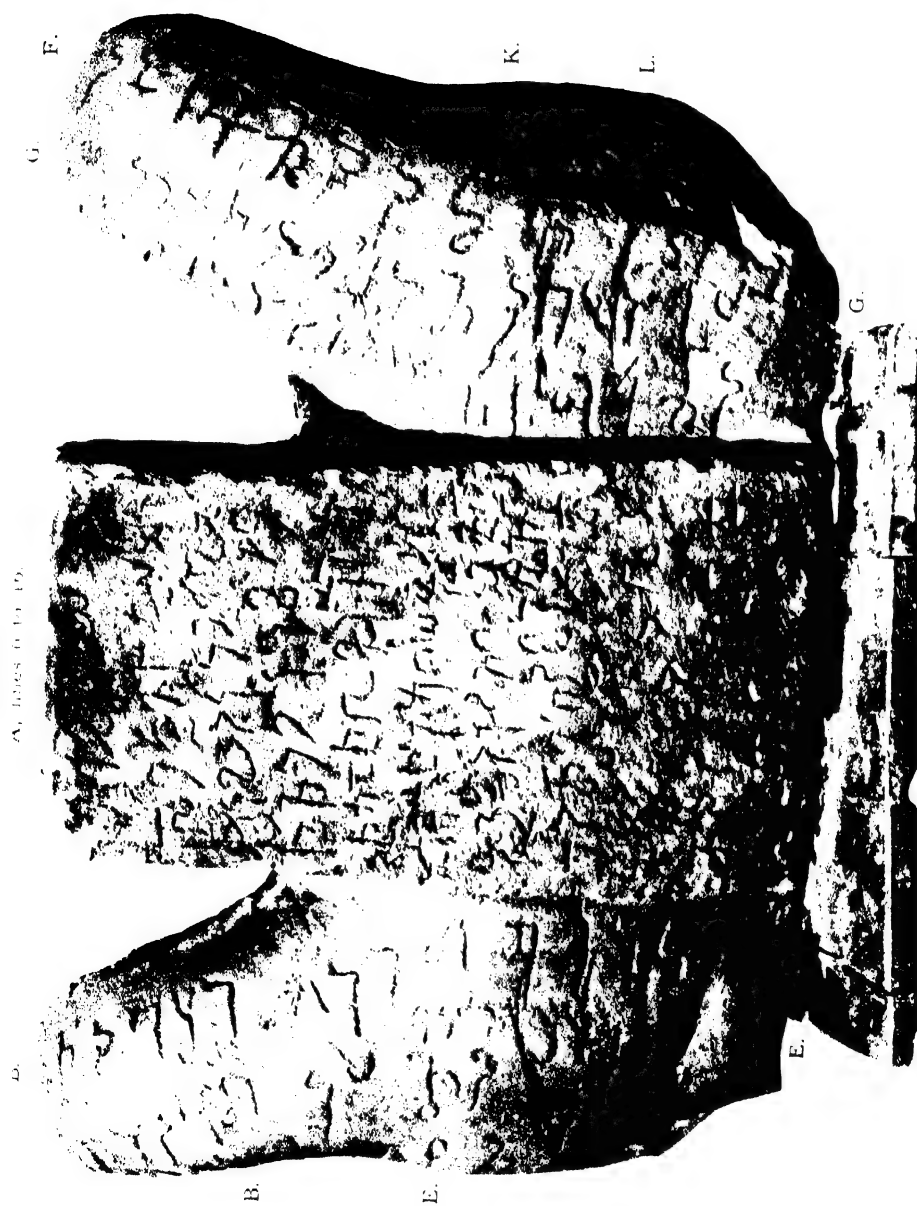
Grammar and interpretation.—L. 1, 4 in *Rājula* is supported by the *Ranjubala*, etc. of the coins.

L. 2. It is doubtful whether *mahēshi Āyasi* or *mahēshiā Yasi* is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postponement) of the sign of declension, as in *pitāmahi*, l. 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take *pratiḥarītō* as an active participle with the subject *māṭā* in the nominative and a false concord: Bühler observes (p. 535) that '*pratiḥarītō* is the neuter, as frequently in the Shāhbāzgarhi version of the Rock-Edicts.' We may quote *imam kaṭarō* in Edict XI. Generally however in cases parallel to the present (e.g. in

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum.

Plate II.

Back of the capital.



SCALE ABOUT .22

J. F. FLEET
FROM GENERAL S. R. ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS
W. GRIGGS COLLTYPE

ie Māpikiāla, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (*pratiṭhāvōti*) is preferred.

B.¹

- 1 Mahachha(chohha ?)travasa [mahāchhatravassa]
- 2 vajulasya putra [Rājūlasya putra]
- 3 śuḍase chatravō [Śuḍāsē chhatravō].

TRANSLATION.

Śuḍāsa, son of the Great Satrap Rājūlja, being Satrap.

NOTES.

L. 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the *chha* may indicate duplication, as in the *śuḍās* already noted.

L. 2, *va* (*sic*).

L. 3. As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in *-e*, *Śuḍāsē* may best be regarded as a locative; in M. it is plainly so.

C.²

- 1 Kalui a [Kālūi a-]
- 2 varajo(jho ?) [-varajō].

TRANSLATION.

Kālūi, younger brother.

D.³

Naūludo [Naūlūdō].

E.⁴

- 1 Khara(rha ?)osto yuvaraya [Kharaōstō yuvarāyā]
- 2 khalamasa kumara [Khalamasa kumāra]
- 3 maja kaniṭha [Maja kaniṭṭha]
- 4 sa(sam ?)manamota.

TRANSLATION.

Kharaōsta, Heir Apparent; Khalamasa, *kumāra*; Maja; youngest;

NOTES.

Bühler read *Jalama*° in l. 2, but the *akshara* seems to be a *kha*. He also regarded *māri(t)maja* as a single word. The last line is uncertain; but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in *mō* is accidental, in which case we may understand the words *sa(mānā) mūtā* indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers. Bühler's reading *chha* is by no means borne out by inspection.

E'.⁵

Kamuio [Kāmūiō ?].

NOTE.

Apparently a proper name, like Kālūi.

E''.⁶

kra ka(rva ?)rita (yu ?) [-kra kārīta ?].

¹ See Plate II.

² In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III.

³ In smaller letters within E.; see Plate II.

⁴ On the right cheek of the right lion; not shown in the photographs.

⁵ See Plate III.

⁶ See Plate II.

NOTE.

The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form.

F.¹

- 1 Buddhāsa nakkaraṇaṣa [Buddhāsaṇa Nākkaraṇaṣa]
- 2 bhikkhūsa sarvastivāṭaṣa [bhikkhūsaṇa Sarvastivāṭaṣa].

G.²

- 1 Mahāchhatavasya kusūlaṣa padikaṣa meva(na)kisa [mahāchhatravasya Kusūlaṣa Pādikassa Mevakissa]
- 2 miyikaṣa chhatavasa puyae [Miyikassa chhatavassā pūyāḥ].

J. (3).³

Sarvastivātana padī[ri?]grahē [Sarvastivātāna padī(ri?)grahē].

TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the Nāgara *bhikkhu* Buddhāsa, a Sarvastivādin.

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the Kusūlaka Pādika, and the Satrap Mevaki Miyika.

J.—For the acceptance of the Sarvastivādins.

NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in *aksharas* of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole.

Readings.—G. 1.—The *va* or *na* of *meva(na)kisa* is a single straight stroke. *Mevaki* is however more probable than *mēnaki* (*maināki*); see above.

J. (3).—The *di* in *padīgrahē* (= *pratīgrahē*) is identical with that in *Pādika*; nevertheless *parīgrahē* is on the whole more probable in view of A. I. 16. The *bhikkhu* Buddhāsa may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhādva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nāgasa, no doubt the famous city of Nagarahāra (but see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 184 ff., 201 and ref.). Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bühler does, to the lines J. (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone.

M.⁴

- 1 Chha(chohha)trave sūdise [chhatravā Sūdīsē]
- 2 imo padhravi [imō padhravi]
- 3 prateṣo [pratōṣō]

I.⁵

- 1 veyā aṭṭ (u?) diria (dinarī?) kadhavaro busapa
- 2 ro kadha
- 3 varo
- 4 viya

¹ See Plate II.

² See Plate I.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital
in the British Museum

Plate III.

Top and bottom of the capital.



W. GRIGGS' COLLOTYPE

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS

J. F. FLEET.

SCALE ABOUT 2/3

J. (1 and 2.)¹

- 1 *viya rva* palishte (??) na
 2 *nisimo karita niyatito* [nissimô kârita niyyâtîtô].

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in *aksharas* of approximately the same size. As M. has no verb (unless we here make use of the *-krakârta* (?) of E''), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the *vêya*^o of I. 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Bühler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading *vêya-udino kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro=vêgôdîrnô skandhâvârô busaparô skandhâvârô*, which he renders 'the army has started in haste, the army is intent on wealth.' But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections:— (1) *skandhâvârâ* does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment;' (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's Dictionary; (3) it is doubtful whether the third *akshara* is really *u*; it is unlike the other *u*'s of these inscriptions and rather resembles *am*, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate); (4) a weakening of *g* to *y* in *vêya* is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the *ro* of I. 2 plainly follows the *pa* of I. 1, and a reading *veyaamdinam kadhavaro=vaijayantînam skandhâvârô* appears but little promising. The *viya* which precedes the large *rva* in J. 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large *rva*, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for *vya*=*viya*? The sign which Bühler renders by *skts* (reproduced in his *Indian Palæography*, Plate I. col. xiii.), is quite clearly inscribed; but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like *rdi*, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding *pali* (Bühler *puli*) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before *pali*, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 *aksharas*, is quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a *sa*; but what is to be done with the large *rva* commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for *vya* we have no ground for proceeding further. The words *nissimô kârita niyyâtîtô*, 'a *stûpa* was caused to be made and presented,' are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of *ta* in *kârîta*. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J'.²

- 1 *Khalasamu-*
 2 *so.*

The *aksharas* are perfectly clear, though Bühler read *khalasâna so*. We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.³

- 1 *Ayariasa* [Âyâriassa]
 2 *budhatevassa* [Buddhatêvassa]
 3 *utæna ayimisa* [utæna Âyimisa].

TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the *achârya* *Buddhadêva*, *Âyimisa*.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take *Âyimisa* as a genitive with *dînam* understood. But what then was the *dîna*? The last *akshara* of *Âyimisa*, which lacks the tail of the *sa*, was read by Bühler as *ta*.

¹ See Plate I.

² On the leg of the left lion, under his tail.

³ Not shown in the Plates: incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J. and F.-G. (see Plate II): plainly a single independent record.

H.¹

Guhavihara [Guhāvihārē].

TRANSLATION.

In the cave-*vihāra*.

Bühler would translate: 'In the Guha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a Haimśasāṅghārāma near Gaya (*Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. I. p. 18) and a (Jaina) *Mihiravihāra* mentioned in an inscription published by him in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212.

H'.²

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadānaṁ].

TRANSLATION.

Religious donation.

N.³

- 1 Ayariassa budhilassa nakraraassa bhikhu [āyāriassa Buddhilassa Nākaraassa bhikkhu-]
- 2 sa sarvastivatassa pagra [-ssa Sarvāstivātassa pāgrā-]
- 3 na mahāsāghiana pra [-naṁ Māhāsāṅghīanāṁ prā-]
- 4 ma(?)ṇāvitave khalulasa [-māṇāvitavē khalūlassa].

TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvāstivādin *ācārya* *Buddhila*, a *bhikkhu* of *Nagara*, an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the *Māhāsāṅghikas*.

L. 1. *Buddhila* is, of course, the *bhikkhu* already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of *Nagara*' (Bühler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of *Nāgaraka*, for which see the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. pp. 184 ff., 201 and *reiff*.

Ll. 2-3. Of the *sa* which Bühler inserts after *gra*, in order to get the word *prakāśamī* I can see no trace.

L. 4. The reading seems certain; the only difficulty is the word *khalula*. Halāyudha gives *khaḍḍurikā* in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Vēda has *khaḍḍura* with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in *khalula* some form from the root *khaḍ*, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the *Māhāsāṅghikas* were opposed to the Sarvāstivādins Bühler has already observed. I conjecture that *pramāṇāvitave* = *prāmāṇyavittvē*.

O.³

- 1 Sarvabudhana puya dhamasa [sarvabuddhānaṁ pūyā dhamma-ssa]
- 2 puya saghasa puya [pūyā sāṅghassa pūyā-].

TRANSLATION.

Honour to all the *Buddhas*, Honour to the *Dharma*, Honour to the *Saṅgha*.

P.³

- 1 Sarvasa sakrasta [sarva-ssa Sakrastā-]
- 2 nasa puyae [-nassa pūyāe].

¹ In small characters below the letter H. in Plate I.

² In small characters, as H., below the letter H' in Plate I.

³ See Plate III.

TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all Sakastāna.

The objections raised by Dr. Floet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp. 703-9; 1905, pp. 154-6) to this rendering of Bühler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurā, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastāna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, e.g. in the inscriptions of Sue Vihār, Anyor, and various Mathurā inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' *sarvasattvānām*) even more comprehensive expressions; nor again is there any difficulty in the use of *sarva* (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St. Petersburg Dictionary). As regards *svaka*, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pāli *sakaṭṭhāna*, 'one's own place (home, etc.),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr. Floet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M. Barth, *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie*, 1907, pp. 384 ff., with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G. and O. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dominion.]

Q.¹

- 1 Khardaasa [Khardaassa]
- 2 chhatravasa [chhatavassa].

TRANSLATION.

Of the Satrap Khardaa.

R.²

- 1 Ra(ta ?)chhilasa [Ra(Ta ?)chhilassa]
- 2 kroninasa [Kōninassa ?].

TRANSLATION.

Of Raachhila (Taachhila ?) Kaunḍinya (?).

Kaunḍinya is a suggestion of Bühler, who also regards *Tachhilasa* as = *Takshasilasa*.

Additional Notes.

1. A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rājāla, and Kharnosta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr. J. F. Floet in an article entitled 'Moga, Maues, and Vonones,' published in the *J. B. A. S.* for October 1907, pp. 1013-40.

2. P. 137, l. 9: Insert after 'pp. 526 ff.' the words '(where *sapana* is perhaps = *sappana* = *sattvānām*, see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen* §300).'

3. P. 137, l. 38: Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in *śe* denotes *e*, see below.'

4. P. 139, l. 44: Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words 'see the Iranian *irundriis* II. p. 97.'

¹ See Plate III. and Plate I. where B. has been printed in error. The word *chhatravasa* is inverted on the one.

² See Plate III.



No. 18.— MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION
OF [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1378.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

In 1828 H. H. Wilson, in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 284 ff., published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain **Arbuda**, the modern **Mount Âbû** in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speirs, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof. Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr. A. V. Kāthavate, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff.; of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalēśvara, edited by myself in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVI. p. 347 ff.;¹ and of the Achalēśvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p. 79 ff.² Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindi that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little³ was done for the study of the Mount Âbû inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr. Consens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at Âbû, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain; and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short: none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A.D.; and considering their great number, the data furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr. Consens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof. Hultsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Rishabha (Âdinātha) which was founded by Vimala,⁴ 97 from the temple of Nēminātha, founded by Tējahpāla;⁵ 30 from the temple of Achalēśvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A.D. 1062), in a short inscription (No. 1780 of Mr. Consens' List) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I., and the latest (in No. 1874) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A.D. 1728); between the two, the years which most

¹ A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in *Jahnpagar Inscr.* Plate xxxvi.

² Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1265, published by Dr. Cartellieri in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 221 ff., the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi; see *Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey of India, W. Circle*, for 1905-1906, p. 47.

³ For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my *Northern List*, Nos. 261 and 265.

⁴ In inscriptions the temple is called *Vimala-vasahikā*, *Vimalasya vasahikā*, *Vimala-vasahī*, and *Vimala-vasatikā* (Artha, in literary works also *Vimala-vasati*). Above, p. 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sah' or 'Vimala Shāh,' recently written 'Vimala Sā,' in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple.' Similarly, *Lūniga-vasahikā* has given rise to the name (for Tējahpāla's brother) 'Lūniga Sahīkā,' in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 309.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 200, Prof. Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is *Lūnarāṣa* (or *Lūnarāṣa*)-*vasahikā* or *Lūna-vasahikā*. In inscriptions I also find *Lūniga-vasahikā*, *Tējahpāla-vasahikā* and *Tējah-vasahī*, and in literary works *Lūniga-vasati*.

frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Tējāhpāla's temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1257 (about A.D. 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No. 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A.D. 1854); no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achalēśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No. 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A.D. 1129), and another (No. 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No. 1951 of Mr. Cousens' List is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A.D. 1150), in the reign of the [Paramāra] *Mahāmandalēśvara Yaśodhavalādēva* (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year).¹ Two other inscriptions (Nos. 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 122[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Gulila inscription mentioned above (No. 1953 of the List) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr. Cousens' materials by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol. VIII. p. 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Rishabhā, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A.D. 1031) by a certain **Vimala**, who had been appointed *daṇḍapati* at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhīmadēva [1.].

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 248, the late Dr. Klatt gave an extract from a *Paṭṭāvali* of the Kharatara-gachchha, according to which 'the minister **Vimala**, who belonged to the Pōravāḍa (Prāgvāḍa) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sultāns and established the town of Chandrāvati, caused a temple of Rishabhadēva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name *Vimala-vasahī*,' and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamānasūri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof. Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS.*, Vol. II. pp. 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brāhmins the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jinaprabhasūri's *Tīrthakalpa*, in Prof. Peterson's *Fourth Report*, p. 92 f. There, again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given² for the foundation of the *Vimala-vasati*, and 1288 for that of the *Lāniga-vasati*,³ and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (*bhagna*) by the Mlēcchhas, they were repaired in the Śaka year 1243 (i.e. the Vikrama year 1378), the first by Lalla, the son of Mahanāsīnha, and the other by Pithaḍa, the son of the merchant Chandāsīnha. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala's temple by Lalla (Lālīga), the son of Mahanāsīnha, and

¹ No. 129 of my *Northern List*.

² So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 39 and 40, as given by Prof. Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the *Vimala-vasati* there can be no doubt.

³ According to the extracts, the *sātradhāra*, who built the *Lāniga-vasati*, was Śōbbhanadēva, who is mentioned in the same way (as *prāsaddakdraka-sātradhāra*) in Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmani*, p. 259. This builder's name actually occurs in No. 1674 of Mr. Cousens' List, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288.— Jinaprabhasūri's account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.

Vijāḍa, the son of Dhanasimha; and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Tējahpāla (the *Lūṇiga-vasati*) is given as Pēthaḍa in an inscription¹ at that temple, the full text of which is:—

1. 1 Ōm² || 3 Ā-chaṁdrārkkam namdatād-ēsha saṁghā-³dhīśaḥ śrīnā-
2 n Pēthaḍaḥ saṁgha-yuktaḥ | jirṇōddhāraṁ Vastupāla-
3 aya chaityē⁴ tōṇō yēn-ēhāṣṛbudādrau sva-sāraḥ ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here⁵ is on a black slab, built into the side-wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1' 7½" and 1' 8" broad by 1' 1½" high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space; lines 23-29 are only 1' 5½" long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3½". The greater part of the writing is well preserved; but in line 16 about 10 *aksharas* and in line 17 about 4 *aksharas* are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal.⁶ The size of the letters is between ¼" and ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the words *ōm* || *śrī-Arbudatīrtha-prasastiḥ-likhyatā* || at the commencement, the words *atha rājavalī* || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters *b* and *v*, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for *v* in *sarbaḥjāna*, l. 16, and *-saṁbhavaḥ*, l. 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in *manasvi*, l. 4, *sāmha*- (for *simha*-), l. 6, and *sahasā*, l. 8; and the dental instead of the palatal in *nivāsitaṁ*, l. 8, *pāsala*-, l. 18, and *śasi*-,⁷ l. 29. Instead of the vowel *ri* we have the syllable *ri* in *Rishabha*, ll. 26 and 29; and in line 24 the author himself has written *śhaḍ-artaraḥ* instead of *śhaḍ-ṛitavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.⁸ What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find *nripaśa* for *nripasya*, and in line 21 *vaddjñā* instead of *vaddjnyā*. The latter reminds us of the name *Nyānasakti* (instead of *Jñānasakti*) in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 93, l. 26, and shows that in Rājputāna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between *jñā* and *nyā*; and *nripaśa* recalls *tasa* and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,⁹ without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of *s* must have been similar to that of the conjunct *sy*. In respect of grammar I need draw attention only to the word *vidadhāna*, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of *vi-dhā* (instead of *vidadhā*), probably misled by the participle *vidadhāna* which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form.¹⁰ Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

¹ No. 1743 of Mr. Cousens' List, "on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupāla's temple."

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Metre: Śālini.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

⁵ No. 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁶ When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. Gaurielunkar Hirachand Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings.

⁷ For curiosity's sake it may be stated that the Sanskrit *tasa*, German 'hase,' English 'hare,' seems to go back to an original *tasa*; compare Prof. W. Kernagel's *Altind. Gramm.* Vol. I, p. 225.

⁸ Compare *śhadricha* and *śhadarcha* in the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

⁹ See Prof. Rapson in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1900, p. 104 f., and Prof. Franke's *Pāli and Sanskrit*, p. 97 f., and compare the genitive cases *terata*, *sagaia*, etc., in *Ep. Zeylanica*, Vol. I, p. 18 ff.

¹⁰ Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are *babdhāva*, *babdhāvuh*, *chakāra*, *didha*, *pra-pēḍa* and *śra-gam-dvataḥ*.

and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence.

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, **Lalla (Lāliga)** and **Vijaḍa**, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of **Rishabha (Ādinātha)** on the mountain **Arbuda**. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a *praśasti* or eulogy of the sacred **Arbuda**; but besides glorifying that locality and some mythical or divine beings (**Ambikā** and **Śrīmātā**) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the **Vikrama** year 1088, of the temple of **Ādinātha** by **Vimala**. The second part (vv. 14-23) contains a *rājivalī* of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv. 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain **Arbuda** there sprang from the fire-pit (*anala-kunḍa*, *agni-kunḍa*) of the sage **Vasiṣṭha** the hero **Paramāra**. In his lineage appeared the hero **Kāṇhaḍaḍeva**; and in his family there was a chief named **Dhandhu (Dhandhurāja)**, who was lord of the town of **Chandrāvati** and who, averse from rendering homage to the [Chaulukya] king **Bhīmadēva I.** and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king **Bhōja**, the lord of **Dhārā**. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the **Prāgvāta** family there was a distinguished personage named **Vimala** in whom religion, immersed in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king **Bhīma daṇḍapati** (commander of the forces or governor) at **Arbuda**, and there one night was enjoined by the divine **Ambikā** to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the **Yugāḍibhartṛi (Yugāḍijina, Ādinātha)**. That **Vimala** obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse: "I adore the holy **Ādinātha** who was placed on the top of **Arbuda** by the glorious **Vimala**, when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king **Vikramaditya**."

The chief **Dhandhu** or **Dhandhurāja**, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the **Paramāra** (or **Paramāra**) **Dhandhuka** mentioned above, p. 11, whose son **Pūrṇapāla** ruled the **Arbuda** territory in the **Vikrama** years 1099 and 1102.¹ He would of course have been a contemporary of both the **Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I.** and the **Paramāra Bhōjadēva of Mālava**.—**Vimala**'s name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the **Vikrama** year 1201.² That inscription,³ No. 1767 of Mr. Cousens' List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2' 6" long by 5½" high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the **Śrīmāla kula** and was an ornament of the **Prāgvāta vaṃśa**. His son was **Lahadha**, who was somehow connected with the king **Mūla** (i.e. the **Chaulukya Mūlarāja I.**) and was also known by the name **Vira-mahattama**. **Lahadha** had two sons. The first of them was the minister **Nēḍha**, and the second **Vimala**, who in verse 7 is described thus:—

Dvītyakō=dvaitamatāvalamvi(bī) daṇḍādhipaḥ śrī-Vimalō va(ba)bhūva |
yēn=ēdam=uchchair=bhavasindhusētukalpaṃ vinirmūḍpitam=atra vēśma ||

¹ The name **Dhandhuka** also occurs in the genealogy of the **Paramāras** of **Chandrāvati**, above, Vol. VIII p. 201.

² According to Mr. Cousens the inscription is over the doorway of cell No. 10 in the corridor of **Vimala**'s temple. It is referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: "One inscription bears date S. 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."

Nêdha's son was Lâlîga ; his son was the minister Mahiduka ;¹ and he again had two sons, Hêma and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Rishabha set up an image of Nêmijînêśa (Nêmitîrthakara, i.e. Nêminâtha), which was installed on Friday, the first *tîthi* of Jyêsthâ of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the 5th May A.D. 1144. I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vinnala's temple, No. 1768 of Mr. Cousens' List,² the full text of which is :—

- L. 1 ³Śrî-Śrîmâlakulôdbhava-⁴ Vîramahâmaintri-putra-[sa]nmaintri- | śrî-
 2 Nêdha-putra-Lâlîga-tatsuta-Mahiduka-⁵sutôn=êdam || Nijapu-
 3 trakalatra-samanvitêna |⁶ sanmaintri-Daśarathên=êdam | śrî-Nêmi-
 4 nâtha-[b]jîvânî⁶ |⁴ mōkshârtham kâritam ramyam ||

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha : for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that Vinnala, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nêdha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p. 81 f. This *râjârali* in verse 14 commences with Āsarāja, who belonged to the Châhuvâma (Châhuvâpa, Châhamâna) family and was king of the town of Nadûla (Naddûla). After him came Samarasimha ; and his son was Mahâprasimhabhaṭa (v. 15). Then came Pratâpamalla ; and to him was born Vijâḍa, the lord of the Marusthali maṇḍala (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lûṇiga (v. 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes Luṇḍha 'who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries ;' and verse 19 Lumbha, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain Arbuda, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (i.e. died). Verse 21 then eulogizes Têjasimha, the son of Lûṇiga ; verse 22 wishes long life to Tihunâka ; and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that Lumbhaka together with Têjasimha and Tihuna (*śrîmal-Lumbhaka-nâmâ samavritas=Têjasimha-Tihunâbhyâm*) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda.

Regarding the first part of this *râjârali*, as far as Vijâḍa, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vijâḍa. According to the inscription of Luṇṭigadêva, above, p. 80, Vijâḍa, who is also called Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), had four sons—Lâvanyakarna, Luṇḍha (Luṇṭiga), Lakshmana, and Lûṇavarman, of whom Lâvanyakarna is distinctly called the eldest (*jyêsthâ*). According to the present inscription Vijâḍa had three sons the first (*âdya*) of whom was Lûṇiga. After Lûṇiga the inscription mentions Luṇḍha and Lumbha, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luṇṭigadêva's inscription I have identified Lûṇiga with Lâvanyakarna, and have taken Luṇḍha and Lumbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Luṇḍha with Luṇḍha (Luṇṭiga) and Lumbha with Lûṇavarman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr. Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names Lûṇiga, Luṇḍha and Lumbha (Lumbhaka) to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskritized forms of Lumbhâ, denoting a chief 'commonly called राव लुभा,

¹ The metre shows that the name is correct here.

² The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No. 10 in the corridor.

³ Metre of the two verses : Āryā.

⁴ These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

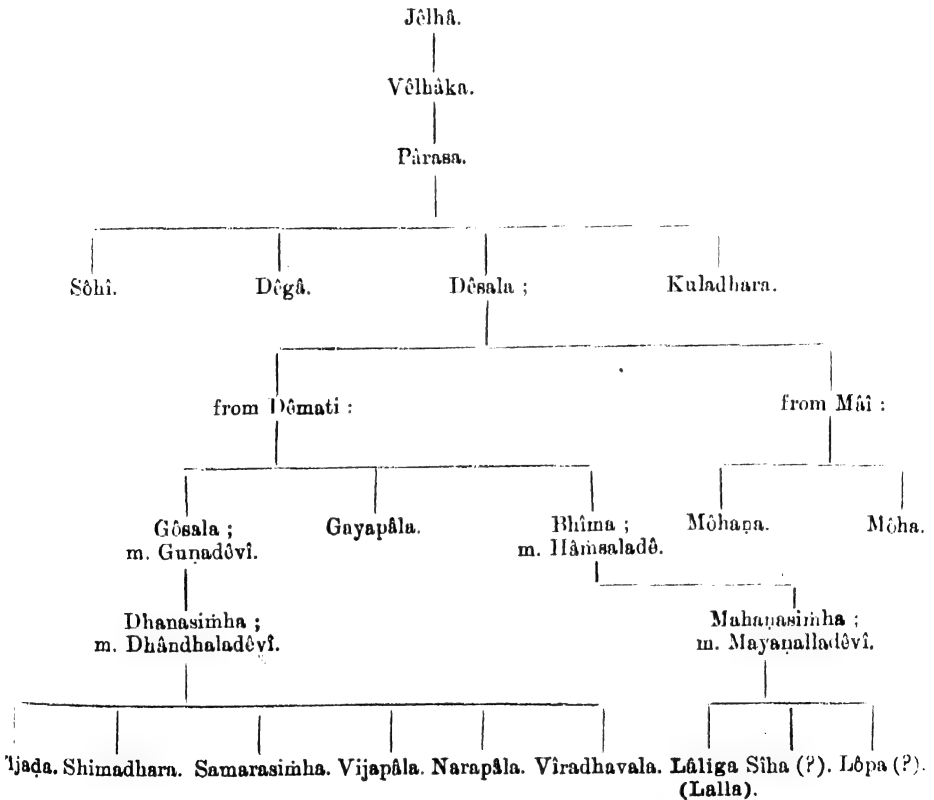
⁵ The metre requires us to read Mahiduka-.

⁶ Read -dimbā.

the famous conqueror of Ābū.' If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p. 83, would of course have to be slightly altered. Mr. Ojha agrees with me in considering **Tihupāka** (**Tihupa**) to be a younger brother of **Tējasimha**, but from his point of view places both, together with **Tējasimha**'s son **Kāṇhaḍadēva**, under **Lantiga** (**Lunḍha**, **Lūṇiga**, **Lumbha**). At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, **Lumbha** was dead, and the government of Ābū must have been actually carried on by **Tējasimha**.

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (**Lalla** and **Vijaḍa**) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table:—

Genealogical Table.



The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. **Jēlha**, founder of the family, was a merchant, and his *guru* was **Dharmasūri**.¹ His place of abode was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of **Dēsala** it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,² **Śatrumjaya** and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms.

¹ See below, p. 154.

² The seven *śrīthas* or *keśhītras* are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven

There are at Vimala's temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription¹ of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Ānandasūri, of an image of Nēmiṇa (Nēminātha) at Vimala's *rasahikā*. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Ūkāśa *vaṃśa*,² and that its founder, Jēlhāka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of Maṇḍavyapura (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-42) of our inscription record that Rishabha was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the *guru* or *sūri* Jñānachandra, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jñānachandra, we learn that he was preceded by Amaraprabhasūri, and that the founder of the lineage was Dharmasūri, also called Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryaman, i.e. Dharmaghōsha, 'the sun of the *gaṇa*,' 'who defeated Vādichandra and Guṇachandra, and caused the awakening of three kings.' Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jñānachandra either as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmasūri³ or as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmaghōshasūri;⁴ and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr. Cousens' List, commences with the words: *Śrīmat-Dharmaghōshasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Āṇa(na)masūri-śrī-Amaraprabhasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Jñānachandrasūri*. The Ānandasūri of the last must be the Ānandasūri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309; and the Ānandasūri and Amaraprabhasūri of the inscription apparently are the Ānandasūri and his disciple Amaraprabhasūri who, according to Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasūri's advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Ānandasūri there is mentioned, *ibid.* p. 109, Dharmasūri (a disciple of Śīlabhadrasūri of the Rāja-gachchha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion's roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king Vighraha. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghōshasūri, in Prof. Peterson's *Third Report*, App. pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of Śakambhari; and *ibid.* p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the Sapādalaksha country. From all this there can be no doubt that of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasūri, one was a king Vighrabarāja of Śakambhari (the capital of the Sapādalaksha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with Visaladeva-Vighrabarāja, whose Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my *Northern List*) are dated in the Vikrama year 1220 (in A.D. 1164), and that Dharmaghōshasūri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr. Cousens' List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1226 (in A.D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know; nor have I identified yet Vādichandra⁵ and Guṇachandra who were defeated by Dharmasūri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth *tithi* of the dark half (*śukla*) of Jyēṣṭha in the year made up of the *vāsis* (8), the *vānis* (7), the *gunas* (3) and the moon (1), i.e. the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word *siti*, which I have translated by 'the dark half,' might equally well denote 'the bright half'; and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

¹ This is the inscription referred to in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, in the words: "Another (*viz.* inscription) in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else."

² I.e. the Ōṣavāla tribe; compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 40.

³ Nos. 1759, 1822 and 1852 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁴ Nos. 1756, 1754A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr. Cousens' List.

⁵ There is a Vādichandra who composed the *Jñānasūryodaya*; I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.

in the words 1379 *Jyēshṭha-sudi 9 Sôma*. But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos. 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr. Cousens' List) we have *samrat* (or *sam*) 1378 *varshē Jyēshṭha-vadi 9 Sôma-dinē* (or *Sômē*), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of *Jyēshṭha* the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a *Chaitrādī* current or expired, or *Kārttikādī* expired year), whereas for the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* *Jyēshṭha* of the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322. For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take **Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322** to be its proper equivalent; and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake.

TEXT.¹

- 1 || Ōm² || ³Śrī-Arbudatīrtha-prasastir-likhyatō || ⁴Amgikrit-āchalapadō vṛishabhāsītō =
si |⁵ bhūtir-gaṇādhīpatisēvita-pādapadmah | śaibhur-yugādhīpurushō jagad-
ēkanāthaḥ pūṇyāya pallavayatu⁶ prati-vāsaram sa[h]⁷ || 1
- 2 ⁸Nibaddha-mūlaiḥ phalibhiḥ sapatnair⁹ drumair-narēndrain-iva sēvyamānaḥ |
pādāgrajāgrad-bahuvāhinikaḥ śrī-Arbudō mandatu śaila-rājah || 2 Yasmin
¹⁰Viśiṣṭānalakūṇḍa-janmā kṣatikṣhati-trāṇaparah pur-āsīt | pratyāshi-¹¹
- 3 rthiśārthōnmathanā-kṛitāthi |¹² kṣhitāv-ilā śrī-Paramāra-nāmā || 3 ¹³Tad-unvayō
Kānhaḍadēva-viraḥ pur-āvir-āsiva¹⁴ prabala-pratāpah | chiram nivāsam
vidadhāna¹⁵ yasya karāmbujō sarvajagaj-jayaśrīḥ || 4 ¹⁶Tatkulakamala-
- 4 marālah kālā[h*] pratyarthi-maṇḍalikānā[m*] | Chandravatīpur-iśah samajani
vīr-āgrajī[r*]=Dha[m*]dhuḥ || 5 ¹⁷Śrī-Bhīmadēvasya nṛipaśa(sya) sēvām=
amānya[m]ānaḥ kila Dhamdhurājah | narēsa-rōshāch-cha tatō manasvī(svi)
Dhārādhipam

¹ From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens, No. 1790 of his List.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name.

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁵ This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original.

⁶ Originally ⁹gantu was engraved.

⁷ Originally *śa* was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to *sa*h.—So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pādas the author addresses the Jaina Tirthamkara Rishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Siva; and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pāda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit.' Instead of *pallavayatu* I should have expected *pallavaya*, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit!' (Compare *Śatrujhaya-māhātmya* XIV. 35: *tādṛiśānām hi sadbhakti-pally-śēpam pallavaty-āpi*). In the first Pāda I take *vṛishabhāsītō-si* to be equivalent to both *Vṛishabha, Asītō-si* and *vṛishabhāsītō-si*, so that the Pāda would mean both 'O Vṛishabha (Rishabha)! having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here),' and 'you (O Siva!), who have taken the name Achala, are seated on a bull.' I am aware that Rishabha has a bull for his cognizance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him; but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull.'—In the second Pāda *gaṇādhīpati* denotes both Puṇḍarika, the leader of Rishabha's *gana*, and Gaṇāśa.

⁸ Metre of verses 2 and 3: Upajāti.

⁹ Read *sapatnair*.—The word *phala* means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword),' etc.; *pattra* 'leaves' and 'vehicles,' etc.; and *vāhinī* 'rivers' and 'armies'.

¹⁰ Read *Vasishṭhā*; the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9.—With *anala-kūṇḍa* compare *agni-kūṇḍa* in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5.

¹¹ The *akṣara* *shi* is a mistake for *rthi*, and should be struck out because *rthi* has been repeated at the commencement of line 3.

¹² Read *-kṛitārthaḥ*.

¹³ Metre: Upēndravajrā.

¹⁴ Read *-āsīt*.

¹⁵ Wrong for *vidadhē*, which would not have suited the metre.

¹⁶ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁷ Metre: Upajāti.

- 5 Bhôjanripam prapêdê || 6 ¹Prâgvâtavamâs-âbharaṇam babhūva ratnam
pradhānam Thi(vi)mal-âbhidhānaḥ | yas=tôjasaḥ ²dusamay-âdhakāra-magnô=pi
dharmaḥ sahas=âvir-âsitâ ³|| 7 ⁴Tava(ta)s=cha Bhīmēna narâdhipēna sa
pratāpa-bhūmi(mi)r=Vima-
- 6 lō mahāmatih | kva(kri)tô=[r*]budē damdapatih satām priyaḥ priyamvadō
namdatu Jaina-âsanē || 8 ⁵Asōkaput[t*]rârṇa-pānipallavā samullasatkēsa-
sām(sim)ha-vāhanā [i*] śisudvayālakṛita-vigrahā snti⁶ satām kri-
- 7 yād-vighna-vināsam-Ambikā || 9 Ath-Anyadā tam nīśi damdānāyakam samâdīdēa
prayatā kil=Āmbikā [i*] ih=âchi(cha)lō tvam kurru sadma surindaram
Yugâdibhartar-nirapāya-samśrayah || 10 ⁶Śrī-Vikramādityanripād-vya-
- 8 titō sṣtāṣīti-yātē śaradām sahasrē(srē) | śrī-Âdī[nā]tha[m] ⁷śikharē=rbudasya
nivōsī(śi)tarī śrī-[V]imalēna vāndō || 11 ⁸Vighnâdhivyādhi-humtrī yā māt ēva
pranāt-ângishu | Śrīpūñjarāja-tanayā Śrīmātā bhavatām⁹ śrī-
- 9 yō || 12 ¹⁰Achalōsa ¹¹Viśiṣṭānalatāṇi-Maridākinivimalasalila- | puṇyāni yasya
śrī[m]nō¹² jayamvi(tī) vividhāni tīrthāni || 13 Atha rājāvalī || ¹³Vairivargga-
dalanō gata-tāndras Chāhuvāmakulakairava-chaṇdrah¹⁴ | yō Nadūla-na-
- 10 garasya narōsa Āsarāja iti viravarō sḥāt || 14 ¹⁵Prabalavairidavānala-
vāridah Samarasi[d*]ha iti prathitas=tataḥ | Mahanasiṁhabhūṭah subha-
âgruṇih prithu-yaśā njanishṭa tad-aṅgajah || 15 ¹⁶Pratāpamallas=tad-annu pratā-
- 11 pi babhūva bhūpāla-sadassa mānyaḥ [i*] vir-âvatamōs=jani¹⁷ Vijadō=sva
Marusthalimamḍala-bhāmibhartā || 16 Āsan¹⁸ trayas=tat-tanayā nay-âdhyā
mārttāḥ pum-arthā iva bhāgabho(bhā)jah | âdyō dharitripati-rakṣhapālah
khyātah kṣitō(tan) Lūṇiga-
- 12 nāmadhēyah || 17 ¹⁹Nyāyamārgga-śikharī madhumāsaḥ²⁰ kālavaksha(t-ka)valayana-
ari-vrajau | māṇḍalika-paha(da)vīm=apālahā(ya)l=Lumḍha ity=abhidhaya
dhīyām nidhiḥ || 18 ²¹Vipakṣhanārī-nayanāmbupūraiś chakāra yah kṛtti-

¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

² Read -âsit.

³ Read *dussamay(or duṣṣamay)-âdhakāra*.

⁴ Metre of verses 8-10: Vamśastha.

⁵ Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved.—Ambikā is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p. 151 f., in a verse the correct reading of which I take to be: *likāṣa-kutīlāmaṣṭrai-bhishapīṣyam tathā cha dhutakābalasatāḥ-bhāsuraṁ tuṅgam-ucchaiḥ | nahatī sutam=udorā yauka-samsthāna sadāiva mṛigapatim-adhīrādhai sa-Ambikā vō-stu tushtyai* &c. Compare the representation of Kushmāṇḍini in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXII. p. 463, Plate iv.

⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

⁷ It is difficult to say whether we should read *Ādinātham* or *Ādītnam*. The *akshara* which follows upon *ā* originally was *dē*, but seems to have been altered; and the next *akshara* looks more like *tha* than *ra*, but it might be said that *th* has been wrongly engraved instead of *v* also in *Thimāla* for *Vimala*, in line 5. On the whole I think that the reading *Ādinātham* is preferable.

⁸ Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh).

⁹ The sign for *ī* in this word is clearly struck out in the original, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter *bhavatām* to *bhavatu*.—In the above I have purposely given *Śrīmātī*, not *śrī-Mātā*, because in other inscriptions *śrī* appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix. I may mention that in No. 1774 of Mr. Conson's List we have *Śrīmītāḍḍī* as one word, not *Śrīmītīḍḍī*, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in Mercuṅga's *Prabandhaśhīntāmaṇi*, p. 282 ff., the base of the word is both *Śrīmātī* and *Śrīmītī*. In the same account the father's name is *Śrīpūjā*.

¹⁰ Metre: Āryā.

¹¹ Read *Vasishṭha*; compare above, line 2.

¹² Read *śrīṅgā*.—Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case one would have expected *tava śrīṅgā*, but this would not have suited the metre.

¹³ Metre: Svāgatā.

¹⁴ *Chāhuvāna* probably is a mistake for either *Chāhuvāna* or *Chāhuvāna*.

¹⁵ Metre: Drutavilambita.

¹⁶ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁷ After the *ō* of *Tānasō* another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.

¹⁸ Metre: Indravajrā.—Read *Asams-trayaś*.

¹⁹ Metre: Rathōddhata.

²⁰ Read, probably, *madhusaravah*.

²¹ Metre: Upajāti.

- 13 *latām sapat*[*]*rām* | *babhūva bhūmipati-labdhāmānō Lumbh-ābhidhānō jagad-*
ēkavrah || 19 ¹*Samhṛitya śatrūn prabalanu² *balēna śrī-A[r*]budām prāpya*
nagādhirājain | ³*[bh]uktā sa* [*bh*]ūma[*m**]dāna-rā[*jyam*=*uchchāh*] | ⁴ *svarlō-*
14 *ka-lōkādhīpatir-babhūva* || 20 ⁵*Lūṅgasya* *tanujō jvaṣa*[*j-ja*]yī *Tōjasimha* *iti*
tōjasām *nidhiḥ* | *yat-pratāpavapāvakaś-chiraṁ vairivargga-vipadam*
*nahatisma*⁶ || 21 ⁷*Karāgra*[*jā*]gra[*t-**]karavā-
15 *ladamda-khūmḍikṛit-āśēshavirōdhivarggab* | *prithyām*⁸ *prasiddhas Tihunāka-nāmā*
vir-āvatamaś *sa chirāyur-astu* || 21 (22) ⁹*Sṛimal-Lumbhaka-nāmā samā*[*uv*]itas-
Tōjasimha-Tigu(hu)nābhyām | *A[r*]buda*[*g*]irīśa-
16 *rāyam nyāyanī*[*dbi* ?]¹⁰ [*||* 23*] ¹¹*Urapura-vāsi*
suguru-śrī-Dharmasāri-padabhaktā [***] *Sarvajñānāsēna-rata*¹² *sa jayati*
Jēth-ābhidhah śrēṣṭhī(*śhṭhī*) || 24 *Tat-tanayā su-nayō-bhūt*¹³ *Vō-*
17 [*hā*]kaḥ *sakala-bhūta*¹⁴ [*||* *tat-putrah su-charita*[*h*] *punya-nidhiḥ*
Parasaḥ sādhuḥ || 25 *Sōhi-Dōgā-Dēsala-Kuladhara-nāmnā tad-aṅgajā jātā* |
chatvārah kulamāndira-sudipāhastambh-ābhiraṁ [*yā* ||]
18 26 ¹⁵*Śrī-Dēsalaḥ* *suḥṛī*[*tapśa*]la-vittakō[*tīś* ¹⁶*chamcha*]chehatardasajagaj-janitā-
*vad[āta]*¹⁷ | *Śatruṇjaya-pramukha-vīrutasaptatī*[*rtha*]-¹⁸*yātrās=cha*[*ta*]rdasā *chakura*
mahāmahēna || 27 ¹⁹*Dē*[*ma*]ti-Māi-
19 *nāmnī sādhu-śrī-Dōsalasya bhāryō dvō* | *nirmalasīlagun-ā*[*ghy*]ō *dayā-kṣa*[*mē*
Jaina-dharmasya || 28 *Dōmatikukṣhi-prabhavā Gōsa*[*la*]-*Gayapāla-Bhi*[*ma*]-
nāmānā | *Māi-kukṣhē-jātan Mōha-*
20 *ra-Mōh-ābhidhau patrau* || 29 *Jinasānakkamala-raviḥ sādhuḥ śrī-Gōsalō-*
vi[*dat*]²⁰ *kirtim* | *guṇaratnarōhaṇalharā*²¹ *Guṇadēvī priyatamā tasya* || 30
²²*Saddharmakarmm-ākanila-*
21 *līlabuddhis=*²³*tad-aṅgajā* *śrī-Dhanasimha-sādhuḥ* | *bhāryā tadīyā sadayā*
vadājñā(*nyā*) *mānyā satām Dhāmddhaladēvi-sunijā* || 31 ²⁴*Sādho*[*r**]=*Bhīmasya*
satō Hāmasaladēkukṣhi-sambhava(*va*)²⁵ *śrīmān* | *ma*²⁶
22 *hīmā-nidhir-mahānjā mahāmātir-Mahāpasimh-ākhyā*[*h*] || 32 ²⁶*Maya*qalladēvi-
varakukṣhisukti-muktās-trayaś-tat-tanayā jayanti | *jēshṭhō*²⁷ *jagadvyāpi-*
yaśahprakāśaḥ sādhy-agraṇī[*r**]=*Lālaga-**

¹ Metre : Indravajrā.² Read *prabalan*.³ Up to the end of the line the *akṣaras* in brackets are more or less conjectural; they are carelessly written in the original. For *bhāmāndana* read *bhāmāndala*.⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁵ Metre : Rathōldhatā.⁶ The four *akṣaras nahatisma* are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning. The only alteration which I could suggest would be *dahat-siha*.⁷ Metre : Upajāti.⁸ Read *prithyām*.⁹ Metre of verses 23-26: Āryā.¹⁰ Here about 10 *akṣaras* are effaced.¹¹ In No. 1791 of Mr. Cousens' List (see above, p. 154) Jēthāka is described as an inhabitant of Māṇḍavyapura.¹² Read *Sarvajñānāsana-rataḥ*.¹³ Read *ābhāt*.¹⁴ Here about 4 *akṣaras* are effaced.¹⁵ Metre : Vasantatilakā.¹⁶ Read *śānta-vittakōtīś*.¹⁷ Read, perhaps, *dīnak*.¹⁸ Originally *līrthō*, with a sign of punctuation after it, was engraved.¹⁹ Metre of verses 28-30: Āryā.²⁰ The reading is conjectural. The original has *ri* [*t* ?] *dē kirtim*.²¹ Compare *guṇaratnarōhaṇagiri* in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1881, p. 43, line 1.²² Metre : Upajāti.²³ After the *akṣara dḍhi* a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out.²⁴ Metre : Āryā.²⁵ Here originally *mē* was engraved, but the sign for *ē* seems to have been struck out; the two *akṣaras* *lī* and *ā* at the commencement of the next line are quite clear. The author has used the feminine *mahimā* instead of the masculine *māhiman*.²⁶ Metre : Indravajrā.—The two *akṣaras mayā* at the commencement of the verse were apparently read as one syllable (*mayi*).²⁷ Read *jyēshṭhō*.

- 23 *sādthurājah* || 33 ¹Āśvinēyā[v]=iva śrēsth[au] kanishthau *guṇa-śālinau* [i*]
*Siha-Lōp-ābhidhau*² dharmmadhyāna-pravaṇamānasau || 34 *Shaṭ* sutā
Dhanusihhasya mūrttā
- 24 iva *śhaḍ-arttavaḥ*³ | *viśvaviśv-ōpakārāy=āvatirupā*[h] *pritha(thi)vi-talē* || 35
⁴Tēshām=ādyah *sādhu*[r*]=*Vijaḍa* iti *vinulama(ta)ra-yaśahprasaraḥ* | *guṇa-*
sāgarah *Shimadharah* *sañña(jja)na-*
- 25 *mānyah* *Samaras[iṃ]haḥ* || 36 ⁵Rājasamāja-śrēsthbō *vikhyātō(taḥ)* *sādhu-*
Vijapālāh [i*] *nipuṇa-matir-Narapālāh* *sukṛita-ratō* *Vīradhaval-ākhyah* | (i)
 37 ⁶Svapitri-śrōyasō
- 26 *jirṇōddhāraṇ*⁷ *Rishabha-maṇdirō* | *kārayām-āsatur=Liālla-Vijaḍau* *sādhu-*
sattamō(mau) (ii) 38 ⁸Vādichaṇdra-Guṇachandra-vijētā *bhūpatitraya-vibōdha-*
vidhātā | *Dharmmasūri-*
- 27 *r-iṭi nāma pur-āsita*⁹ *viśvaviśva-viditō* *muni-rāja*[h*] | (ii) 39 ¹⁰Mūlapatta
kramē *tasya* *Dharmaghōsha-gaṇāryamā*¹¹ [i*] *labhūvuh* *sama-sampārṇāḥ*
Amaraprabhasūrayah || 40
- 28 ¹²Tatpātṭa-bhūṣhaṇam-adūṣhaṇadharmaśīla-¹³sidya(ddhām)tasimdhuparisīlana-Vishṇulilāḥ
 | *śrī-Jñānachandra* iti *nāmadatu* *sūri-rājah* *puṇyōpadēśavidhi-bōdhitasa-*
- 29 *tsimājah* | (ii) 41 ¹⁴Vasu-muni-tu(gu)ṇa-śasi(śi)-varsha | *Jēsthē*¹⁵ *sitinara(va)mi-*
Sōma-yuta-divasē | *śrī-Jñānachandra-gurūṇā* *pra[ti]shtē(shṭhi)tō=[rbu]da-gi[rau]*
Riṣha[bhaḥ]¹⁷ || 42
- 30 1370 *Jēṣṭha-sudi*¹⁸ 9 *Sōmē* ||

POSTSCRIPT.

On the Chāhamānas of Naddūla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the Genealogical Table of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla published above, p. 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief Jōjalla (Yōjaka), here called Jōjala, while the two others are of the reign of Rayapāla of Naddūla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1. — This inscription is at Sādri (about 13 miles south of Nadol) in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences:—

- L. 1 Ōm¹⁹ *samvat* 1147 *Vaiśākha-sudi* 2 *Budha-vāsarē* *mahā-*
 2 *rāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvōna* *śrī-Lakshmanasvāmi-prabhṛiti-*
 3 *samastadēvānām yātrākāla-vyavahārō lōkhitah* ||

¹ Metre of verses 34 and 35: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

² I am doubtful about the correctness of the two names; the four *aksharas* at the beginning of the Pāda might be read also *śhālāpā*.

³ Wrong for *śhaḍ-ritavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre.

⁴ Metre: Āryā.

⁵ Metre: Upagiti.

⁶ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

⁷ Read *ram-Rishabhah*.

⁸ Metre: Svagatā.

⁹ Read *-dātā*.

¹⁰ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).

¹¹ Read *-gaṇḍryamṇah*.

¹² Read *-sāmpārṇā*.

¹³ Metre: Vasutatilakā.— With the commencement of the verse compare e.g. Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 207, v. 5: *tatpātṭa-bhūṣhaṇam-nir-gata-dūṣhaṇō-bhād*.

¹⁴ Probably the intended reading was *śīlāh*.

¹⁵ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁶ Read *-varshē Jyēsthē* (or *Jyāsthē*).

¹⁷ Read *-nir-Rishabhah*.

¹⁸ Read *Jyēsthā* (or *Jyāsthā*)-*sudi*; and see above, p. 155.

¹⁹ Denoted by a symbol.

2.—This inscription is at **Nadol**. It contains 13 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1147 Vaiśākha-śudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-vāsa-
 2 rē mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jōjaladēvaḥ sama-
 3 sta-dōvānām śrī-lakshmanasvāmi-prabhṛtinām yātrā-vya-
 4 vahāraim lēkhayati yathā ||

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1147, to **Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091**, when the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise.

3.—This also is at **Nadol**. It contains 39 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ samvat 1198 Śrāvāṇa-vadi 8 Ravāv-ady-ēha [ma]-
 2 hārājā[dhirāja]-śrī-Rāyapāladēvaḥ² kalyāṇa-vija[ya]-
 3 rāyē ēvaim kālē pravarttamānē

The date corresponds either, for the *pūrnimānta* Śrāvāṇa of the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1198, to **Sunday, the 29th June A.D. 1141**, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h. 11 m. after mean sunrise; or, for the *amānta* Śrāvāṇa of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1198, to **Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142**, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the *amānta* month, I here, too, take **Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142**, to be the true equivalent of the date.

4.—This also is at **Nadol**. It contains 8 lines of writing and commences :—

- L. 1 Ōm¹ || Samvat 1200 Bhādrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vārē ady-ēha śrī-
 2 Na[ḍḍū]l[ī] samastarājavalisamalakṛita-pūjya-mahārājādhi-
 3 rāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Rāyapāladēva-vijayarājyē ā-
 4 vaim kālē pravarttamānē

The date, for the *amānta* Bhādrapada of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to **Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144**, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise.

In the Table **Rāyapāla** (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between **Jōjalla** (A.D. 1091) and **Alhuṇa** (A.D. 1153-1161), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter; but how he was related to either of them it is impossible to say at present.

I may add that Mr. Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of **Kāsahrada** and **Naddūlālī**, spoken of by me above, pp. 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes :—

"I would identify **Kāsahrada** with **Kāyadrām** (also called **Kāsadrām**) at the foot of Mount Ābū, about 3 miles from the Bhimānā station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramāra prince Dhārāvārsha was discovered there by me some years ago."

And respecting **Naddūlālī**, which I had taken to be a different place from Naddūla, he says :—

"As you think, it is quite different from Naddūla. It is now called **Nāralālī**, and is situated in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in *Mirnagar Inscr.* p. 140 (where the date given is incorrect)."

¹ Denoted by a symbol.

² Read ² *dēva-kalyāṇa*.

³ See my *Northern List*, No. 306.—On the map of the Rājputāna Agency 'Nāralālī' is seven miles south-east of 'Nadol.'

No. 19.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BASTAR STATE.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Mr. Cousens in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04 (p. 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berâr cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value.' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on.

Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between $17^{\circ} 46'$ and $22^{\circ} 14'$ north latitude and $80^{\circ} 15'$ and $82^{\circ} 15'$ east longitude, touching the Godâvarî and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wildest tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes. This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions¹ through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr. Baijnath, B.A., Superintendent of the Bastar State. Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasford, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Godâvarî District, about the year 1862 A.D.² So far as is known, only one of them has been published, viz., the so-called Nâgpur Museum inscription of Sômêśvara.³ On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nâgpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village Kowtal, near Sironcha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown. It belonged to Bârsûr, of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Râjas.

In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood, I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archaeological remains. As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here. These places are Bârsûr, Dantêwârâ, Gadia, Bhairamgarh, Narâyanpâl, Sunârpâl, Kuruspâl, Tirathgarh, Potinâr, Chapkâ and Dôngar.

Bârsûr is a place of very great interest. It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar. It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common *mandapa* supported on 32 pillars in four rows. In each of the sanctuaries there is a *linga* and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago. Another Śiva temple has a *mandapa* with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called *Māmā bhāṇjā-kā mandir* and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains. Outside the Gaṇeśa temple there is a huge figure of Gaṇeśa, 17' in circumference and about 7' or 8' high. Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Vishnu, 4' high, and showing good workmanship. There are also some images of Mahishâsuramardini, one of which is inscribed. All the temples are of mediæval Brâhmic style, most of them built of stone without lime.—Dantêwârâ is about 20 miles south of Bârsûr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-headed cobras or intercoiled snakes. Dantêwârâ contains the shrine of Dantêśvarî, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family. The temple is built at the junction of two rivers

¹ Since I wrote this Mr. Baijnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper.

² See *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department*, No. XXXIX. p. 32 et seq.

³ Above, Vol. III. p. 314

called Saṅkhinī and Daṅkhinī, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishāsuramardini, locally known as Dantēśvarī. There are various other images such as those of Viṣṇu, Kārttikāya, Gaṇeśa, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bārsūr. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantēśvarī temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamgūḍī. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantēśvarī temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached.—**Bhairamgarh** is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at Potinār, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab¹ inscribed on four sides.—**Gaḍia** is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bārsūr. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a *linga* was found buried in a brick mound.—**Narāyanpāl** and **Kurusāl** are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indrāvati. Near these villages are the forts of Rājapur and Bōdrā, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indrāvati at Chitrakūṭ present a magnificent appearance.—**Narāyanpāl** is only 6 miles from Gaḍia and has an old temple, an image of Viṣṇu, and an inscription.—**Sunārpāl** and **Chapkā** are within 12 miles from Narāyanpāl. Chapkā has a number of *śatī* pillars, several of which are inscribed.—**Tirathgarh** also contains some temples and relics.—**Dōngar** is a place where according to custom the present Rājās go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly spilt, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Rāja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Narāyanpāl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, *viz.*, those of the (1) Nāgavamśi kings, (2) the Kākatiyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 22 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

THE NĀGAVAMŚI INSCRIPTIONS.

I.—Narāyanpāl Stone inscription of Queen Guṇḍa-mahādēvī, the mother of Sōmēśvaradēva.

Narāyanpāl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nāgarī characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village **Nārāyaṇapura** to the god Nārāyaṇa and some land near the Khajjuri tank to the god Lōkēśvara, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon-day of the Kārttika month in the **Khara saṁvatsara** (*Śaka-nṛpa-kālātītē dāśa-tata-traya[s*]-trims-ādhihē Khara-saṁvatsarē Kārtika-purnimāsyām Budhavarē*) corresponding to 18th October 1111 A.D., and issued by **Guṇḍa-mahādēvī**, the chief queen of **Mahārāja Dhāravarsha**, the mother of **Sōmēśvaradēva** and the grandmother of **Kanharadēva**, who was then ruling on the death of his father (*Mahārāja-Sōmēśvara-dēvasya śvar[śvar]gatē tēshām putrasya dāśam naptuḥ . . . trima-d-vira-Kanharadēvasya kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē*). The dynasty claims to belong to the Nāgavamśa and the Kāśyapa gōtra, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhōgāvatī the best of the cities (*Nāgavamśodbhava Bhōgāvatī-pura-var-ēśvara savatsa-vyāghra-lāṁchhana Kāś(ya)pu-gōtra*). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

¹ This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jānglā, six miles north of Potinār, for easy access.

dagger and shield with a *linga* in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the *Lingāyats* wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by *Dhārāṇa-mahādēvi*, who was probably the widow of *Sōmēśvara*, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that *Nārāyaṇpāl* is the *Nārāyaṇapura* of the inscription. A temple of *Nārāyaṇa* is still standing there. The image of *Vishṇu*, about 2' high, canopied by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

II.—Bārsūr inscription of Gaṅga-mahādēvi, wife of Sōmēśvaradēva.

This inscription is now in the Nāgpur Museum, and, as stated above, it has already been published.¹ It is a slab 9' 2" long, 14" broad and 3½" thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring 6½' and the smaller one 2' 11". It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about 4½'; thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 31'. The stone is stated to have been brought from Kowtah near Sironcha, but the *Tahsildar* of Sironcha informs me that it was never sent from that place.²

The stone is indisputably from Bārsūr. Happily Col. Glasfurd has given a facsimile in his report on the Dependency of Bastar. Speaking of the Bārsūr temples he says³:—"In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient Sanskrit and Telugu inscription on both sides; part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the Telugu is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of Mahādēva where the slab was found was built by a Rājā Sōmēśvaradēva, a Nāgavamsi Kshatriya, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the Telugu character, and the language is also Telugu prose, the *virudhāli* or titles of the king being in Sanskrit and corresponding with those in the *Nārāyaṇpāl* Sanskrit inscription. It records that *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*, the chief queen of *Sōmēśvaradēva* gave a village named *Kēramaruka* or *Kēramarka* to two temples of Śiva (both of which she had built) on Sunday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna* in the Śaka year 1130. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common *mandapa*, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that Col. Glasfurd removed the slab. Although the names of the temples *Vīrasōmēśvara* and *Gaṅgādharēśvara* given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called *Gaṅgāsāgar* and retains the memory of the charitable queen *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*. If the *Sōmēśvara* of this inscription is identical with that of *Nārāyaṇpāl*, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the *tithi* given there, viz., the 12th of the bright fortnight of *Phālguna*, on a Sunday. According to Mr. Dikshit's calculations, *Phālguna Śukla 12* of Śaka-Saṁvat 1130 ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was Śaka 1131 expired, in which year the *tithi* given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same *tithi* in Śaka 1030 expired I find that

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 314.

² A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of *Bhavadēva* (republished in J. R. A. S. 1905, p. 617, by Dr. Kielhorn) to Raṭnagur, whereas from my enquiry *in situ* I found that the inscription was really brought from Bhāndaka, and this is confirmed by General Cunningham, *Reports*, Vol. IX, p. 127.

³ *Report on the Dependency of Bastar*, 1862, p. 62.

it also fell on Sunday.¹ In the Narāyanpāl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nārāyaṇapura was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharadēva, who had succeeded his father Sōmēśvaradēva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sōmēśvaras,² the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu l which is like an egg half-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second l of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kēramaguka may be identified with Kōdmalnār, which is situated quite close to Bārsūr and is said to have been *mu'afi* or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

III.—Kuruspāl inscription of Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi, second queen(?) of Sōmēśvara.

Kuruspāl is a village about a mile off from Narāyanpāl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was utilised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nāgarī character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near Kalamba by Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi, who seems to have been the second queen of Sōmēśvaradēva. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Sōmēśvaradēva (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-pīdānu kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyā . . . śrīmat-sā(mach-ahhā)sana-mahādēvi dvītiya Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi tayāchamyā Kalambva-nāmapasikā bhūmī dattam(d)*). The same long *virūdas* as in the Narāyanpāl and Bārsūr inscriptions are attached to Sōmēśvaradēva's name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nārāyaṇapura. It is dated in the *Saumya samvatsara*.

IV.—Sunārpāl stone inscription of Mahādēvi, queen of Jayasimhadēva.

Sunārpāl is about 10 miles from Narāyanpāl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by Mahādēvi, the chief queen of Jayasimhadēva of the Nāga race, the supreme lord of Bhōgāvati, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jayasimhadēva.

V.—The Dantēśvari guḍī inscription³ of Narasimhadēva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantēśvari at Dantēwārā. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month Jyēsthā in the Śaka year 1140 (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyēsthā was intercalary. At that time Mahārāja Narasimhadēva, the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (*Śrī-bhujaga-vara-bhūṣaṇa-Mahārājul=aina Śrīman-Narasimhadēva-Mahārājula rājyamu*). The inscription is only a fragment.

¹ Since I wrote the above, Prof. Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1030 Phālguna Sudi 12 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb. A.D. 1103.

² I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different *virūdas* used in the Bārsūr and Narāyanpāl inscriptions. The Sōmēśvara of the former has the title *jagadkabhūṣaṇa-mahārāja*, which does not occur in the latter. But then the *virūdas* used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.

³ For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office, Central Provinces.

Of the remaining five Nāgavamsī inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The Potinār slab seems to refer to Narasimhadēva and the Dantēwārā stone lying outside the Dantēsvārī temple to Jayasimhadēva. The Bhairamgarh inscription contains *birudas* similar to those found in the Bārāsū one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Māṇikyadēvi (*Śrī-Māṇikyadēvi-dēvyā-śrīpāda-padma-ārādṛhaka*), which is an older name of Dantēsvārī, so named by the successors of the Nāgavamsīs, the Kākātīyas, although the latter claim that Dantēsvārī came with them from Warangal, where she was called Māṇikyōsvārī.¹ This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The Bhairamguḍī inscription at Dantēwārā appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be Śaka 984.² The Gaḍia inscription, apparently of Somēśvaradēva's time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nāgavamsī kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture imprecations. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruspāl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the imprecation being explained in the text thus, *Jō (yō) anyathā karōti tasya pitā garudabhaḥ śūkari mātā* (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig.)

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nāgavamsī kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Yelburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nāgavamsī kings. Dr. Floot states³ that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, viz., Dhārāvarsha, his son Sōmēśvaradēva, and his grandson Kanharadēva, Jayasimhadēva, Narasimhadēva, and a possible Sōmēśvara II. In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to those kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

II.—THE KĀKĀTĪYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantēsvārī temple at Dantēwārā written by the *rijaḡuru* of the present family, who was a Maithila Paṇḍit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithili rendering of the same with some additions. Col. Glasford has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1760, or 1703 A.D. on the 3rd day of Baisākh, dark fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of Rāja Dikpālādēva to the Dantēsvārī shrine when 'so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Saṅkhini river became red like *kusuma* flowers and remained so for five days.' The Kākātīyas are stated to be Sōmavamsīs,⁴ born of the

¹ Elliot's *Report on the Bastar and Kharonda Dependencies*, 1861, p. 13.

² As read by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

³ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 634.

⁴ In the Ekāmarāthā inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which 'Sagara, Bhagiratha, Raghu and Rāma' belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kākātīya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Rudrāmbā, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's

Pāṇḍava Arjuna. The genealogy begins with Kākati Pratāparudra, who was king of Warangal. His brother Annamrāja was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to Dikpālādēva, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmāns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kākatiya kings may be made up.

1.—Predecessors of Annamdēva, from Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, above, Vol. VIII, Appendix, p. 18.

- 1 Durjaya.
- 2 Bēta (Botmarāja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1.
- 3 Prōla (Prōlārāja, Prōḍarāja) Jagatikēśarin, son of 2; made the Western Chālukya Tailapa-dēva prisoner; defeated Gōvindarāja and Guṇḍa of Maṇtrakūṭa; conquered but reinstated Chōḍōdaya; put to flight Jagaddēva.
- 4 The *Mahāmāṇḍaliśvara* Rudradēva, son of 3; subdued Ḍomma; conquered Mailigidēva. burnt the city of Chōḍōdaya. A.D. 1163 [and 1186].
- 5 Mahādēva (Mādhava), brother of 4.
- 6 Gaṇapati (Gaṇapa) Chhālamattigaṇḍa, son of 5; defeated the Dēvagiri Yādava Singhana, the kings of Chōla, etc. A.D. [1199-1200 to 1260-61].
- 7 the *Mahāmāṇḍalachakravartin* Pratāparudra of Ēkaśilānagarī, i.e. Warangal. His general Mappiḍi entered Kāñchi and installed Mānavira as governor. A.D. 1316.

2.—Successors of Annamdēva down to Dikpālādēva according to the Dantēwāra inscriptions.

- 1 Annamrāja, brother of Pratāparudra.
- 2 Hāmīradēva.
- 3 Bhairava (Bhai Rāj) dēva.
- 4 Purushōttamadēva.
- 5 Jayasimhadēva.
- 6 Narasimhadēva; his queen Lachhamī-dēi dug many tanks and planted gardens.
- 7 Jagadīśarājyadēva.
- 8 Virāṇārāyanadēva.
- 9 Virasimhadēva, married Vadanakumārī, a Chandēlla princess.
- 10 Dikpālādēva, married Ajabakumārī, of the Chandēllas, visited the Dantēśvarī temple in Sainvat 1760, A.D. 1703.

son Pratāparudra. It is possible that Pratāparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Pratāparudra became by adoption a Kākatiya of the solar race, his brother Annamdēva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Pratāparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kākatiya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her (i.e. of her husband's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kākatiya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see *Dattakamīndusā* VII § 30-38 as quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, sixth edition, p. 130), whereby Gaṇapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Rudra' (on which account she was called Rudrāmbā; see *Ind. Ant.* XXI. p. 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kākatiyas. The commentator of the *Pratāparudrīya*, who was no less a personage than the great Mallinātha's son, explains the word thus:—*Kākatiya* nāma *Durgā Śaktir Ēkaśilānagar-tīvarāṇām kuladēvatā sā Śaktir bhajanty-dasy-ēti Kākatiyah*. It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kākatiya. This would not affect their true lineage, viz., the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamdēva was a brother of the Pratāparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Pratāparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shāh Bahmani' in 1424 A.D. This Pratāparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamdēva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.

3.—Successors of Dikpālādēva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Rāja's family.

- 1 Rajpālādēva.
- 2 Dalpatādēva.
- 3 Daryāodēva; his brother Ajmēr Singh rebelled against him in Samvat 1836, A.D. 1779.
- 4 Mahipālādēva.
- 5 Bhūpālādēva.
- 6 Bhairamadēva.
- 7 Rudrapratāpadēva, the present chief.

The family records place another Pratāparājādēva between Narasimhadēva and Jagadīśarāyādēva, Nos. 6 and 7 of List 2. Pratāparudradēva, the brother of Annamrāja, is stated to have had three eyes; his army was composed of nine lac archers,¹ and during his time golden rain fell. Pratāparudra I. was a great patron of learning, and Vidyānātha wrote a work on *Alaṅkāra*, which he called after him *Pratāparudrayasābhūshana* or *Pratāparudriya*.²

The other three inscriptions are at Dōngar; they are written in Hindī. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A.D. 1783, and refer to a visit of Rāja Daryāodēva in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A.D. 1871, and records the *puṭī-bhishka* ceremony of Bhairamadēva, the father of the present ruler.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to Chapkā and are engraved on *sati* memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nāgari characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the *līṅga* represented there. One is found at Bārsūr on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

NO. 20.—KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village **Tahankāpār**, 1½ miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Dīvān Pandit Durgāprasād. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nāgpur by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are 7½" long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring 3½" and the other 3¼", the bigger one

¹ This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that 'nine lac' was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Hoṭṭūr inscription (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 438) the Chālukya king Satyāśraya is stated to have put to flight a Chōla king who had collected a force numbering nine lacs, indirectly insinuating that he defeated the biggest army that could be brought in the field. Similarly it has become idiomatic to speak of *Bdmangarā* (52 forts), 700 *chēllas* (disciples), 108 *śrīs*, etc.

² *Ind. Ant.* xxi. p. 198, and Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 213.

weighing 6 oz. and the smaller 6 oz. 10 drs. The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times $\frac{1}{8}$ ", apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and is in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement *om svasti* has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is $\frac{1}{16}$ " and in the smaller $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The characters in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nāgarī, and the language in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Śēṭhi or Sāo Késava, who apparently lived at Pāḍi (town).

There is very little to note about orthographical peculiarities. The letters *dha*, *ra*, *na*, *ksha*, *bha*, *jña*, and the figures 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of *s* for *ś* is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many; they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and was issued from the Kākaira residence, is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest Lakshmidharasārman. This refers to Jaiparā village, but Chikhali is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, Kōgarā and Āṇḍali, to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the Mahāmāṇḍalika Pamparājadēva of the Sōmavamsa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen Lakshmidēvi, prince Vōpadēva and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that Pamparājadēva meditated on the feet of Sōmarājadēva, who meditated on the feet of Vōpadēva. I take this Vōpadēva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śaka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the Sihāwā inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in Samvat 965, in the Bhādrapada month, in the Mṛiga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight, and the smaller one in the Jyeshtha-mātsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, the year being given in figures at the end as 966. It is not stated to what era these dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kalachuri era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp. 128 and ff.), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, and Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are Kākaira, Pāḍi, Kōgarā, Āṇḍali, Jaiparā, Chikhali and Vanikōṭṭa. Kākaira is the modern Kanker, where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. Kōgarā has now been corrupted into Kōngērā. There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called Dēo Kōngērā (8 miles

south-east of Kanker), and the other **Hāṭ Kōngērā** (6 miles north of Kanker). The former is associated with gods, and the latter with a market, which is held there. In the inscription Kōgarā is said to be close to the shrine of **Prāṅkōśvara**, which has now disappeared, but has apparently left its reminiscence in the suggestive adjunct *Dēo* which Kōngērā now bears. I therefore identify our Kōgarā with Dēo Kōngērā. **Jaiparā** is the modern Jēprā (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet 92, N. W., Long. 81° 31', Lat. 20° 28'), a village 15 miles north of Kanker, and **Chikhali** is about 21 miles in the same direction just on the borders of the stato. It is now included in the Dhamtarī tahsil, which formerly formed part of the Kanker state. **Āṇḍali** is probably represented by the present **Āṇḍni** (**Āṇḍni**), 10 miles east of Kanker. **Pāḍi** cannot be identified. The same is the case with **Vanikōṭṭa** about which it is doubtful whether it is the name of a village at all.

Plate I.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti **Kākaira**-samāvāsō rājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-Sō-
- 2 ma-vams(ś)-ānvaya-prasūta-Kātyā[yn*]ni-vara-lavdha-pañcha-savd¹-ābhinaṇḍita-nija-bhuj-
- 3 ōpārjita-
- 4 mahāmaṇ[ḍ*]alika-simat-²**Pamparājadēva**-vijaya-rājyō tat-samuihita-rājñi **Lakshmi-**
- 5 devī kumara³ **Vōpadēva** pradhāna Bhōga rārā | vaipātḥa | asū⁴ ētō nija-
- 6 vyāpāram kurvvaṁ ti-
- 7 shthā(a)nti **Jaiparā** **Vanikōṭṭa** maryādi-kṛitya grāma-patrō=yaṁ gaitā-
- 8 **Lakshmidharāyam(ya)** pradattam
- 9 prathama sarāha gaja bhāma āchhu 130 vijaya-rāja⁵ tṭamka 140 halav-
- 10 ārdḍhu-pattam-
- 11 tarē | tathā **Chikhali**-grāma-patrō vijaya-rāj[y*]a-tṭamka 150 pralavā-pau-
- 12 ṇa-pattamtarō | Asmiṁ arthō sākshinaḥ bhātṭarā[ṇaka*] (I) **Gōvinda** gai(n)ā
- 13 **Lakshmidhara** | gai[tā*] **Ma-**
- 14 hōśvara⁶ | nā[yaka*] | Chhamṭū | nā[yaka*] | Dāmōdara | sā[o*] | Pālātū |
- 15 samvnt (I) 965 Bhādrapada vadi 1[0]
- 16 mṛiga-rikshō⁷ sōdma-dinō⁸ | paṇ | **Viśṇuśarmmaṇa** likhitam sēṭhi **Kōśavēna**
- 17 utkīrṇam **Pāḍi-**
- 18 pattanō [I*] subham⁹ bhavatu ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail! At the **Kākaira** residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious **Mahāmaṇḍalika Pamparājadēva**, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is) born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kātyāyani, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen **Lakshmidēvi** and Prince **Vōpadēva** (sitting) by his side, and while the eight¹⁰ officials

¹ Read 'lavdha-pañcha-savd-.

² Read *śimat-*.

³ Read *kumāra*.

⁴ Probably *aśta*.

⁵ Read *rājya*.

⁶ Read *Mahōśvara*.

⁷ Read *mṛigarikshē*.

⁸ Read *sōmadinē*.

⁹ Read *subham*.

¹⁰ These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party to the transaction, the Rāj Pandit, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters *Rā, Rā, Vai, Pā* and *Tha*, which perhaps stand for *Rāṇaka* (chief counsellor), *Rājavallabha* (court favourite), *Vētrika* (chamberlain), *Pāśika* (side-de-camp), and *Thakkura* (lord-in-waiting). See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1905, Vol. I, p. 10; Vol. XVII, 1878, pp. 405 and 408; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, pp. 244 and 337. In the last, which is a Chalukya grant of A. D. 1207, the following occurs: *śair-aśtābhir gōshthikair* ... *sard karantya*, this place of worship has to be taken care of by the following eight trustees. Our inscription was written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered an adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc. In connection with transactions of at least landed property.

1.

[Kalachuri] Samvat 965.

[illegible]

11

[Kalachuri] Samvat 966.

[illegible]

(headed by) the minister **Bhōga** (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making **Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa** the limit,¹ is given to *Gaitā*² **Lakshmidhara**. First³ (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the **Halbā**⁴ **paṭṭi** (share). Similarly in the document of **Chikhali** village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the $\frac{2}{3}$ **Pralavā** (**Halbā**) **paṭṭi** (share). The witnesses for this purpose (are) *Bhaṭṭarāṇaka* **Gōvinda**, *Gaitā* **Lakshmidhara**, *Gaitā* **Mahēśvara**, *Nīyaka* **Chahantū**, *Nīyaka* **Dāmōdara**, *Sin* **Pālātū**. **Saṃvat** 935, **Bhadrapada** (month), in the **Mṛiga** lunar mansion (*rikṣa*), on **Monday**, the 1[0]th of the dark fortnight. Written by **Paṇḍit Vishṇuśarma** and engraved by **Sōṭhi Kēsava** in the **Pāḍi** town. Let good fortune attend.

Plate II.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm⁵ Svasti **Pāḍi-samāvāsē** samasta-rāj-āvali-maṇḍalāṅkṛita⁶-sōmavayin[sānvaya-7
prasū]ta-mahā-
2 maṇ[ḍ*]alika-śrīmad-Vōpadēva-pād-ānudyāta-parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahamaṇ[ḍ*]alik a⁸ -
[śrī]mat-Sōmarū-

¹ This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of **Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa** were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to **Lakshmidhara**. **Vanikōṭṭa** is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of **Jaiparā** and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of **Dōori Nāharman**, meaning that **Dōori** which is near the village **Nāharman**, to distinguish it from another **Dōori**. There is a village in Kanker called **Pharaskōṭ**, which is probably a corruption of **Paraśukōṭṭa**, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name **Vanikōṭṭa** as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was no village, and that **Jaiparā** had this adjunct because there existed in that village a *vanik-kōṭṭa*, or "traders' fortress," that is, a fortified place probably made by **Banjārās** for storing grain purchased for transport. In olden times the **Banjārās** are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. **Jaiparā** may have been one of their central depôts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called **Jaiparā Vapi[k*]-kōṭṭa**. It is not necessary that the **Banjārās** alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depôt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village **Barā** in the **Sauger** district. It has got **Hindū** tombs called *Surai* and hence people call it **Barā Suraiḡaon**. In fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name **Barā** is almost elbowed out, and only **Suraiḡaon** is regularly used. Similarly, **Hirdēnagar** (**Garhākōṭā**), well known as **Garhākōṭā**, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being **Hirdēnagar**, which a **Bundēlā** chief **Hirdē-Shāh** founded in his own name.

² The village priest is still called *Gaitā* in Kanker and Bastar States.

³ Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 *ṭankas*, and on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 *ṭankas*, or the old 130 *ṭankas* were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenue of another village, **Chikhali**, for which another *grāmapatra* or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new *ṭankas*. It appears that the **Chikhali** document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words *Chikhali-grāmapatrā* and *Vijaya-rājyatanūka* to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palimpsest seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of **Pamparajadeva**, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words *sarāha goja bhāma deḥhu* appear to be some local technical term, which was used in fiscal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

⁴ *Paṭṭis* are plots of land in a village and the **Halvā** or **Halbā paṭṭi** was apparently one cultivated by the **Halbās**, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

⁵ Expressed by a symbol. ⁶ Read *many-alaṅkṛita*. ⁷ Read *-vamsānvaya*. ⁸ Read *-mahamaṇḍalika*.

- 3 jadéva-pād-ānudyōta¹-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahāmaṇḍalika-śrīmat-Pamparājadéva-madi-
pravaddhimāna²-ka-
- 4 lyāna-vi(vi)jaya-rājyē tat-sannihita rājñi Lashmādēvi⁴ kumara⁵ Vōpadéva
pradhāna Vāghu | ṭhāktṛi⁶ asta Vi[shnu]-
- 5 sarma⁷ | Nārāyaṇa | bhāṭṭārāṇa[ka*] Gōvinda | gu | Mahēśra⁸ | nā |
Chhātū | nā | Dāmōdra⁹ | sā | Paltūai¹⁰ | ētō nija-vyāpa(pā)-
- 6 raṁ kurvaṁ tishṭhanti | Gṛītakauśika-gōtr-ānvaya-prasūta sama[sta*]-dvija-vary-
ō[d*]dyōta-kāraka-gaitā(ā)-Madhavasarmma¹¹
- 7 pantrā[ya*] gaitā-Gadādharma-putrāya sakala-guṇ-ālamkri[ta*]-gaitā-
Lakshmadharasarmmanā¹² yajurvēd-ādhyāyinē Īsvara-¹³
- 8 samvatsarē kār[t*]tika-māsē chitrā-rikshē¹⁴ ravidinē suryōparāg¹⁵ śrī-
Prāmkēśvara¹⁶-sann(sann)nidhāna-Kōgarā-grāmō-
- 9 yaṁ chuta-simā-payantain¹⁷ pāda-prakshālanaṁ kṛtvā asmābhi[h*] pradattam¹⁸ ||
Tat-kāla-samayō viśayā¹⁹-madhyē [śrī]-kumara²⁰
- 10 Vōpadévena pāda-prakshālanaṁ kṛtvā Āṇḍaligrāmō-ya[m*] pradattam²¹ ||
samvat 966 sāva Kēsavē-
- 11 na²² utkinna²³[h*] subhū²³ bhavatu ||

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! At the Pāḍi residence, in the augmenting, prosperous and victorious reign on this earth of the illustrious *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahāmaṇḍalika Pamparājadéva*, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahāmaṇḍalika Sōmarājadéva*, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalika Vōpadéva*, who was born of the family of the moon and who was adorned by the gems of the row of all the kings. In the *Īsvara-samvatsara*, in the month of *Kārttika*, in the *Chitrā* lunar mansion (*riksha*), on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, with the queen *Lakshmidēvi* and Prince *Vōpadéva* (sitting by us, and while the eight officers *Viśvāśarma*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Bhāṭṭārāṇa(ka)* *Gōvinda*, *Gaitā* *Mahēśvara*, *Nā(yaka)* *Chhātū*, *Nā(yaka)* *Dāmōdara*, *Sā(o)* *Paltū*, (headed by) the minister *Vāghu* are present on duty, the village *Kōgarā* near *Śrī Prāmkēśvara*, to the extent of its four boundaries, has been given by us, after having washed our feet (ceremoniously), to *Gaitā Lakshmidharasarma*, a student of the *Yajurveda*, adorned with all virtues, the son of *Gaitā Gadādharma* and the grandson of *Gaitā Mādhasarma*, who was born in a family (belonging to) the *Gṛītakauśika* gōtra, the best of all twiceborn, and the author of the *Uddyōta*. At the same time and in the same country, the *Āṇḍali* village was given by the illustrious prince *Vōpadéva*, after having washed his feet. Samvat 966. Engraved by Sāo *Kēsava*. Let good fortune attend.

21.—KHARIAR COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

BY STEN KONOW.

These plates were sent to me in March 1907 by the Commissioner of Raipur, who stated that they had been dug up at *Khariar* in the Raipur District, Central Provinces. The name of the

¹ Read *°dyōta*.² Read *Lakshmidēvi*.³ Read *Viśvāśarma*.⁴ Read *Paltū*.⁵ Read *Īsvara*.⁶ Perhaps a corruption of *Prāmkēśvara* or *Prānakēśvara*.⁷ Read *pradattam*.⁸ Read *pradattam*.⁹ Read *-mādi*.¹⁰ Read *Chitrā*.¹¹ Read *Lakshmidēva*.¹² Read *Mādhasarasarmmanā*.¹³ Read *Chitrārikshā*.¹⁴ Read *Chitrārikshā*.¹⁵ Read *viśaya*.¹⁶ Read *Kēsavēna utkinna*.¹⁷ Read *-pravaddhimāna*.¹⁸ Perhaps *ṭhāktṛa ashta*.¹⁹ Read *Dāmōdara*.²⁰ Read *Lakshmidharasarmmanā*.²¹ Read *suryōparāg*.²² Read *chatah-simā-payantam*.²³ Read *śrī-kumara*.²⁴ Read *subhā*.

place occurs as **Karial** on the Indian Atlas sheet 92 N. E., Lat 82° 50' and 20° 17'. The plates have now been deposited in the Nagpur Museum.

There are **three copper plates**, each measuring $5\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$. The first is inscribed on one side only. Traces on the other side show that the plate has formerly been used for another inscription. The plates are quite smooth, and their edges have neither been fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. They are in an excellent state of preservation. About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about $\frac{1}{6}''$ in diameter, for the ring on which the plates are strung. This ring is oval, $3\frac{1}{6}''$ long and $2\frac{1}{6}''$ broad. It had not been cut when the plates were sent to me.

The ends of the ring are secured in a circular seal, about $3\frac{1}{8}''$ in diameter. It is identical with that described by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 196. Its upper part shows a representation of a standing **Lakshmi** facing full front; on each side of her an elephant is standing on a waterlily, with its trunk raised above her head. In the proper right corner there is an expanded waterlily, in the proper left corner a *śaṅkha*.

The seal has been subjected to fire, and the legend could not be made out when I received the plates. It has, however, proved possible to clean it, so that it can now be read with certainty. It therefore also makes it possible to decide what the legend must have been on the corresponding seal published by Dr. Fleet, which is quite illegible.

The weight of the three plates is 1 lb. $2\frac{1}{4}$ oz.; and of the ring and seal 1 lb. 2 oz., total 2 lb. $4\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}''$. The character is the same box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as in the copper plates of the same king published by Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff. The long variety of *i* is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting *i*, and usually not in the centre of it as in the Ârâṅg plates of Mahâ-Jayarâja,¹ nor in the right side of it as in the Raipur plates of Mahâ-Sudêva.² The separate sign of the cerebral *ç* occurs in *châçâmanî*, l. 1, and the final form of *t* in *dayât*, l. 18, and *rasât*, l. 19. Note also the use of one and the same sign to denote a stop in l. 5 and the visarga in l. 4, etc. The compound *ṅh* occurs in *Drôṇasiṅghêna*, l. 23, and *ñch* in *kāñchanam*, l. 17; *mahimatāñchakhrîṣṭa*, l. 21, and, falsely, in *dināñch=chhrîçyô*, l. 22.

The numerical symbols for 2, 20, and 9 occur in l. 22.

The language is Sanskrit. The legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory stanzas, here attributed to Vyâsa, are in verse, the remainder of the inscription is in prose.

As regards orthography we have to note the doubling of *k* before *r* in *rikkrâma*, l. 1; the similar doubling of *dh* before *y* in *anuddhyâtâ*, l. 3; the doubling of a consonant after *r* in *surggê*, l. 18; *varjçitô*, l. 8; *suvarṇam*, l. 16; *dharmâṣṭu* and *dharmma*, l. 13; *śūryga*, l. 16; *sarera*, l. 8; *kêṭur=vasu*, l. 3; *bhâr=vaishṇavî*, l. 16; *bahubhâr=vasasutâ*, l. 19; the form *savratsara*, i.e. *saçvatsara*, l. 22; the use of the jihvâmûliya in *yah=kâñchanam*, l. 17 (but *râjâḥ kshiti*, l. 4); of the upadhmanîya in *-pradaḥ purama*, l. 3; *Sâmbilakayôḥ pratirâsi*, l. 5, etc. The visarga is usually replaced by *s* before hard dentals. Before the stop, however, we find *bhâmiḥ tasya*, l. 20; *-sriṣṭâḥ tç*, l. 10. A superfluous anusvâra has been added in *bhâmiṇâm*, l. 12. *Tri* and *tri* have been interchanged in *pitri*, l. 3, and *tridâsa*, l. 6. Note finally the forms *tâmbra*, ll. 10 and 23; *Drôṇasiṅghêna*, l. 23, and the use of the genitive in *Vishṇuvâminas*, l. 10.

The inscription is one of the **Râja Mahâ-Sudêva**, and it is dated in the second year of his reign on the 20th day of **Śrâvapa**. The engraver was **Drôṇasiṅgha**, who also occurs in

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 191 and ff.

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 186 and ff.

Mahā-Sudēva's Raipur plates.¹ Like this latter inscription and the Âraṅg copper plates of Mahā-Jayarāja,² our inscription was issued from Śarabhapura, and it states that the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the tiaras of the *sāmanta*s who have been subjugated by his prowess; who is the cause for the removal of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in Navannaka and the neighbouring Śāmbilaka, in the Kshitimaṇḍa aḥara: Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the Vājisanēyin Viṣṇusvamin, of the Kauśika gōtra, for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and the stars; together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers³ and soldiers, free from all taxes; for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves.

The date of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. Mahā-Sudēva is the same who has issued the grant published by Rājendralāla Mitra⁴ and Dr. Fleet.⁵ According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain Mānamātra, who in his turn had risen from the Prasanna-ārṇava, i. e. who was descended from Prasanna, probably his son.

Neither Mānamātra nor Prasanna are elsewhere known. Mānamātra can perhaps be identified with Mānāṅka, "the ornament of the Rasṭrakūṭas," who is mentioned in the copper plates of Abhimanyu of Mānapura edited by Professor Hultzsch.⁶ This Mānāṅka had a son, Dēvarāja, who might be identical with Sudēvarāja. In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that *mātrā* and *āṅka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura also recurs in the two other grants by Mahā-Sudēva and in the Âraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. Navannaka may be the present Nahnā, the Nainā⁷ of the maps, three miles south of Khariār. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, Kshitimaṇḍa and Śāmbilaka. They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Khariār.

TEXT.⁸

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [*] Śarabhapurād-vikkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makūṭa-chūḍāmaṇi-
- 2 prabhā-prasōk-āmba-dhōta⁹-pāda-yugalō ripa-vilāsinī-simant-ōddharaṇa-
- 3 bhōtur-vvasu-vasandhā-gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitri¹⁰-pād-ānuddhyā-
- 4 taś-srī-Mahā-Sudēva-rājah Kshitimaṇḍ-āhārīya-Navannaka-ātāt-prāvēśya-
- 5 Śāmbilakayōḥ=prativāsi-kuṭumbinas-samājñāpayati || Vidadam= astu

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 190 and ff.

² *Ibid.* pp. 191 and ff.

³ For the meaning of *chāta* compare Dr. Vogel in *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1902-03, p. 247.

⁴ *J. Beng. A. S.*, Vol. xxxv, Part i, 1907, pp. 195 and ff.

⁵ *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. viii, p. 168; compare Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxx, p. 509.

⁷ The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahnā, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Śāmbilaka with the present San Dojl or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahnā.

⁸ From the original plates.

⁹ Read -dhōta-

¹⁰ Read -pitri-.

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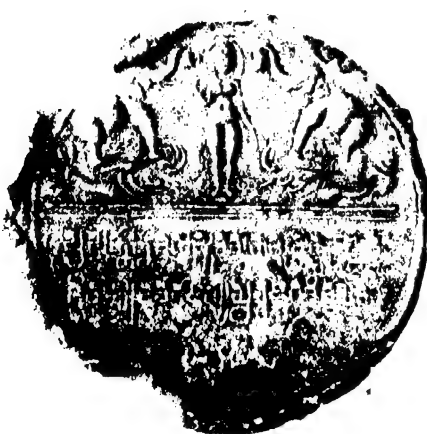
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Second Plate ; First Side.

- 6 vò yath=āsmābhir=ēta¹d¹=grāma-dvayam tṛidaśa²-pati-sadana-sukha-pratishṭhākārō
yāva-
7 d-ravi-śaśi-tārā-kirana-pratihata-ghôr-āndhakāram jagad=avatishṭhatō tāvad=upa-
8 bhōgyas=sanidhis=sōpanidhir=achāta-bhaṭa-prāvēśya-sarvva-kara-visarjji-
9 tō mātāpitṛr=ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhaya³ Vājisaneya-Kōśika⁴-sagōtra-
10 Vishvasvāminas-tāmbraśāsanaṇ=ātisṛishṭaḥ [I*] Tō yāyam=ēvam=upalabhy=asy=ā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 11 jñā-sravana-vidbhēyā bhūtvā yathōchitam bhōga-bhāgam=upanayantas-sukham prati-
12 vatsyatha [I*] Bhavishyatās=cha bhūmipāṇu⁵=anudarśayati [II*] dānād⁶=
viśishṭam=anupā-
13 lana-jam⁶ purāṇā dharmamēshu niśchita-dhiyaḥ=pravadanti dharmma[m*]
|| (I) tasmā[d*] dvijā-
14 ya suvisuddha-kula-srutāya dattām bhuvam bhavatu vò matir=ēva
gōptu[m*] ||
15 Tad=bbhavadbhir=apy-ēshā dattir anupālayitavyā [I*] Vyāsa-gītāmś=ch=ātra
ślōkān=u-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 16 dāharanti || Agūr⁷=apatya[m*] prathamam suvarṇam bhūr=vvaishnavi
sūrya-
17 sutās=cha gāvaḥ [I*] dattās=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkā yah=kāñchanam gam
cha mahim cha da-
18 dyāt [II*] Shashtī⁸-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggō mōdati bhūmidah [I*] āchchhēttā
19 ch=ānumatā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [II*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā
rājabhi-
20 s-Sagar-ādibhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 Svadattām⁹ paradattām vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [I*] mahim=mahimatāñ-
chchhrēshṭha
22 dānā(ñ)ch=chhrēyō=nupālanam=iti [II*] svamukhājñayā savvatsara¹⁰ 2 Śravana
di 20 9
23 utkīrṇam tāmbraśāsanam Drōṇasinghōṇa.

Seal.

Prasann-ārṇava-sambhūta-Mānamātr-ēndu-janmana[h*] Śrīma[t-Sudē]varājasya sthiram
jagati [śāsanaṁ].

¹ The engraver originally wrote =āsmābhir=aya-, but corrected it to =āsmābhir=ēla-. The gender in the following is wrong.

² Read tri-.

³ Read -kausika-.

⁴ The sa in anupālana- has been added below the line.

⁵ Metre: Ślōka.

⁶ Read bhūmipāṇu-.

⁷ Metre: Ślōka.

⁸ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁹ Metre: Indravajrā.

¹⁰ Read savvatsara.

No. 22.—NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA.

By R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (Retired).

In Vol. VIII. 122 ff. Mr. H. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, B.A., publishes an inscription of the Kaḷaśa chief Bhairava II. at Kārkāla in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion¹ on the history of the family quotes Mr. Rice's Mādgere Taluq inscription of A.D. 1516 (Mg. 41). His comment on this is as follows—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tulu-rājya, and was encamped at the *bluramat-sāls* in Maṅgalūru Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Kṛṣṇarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao' mentioned on p. 110 of Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, etc."

There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr. Rice does not consider the word *Bhujabala* in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage² runs—*Vijayanagarada bhujabala mahārāyaru Tulu rājyaṁ mēle danḍu bandu*, and is translated by Mr. Rice—"The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tulu kingdom with an army." Here there is no ruler or leader named "*Bhujabala Mahārāya*." Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's "Busbalrao," elder brother of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya, if the date of this expedition to the Tulu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because "Busbalrao" had died when Kṛṣṇadēva was placed on the throne in A.D. 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Kṛṣṇadēva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Gaṅga Rāja of Ummatūr in Mysore. The mention in "Mg. 41" of Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's supreme sovereignty over the Kaḷaśa country during the chieftainship of Immaḍi-Bhairarsa-Oḍeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, *viz.*, Sunday, July 13, A.D. 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Kṛṣṇadēva Rāya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called "Busbalrao," *during*, as stated by Mr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, the reign of Kṛṣṇarāya; for it was "Busbalrao's" death, according to Nuniz, that placed Kṛṣṇadēva on the throne.

At the date of the grant Kṛṣṇadēva was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Konḍaviḍu three weeks earlier, *viz.*, on June 23rd, A.D. 1516.

No. 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVĀ.

[ŚAKA] SAMVAT 987.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Baijnath, B.A., the Superintendent

¹ Page 127, note 2. Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt *Kaḷaśa* or *Kalasa*. It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mg. 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question) the Kanarese text has *Kaḷaśa* in line 11, and *Kalasa* in line 12. On p. 68 of his translation Mr. Rice gives us three times *Kaḷaśa* and five times *Kalasa*; on p. 69 we have four times *Kaḷaśa* (not *Kalasa*) and three times *Kalasa*. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akshara is always *ḷa* in the original. The variation is only in the third syllable. Mr. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri, in the *Epigraphia*, spells the word consistently *Kaḷaśa*.

² See *Ep. Carn.* VI. 155-262, lines 1-2.

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request. Mr. Baijnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink stampages and tracings. I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr. Baijnath found the plates in the possession of a Brāhman named Gaṅgādhar Pārhi of Kāwadgaon close to Rājapura. Gaṅgādhar received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nāharnî, sixteen miles from Rājapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ and they weigh $29\frac{1}{2}$, 30 and 35 *tôlas*, respectively, the weight of the ring being 26 *tôlas*. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nāgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word *śrī* has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures, *i.e.*, 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is to the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a florated *dhvaja* in the form of a *sastika* in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows:—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor, and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 *pātras* or donces referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow's curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king's dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.¹

The inscription is in the Nāgarī character. The average size of the letters is $\frac{5}{16}''$. They are well formed and clearly written.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact, the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarities are the representation of the initial *i* with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nāgarī figure 2 (ll. 13, 16, 23 and 30). The anusvāra is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a *hala* underneath (ll. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll. 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the *mātrās*

¹ Compare my remarks, above, p. 164.

of *ê*, *ai*, *ô* and *au* is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached—a practice which is still followed in the Bengālī and Oriyā writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the *dê* of *Madhurāntakadêva* has a top, while the very next *dê* of *Kankaradêva* has a vertical stroke preceding the letter *da*. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards *ê* in ll. 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of *ô* in ll. 1, 19, 31, and 32. *Ai* has been used only once, in line 8, and *au* twice, in lines 11 and 26 and in each case one of the top *mātrās* has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters *bha*, *dha*, *ra* and *ksha*, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*, and *s* for *ś*, except in the solitary instances of *daśa* in l. 3 and of *śrī* in ll. 12 and 29. *Ja* is used for *ya* (ll. 20, 24, and 27), *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in l. 8, and *na* for *ṇa* in l. 6. In line 8 *kamcala*¹ for *kamala* is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattisgarh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of *Rājapura* village, situated in the *Bhramarakōṭya māṇḍala*, to one *Mēḍipōta* or a *Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta* and his descendants, together with 70 *gadyāṇaka*² gold. The grant was made by the king *Madhurāntakadeva*, who belonged to the *Chhindaka* family of the *Nāga* (Cobra) race. The inscription is dated in the [Śaka] year 987, in the *Parābhava samvatsara*, on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika* month. Although the *tithi* has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the *nakṣatra* being stated to be *Anurādhā*, the *yōga* to be *Saubhāgya* and the *karana* to be *Gara*. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kielhorn who says:—

“The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A.D. 1065. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half of *Kārttika* ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was *Anurādhā* and the *yōga* *Saubhāgya*. The second half of the *tithi* was the *karana* *Gara*. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been *Viśvāvasu* and by the northern luni-solar system *Plavaṅga* and by the northern mean sign system *Kilaka*. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanker³ plates.”

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrived at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess *Dantēsvarī*, enshrined at *Dantēwārī* in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of *Moriah* sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says⁴:—“In the worship of *Tari Penna* or *Earth Goddess* the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in child-birth, or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called *Moriah* and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by purchase or were born as such, that is, of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the *Khonds* by men of the two races called *Panwā* and *Gahingā*, who are attached in small numbers to almost every *Khond* village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The *Panwās* purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

¹ Compare Dr. Grierson in *J. R. A. S.* 1907, p. 1057.

² *Gadyāṇaka* is a weight = 32 *gūṇja*. See *Yājñavalkya*, ii. 258.

³ Above p. 129.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.* Vol. XIII. (1852), p. 243 et seq.

them from the poorer classes of Hindûs, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians. Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivalet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as *haunted ground*." Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll. 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the *chhuriprabandha*. There is no place for the preceptor of *yâginis*. For this purpose this village is taken with a view to do good to all living beings."¹ From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, *viz.*, in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brâhmana but to a Mâdîpôta (ll. 12 to 14) who is styled "Pâtra 12," and to whom 70 *gadyâpaka* gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent¹ of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donee been a Brâhmana, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, *gôtra* and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l. 25 Mâdîpôta is called *chhurikâra*, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the *chhuriprabandha* referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what *chhuriprabandha*² really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like *narabaliprabandha*, apparently on account of the great importance of the *chhuri* or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pâtra" I am inclined to believe that Mâdîpôta, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1884 A.D., when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the free grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of *melliahs* or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices.³ I am further inclined to think that Mâdîpôta was an office, *Mâdî* being the same as *Mêli* or *Melli* vulgo *Melliah* or *Malia*,⁴ the word *pôta*, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

¹ The *Kâlikâ Purâna* says:—

If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see *Rudhîrâdhyâya* in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. p. 383).

² [The text has *chhuriprabandham*, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a *chhuri*."—S. K.]

³ [The passage in question (l. 14) can also be translated,—“Receivers 12 *Mâdîpôtas*, in their hand property was capt.” The *Chhurikâra* of l. 25 would then be a special Mâdîpôta.—S. K.]

⁴ Capt. MacVicar says:—

“The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojah or Noroholi (Narabali), is essentially the same in object as the *holi* (bali) of the Doorga Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the Borisooloo or *Maliah Pater* (Pâtra) at Pooramari, the capital of Chinna Kinedi, on the conclusion of the Dassarah festival—a goat now being substituted for the more precious victim.” Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt. MacVicar, 1851, in the *History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa*, 1854). It would appear that Melliah (the procurer) and Meriah (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in

the sake of brevity. It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim. The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the *jāginis*, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others. The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant made to non-Brāhmaṇas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purpose of *dayā* and *dharma* to all living creatures. Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices. If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered.

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff., where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nāgavamsi kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before. The dynasty is clearly related to the Sinda family of Yelburga. Though styled "Lord of Bhōgāvati, the best of cities," Madhurāntakadēva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief), as the verse in ll. 24-25 shows that his *rāj* was limited to Bhramarakōṭya, which is described as a *maṇḍala* in l. 15. He belonged to the Chhindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas¹ mentioned by Chand Bardai, the court poet of Prithvirāja.

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, Rājapura is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indrāvati river. There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital. The present Rāja family also dwelt there for some time. Chakrakōṭya is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bilhana in his *Vikramādikāścharya*, in which he records that Vikrama as *yuvarāja* set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father. He repeatedly defeated the Chōlas and plundered Kāñchi. He assisted the king of Mālavā in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Gauda and Kāmarūpa. He attacked also the king of Sinhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kēraḷa. He finally conquered Gāṅgakunḍa (IV. 24) Vēṅgi (IV. 29) and Chakrakōṭa (IV. 30). After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Kṛishṇā, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father's death. Dr. Bühler² remarks that "Bilhana's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars. Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Kṛishṇā." There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama. They were, as related above, the conquest of Gāṅgakunḍa, Vēṅgi and Chakrakōṭa, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned. Gāṅgakunḍa was the Chōla capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trichinopoly district,³ whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vēṅgi, the country between the Kṛishṇā

the same light as the victims, as they had themselves to become victims in the absence of a procurer one. The sacrificers paid the Mellahs, who thus became purchased victims, and they did not care whence the victim was procured so long as one was supplied to them when wanted. Thus to the sacrificers, the procurer and the victim would mean the same thing, but the terms came to be differentiated when a class of procurers grew up and the real victim happened to be a substitute for themselves. A parallel instance of such differentiation in the same word may be found in Kōtṡāl and Kōtṡār in the Sauger district, where in spite of the officials regarding them as identical, a social distinction is made out. The Kōtṡāl is generally of a higher caste than the Kōtṡār and considers himself the proper village watchman, other menial duties being taken as the proper function of the Kōtṡār.

¹ *Prithvirāja Rāso*, Canto 1, page 54 (Nāgarī Prachārīnī Granthamālā series).

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 319 footnote.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 333.

28

ग्रामवृत्तीं दयावर्मसर्वजं उपकाशार्थं दत्तां च को
 दमउलमये साक्षिस्तयकृष्टी धनसुतः सुवत्सलीनाग
 रुद्रिकनण दानि आलिखितं कायसु अतः कृतः ३३ ति
 नमः ॥ ३३ ॥ मन्त्रोपायः ॥ अथ दत्तं दत्तं दत्तं दत्तं
 गमिनश्चासातामसापि वीर्यदत्तौ यमनो नोत्त
 ति ॥

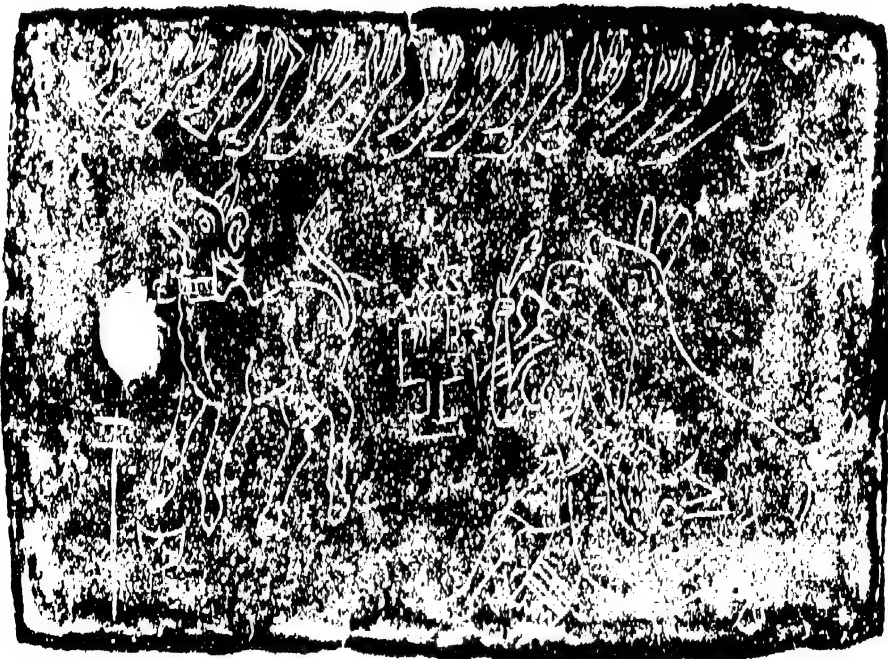
28

30

30

32

32



and the Gôdâvarî. He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakôṭa and then wended his way homewards. This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A.D.), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A.D. Many a southern king¹ likewise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms. Therefore Chakrakôṭa was not near Dhârâ, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vēṅgî, being situated in the present Bastar state. I think the confusion with Dhârâ is due to the fact that Chakrakôṭya had a king named Dhârâvarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean 'king of Dhârâ'²). In an unpublished inscription found at Kuruspâl, a place close to Râjapura, there occurs *Chakrakôṭiḥṣarâpîn kulam-alain kirishnū samabharat Dhârâvarshaninô narîścarah*. The Narâyanpâla inscription also mentions Dhârâvarsha, whose widow Guṇḍa-mahâdēvi gave away the Narâyanapura village in her grandson's reign in the year 1111 A.D.³ The name Chakrakôṭya probably survives in the present Chitrakôṭa or Chitrakôṭa, 8 miles from Râjapura. Bhramarakôṭya was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakôṭya, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakôṭa.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ôm⁴ svasti [1*] Sahasra-phapâmapî-kirapa-nikar-âvabhâsra-⁵Nâgavams-ô-
2 dbhava-Bhôgâvatî-pura-var-âsvara⁶ visada-jaya-paṭu-paṭaha-gâm-
3 bhâ(bhî)rya-dhvani-lamkârîta⁷-(||)daśa-dis-âmtarâldhanu⁸-(||)vyâghra-lân-
4 chhana-(||)Chhîmdaka-kola-tilaka-kamala-bhâskara (||) mahâ-mahô-
5 svara(âvara)-charapa-kamala-sēvi-kinjalka-puinja-pi[m*]jarita-bhra-
6 marâyanâna(pa) (||) surapati-vinirjita-dmndubhi-tûrya-rav-ô[t*]trâ-
7 sit-âri-chakra chirâ-lavdha-jôyêta⁹ (||) ôrâvat-ôpari-lavdha-lâvna¹⁰.
8 kamvala-kadalâ(lî)-dhvaja¹¹ samkh-aika-savd-âbhinatâdita | svasti nri-¹²
9 pa-kâl-âtîta-sa[m*]vat 987 nava-sata-satâsi-sapta¹³

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 varshasa¹⁴ parâbhava-samvatum-abhyamtarah-kârtika-mâsa-sukla-pakshô¹⁵ vudha-
11 dinô nakvatra anurâvê¹⁶ saubhâgya-jôgê¹⁷ | karapa-gajê¹⁸ | sarvô¹⁹ mahâ-

¹ The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayāditya III. of the Eastern Chalukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A.D. He burnt Chakrakôṭa (above, Vol. IV. p. 226). Then the Chôla Rajendra-Chôla I. (A.D. 1011-33) took Sakkara-kôṭam (*South. Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 108), while one of his successors, king Virarajendra I., claims to have crossed the Gôdâvarî, passed through Kalinga, and advanced against Chakrakôṭa (*Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 70). Next the Chôla Ling Kulôtunga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakôṭa. This happened prior to 1070 A.D. and is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kûlingattu Parani* (X 24), and also in inscriptions (see e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 286). Vikrama was probably the fifth raider, the sixth being Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in the 12th century (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 396).

² I would therefore, instead of 'Rajakôsarivarman (i.e. Kulôtunga Chôla I.) conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôṭa' read 'Rajakôsarivarman conquered king Dhârâ(varsha) at Chakrakôṭa' (see Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 756).

³ See above, page 161.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read *ramâ-bôdhava*.

⁶ Read *âsvara visada*.

⁷ Read *lamkârîta*.

⁸ Read *dis-âmtarâld dhanur*.

⁹ Read *labdha-jay-ôpâla*.

¹⁰ Read *airâvat-ôpari-labdha-lamba-kamala*.

¹¹ Read *lamkh-aika-sabd*.

¹² Read *saka-nri*.

¹³ Read *sata-sapt-âsiti*.

¹⁴ Read *varshasya*.

¹⁵ Read *samvatsar-abhyamtarah-kartika-mâsa-sukla-pakshô vudha*.

¹⁶ Read *anurâdhâ-nakshatrô*.

¹⁷ Read *jôgê*.

¹⁸ Read *gara-karapê*.

¹⁹ Read *sarva-muhûrttêshu*.

- 12 tām śrī-Madhurāmtakadēva || kumara¹ Kanharadēvaḥ rājñi Nāgala-mahā-
 13 dēvi | kumara ²Nāikah nāyaka Sūdrakah³ kumāra Tumgarājah srē.⁴
 14 shñi Pulīama || śkāmatai⁵ -bhūtvā pātra 12 mēdipōta hastē dravyam
 15 grihitam snavarna-gadyāpaka 70 Bhramarakōṭya-maṇḍala-madhyē
 16 Rājapura-grāmam pāda prakshālā[y*]itvā hastē dhārām pradatā(tām) ||
 ā-chaṇdra-
 17 tāra-
 18 mā vadati || Vāṇarsyām sahasra-lūga bhagnō | sahasra-taṭāga⁸ bhagnō

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 sahasra vrāhmaṇa⁹ | gō-sahasra-ghātām kṛtvā | tasyasyōpi¹⁰ phalam bhavati ||
 sva-
 20 da[t*]t[ā*]m paradat[tā*]m vā jō(yō) harēd(rēta) vasumdharm [i*] shashñi¹¹.
 varishaha-sahasrāni
 21 viśthāyām jāyatē kṛmi[h*] || sāmānyō=yam dharmā-sētum(tur)-nripānām
 kālō kā-
 22 lō (yō) pālaniyam(-yō) bhavadbhiḥ [i*] sarvān-yōpētām¹² bhāginah
 pārthavēndrō bhū-
 23 yō jāchatō Rāmachandrah || [i*] Ākās-ōtpati¹³ nidhi gaja da[t*]tām iti
 grāmya
 24 vāhyām rāja-dravyam || ¹⁴jāva chandras=cha sūryas=cha jāva tiśṭhati mēdini ||
 (i) jāva-
 25 tu Bhramakōṭya rājavanisa tāvatu || chhuri-kāra mēdipōtasya putra-
 26 pautrō sāsanam¹⁵ pālaniyam || grāma-mēdhyō¹⁶ chhuri-pravadham¹⁷ kō=pi na
 pravi-
 27 sati¹⁸ || kulāyāni¹⁹-jōgini-āchāryasya(h) sthalam n=āsti || ētad=arthō

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 grāmam grihitam dayā-dharma-sarva-jantu-(i)upakār-ārtha-hētum || Chakrakō-
 29 ṭya-maṇḍala-madhyē sākshi nāyaka śrī-Dhārēsvarah(śvarah) Mudhasell Nāga-
 30 hasti | karapa Dārīā | Likhitam kāyastha-Dhānūkēna(h) iti
 31 lekha[ni] dhṛitam kumara²⁰ Tumgarāja Dhāmadēva Gōvardhanah
 Danārdanaḥ²¹ pātra
 32 Gāgirā sādhu Sāharaṅga(-su ?) | Maṇavridhi.²² svahastō-yam matam= āropayā-
 33 ti ||

¹ Read *kumra*.

² Read *kumāra Nāyakah*.

³ Read *Sūdrakah*.

⁴ Read *srēśhñi*.

⁵ Read *śkāmatai*; cf. *śkamati bhūtvā* in ll. 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadoni inscription (above, Vol. I. p. 177).

⁶ Read *śiva-nirmālyam-uditam*.

⁷ Read *grihnam=tmam*.

⁸ Read *-tadāga*.

⁹ Read *brāhmaṇa*.

¹⁰ Read *tasy=āy=āpi*.

¹¹ Read *shashñim varsha-sahasrāni*.

¹² Read *sarvān=ēvām bhāginah pārthivēndrān bhāgyō bhā-*

¹³ Read *ākās-ōtpatti*.

¹⁴ Read *yāvach=chandras=cha sūryas=cha yāvach-tiśṭhati mēdint yavat=tu Bhramarakōṭyō rāja=amēd=pi*

tāvat.

¹⁵ Read *sāsanam*

¹⁶ Read *-mēdhyō*.

¹⁷ Read *-pravadham*.

¹⁸ Read *°sati*.

¹⁹ Read *kulāyāni-yōgint*.

²⁰ Read *kumra*.

²¹ Read *Danārdana*. In Bastar and the adjoining Ōriyā country this name is commonly pronounced *Danārdana*, and I have found a Tahsildār of Kālāhaudi who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental.

²² Read *Maṇavridhi*.

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Hail ! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nāga (Cobra), which is resplendent with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods ; who is lord of Bhōgāvati, the best of cities ; while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shrill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories ; whose crest is a bow and a tiger ; who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the Chhindaka family ; who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahēśvara ; whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the *dundubhi* (drum) and *tūrya* (musical horn) won from Indra ; who is endued with victories gained since a long time ; whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Airāvata (white elephant) ; and who is hailed by the sound of conches only ; in the year of the (Śaka) king 987 expired, in the month of Kārttika, during the currency of the Parabhava-samvatsara, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday, in the Anurādhā lunar mansion, in the Saubhāgya yōga and Gara karana, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious Madhurāntakadeva, Prince Kanharadēva, Queen Nāgala Mahādēvi, Prince Nāyaka, Nāyaka Śūdraka, Prince Tuṅgarāja and Śrēṣṭhīn Pulīama, having unanimously agreed, the village Rājapura (situated) in the Bhramarakōṭya maṇḍala is granted, after washing the feet and (accompanied) with pouring streams (of water), (and) 70 *gaḍyānaka* gold are received in the hand of (by) Mēḍipōta, (who is the head) of the twelve *pīṭras* (persons worthy of receiving gifts). The gift is declared as *Śivanirmāilya* (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable), as long as the moon, the stars, etc., endure. If any one from time to time says : "I take it," the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand *lūgas* in Bānāras, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brāhmanas and a thousand cows.

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years."

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age. Thus does Rāmaachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth."

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants¹ are given, but other things outside the village are the State property. So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhramarakōṭya endure, so long (must this charter be observed). This charter is to be respected in the case of Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta's sons and grandsons.

Nobody enters the *chhuriprabandha* at the village sacrifice. There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) *jōginis*. For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue. In the Chakra-kōṭya maṇḍala the witnesses are :—Nāyaka Śrī Dhārēśvara, Mudhasēli, Nāgahasti, (and) Karana Dārīā. Written by Dhānūka Kāyastha.

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumāra Tuṅgarāja, Dhāmadēva, Gōvardhana, Danārdana, Pātra Gāgirā (and) Sādhū Sāhāraṅga (Sāhārasu ?). This is in Maṇavri-dbi's hand(writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion.

¹ In Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I. page 122, the following occurs :—

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Subah of Agrā, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar as far as Berār, in the Subah of Allāhābād, in the confines of Pattah and Ghoraghāt and Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sargachh and Bastar."

No. 24.—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNARAJA.

THE ŚAKA YEAR 1114.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the Karnêśvar, *vulgo* Kanêsar, temple at Sihawā, the principal village of the tract of that name in the Dhamtarī taḥṣīl of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 50., and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol. VII. p. 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archaeologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edit it from an ink impression supplied by Mr. Gokul Prasād Išvardās, Taḥṣildār of Dhamtarī, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

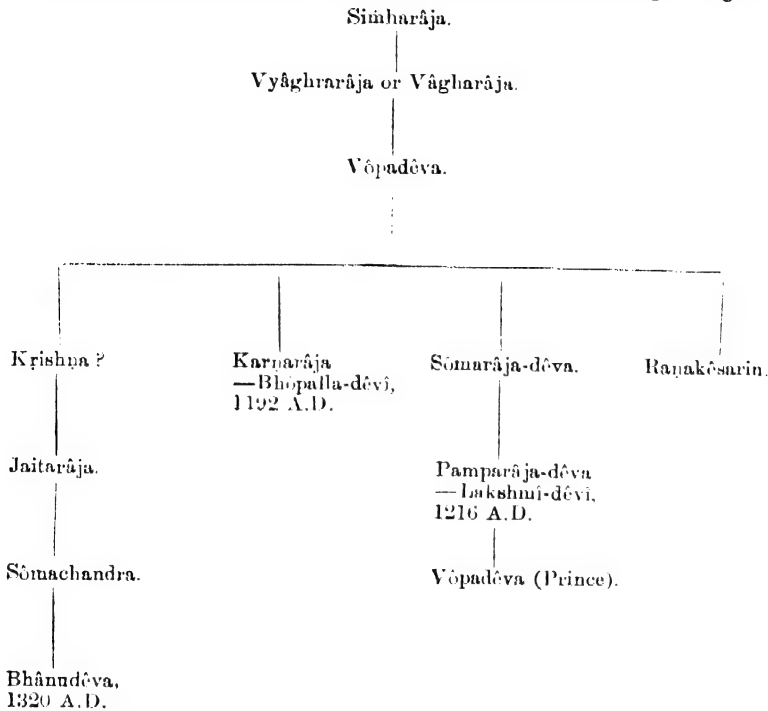
The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space 22" × 13½". The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about ½". The script is Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, and the name of the *sūtradhāra* at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, 8 *Anuṣṭubhs* and one *Upajātī*.

The following are the principal orthographical peculiarities :—*s* is almost invariably used for *ś*. The sign of the *avagraha* is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an *anuvrāta* changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a *ripha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doubling may be seen in lines 1 and 10, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters *n* has been used instead of the proper nasal as in *pañcakain* and *pañcath* in lines 12 and 15. *Siṃha* is spelt throughout as *siṃgha*, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel *ri* is used instead of the *ri*, *trīṭaya* being written as *trīṭaya*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king Karnarāja of Kākairā, and of one by his wife, queen Bhōpalla-dēvī. These were all built at the sacred place Dēvahrada. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as Śaka 1114, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year A.D. 1191-92, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which Śiva was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to Kêśava, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called Kanêsar or Karnêśvara, after the king's own name. The writer was the *sūtradhāra* Sūpā, and the composer of the *prasthi* Nṛsiṃha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed Śiva, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with Siṃharāja, whose son was Vāgharāja, from whom was born Vopadēva, the father of Karnarāja, who married Bhōpalla-dēvī, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring

princes, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kākairā inscriptions¹ of these Sōmavamsī kings we get the following genealogical tree :—



It would appear that Vôpadêva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Krishṇa of the Kanker *prasasti* being probably identical with Karṇa of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kākairā and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karṇa seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, viz., Sihāwā, and was probably living in Dhanôrā, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 28 miles from Sihāwā. In this village my friend Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B.A., Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Śiva *linga* with beautiful carvings. Dhanôrā is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Rāja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Rāja Karṇa ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sōmarāja and his son Pamparāja favoured Pāḍi-pattana, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhantari side. Ranakêsarīn was issueless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Karnarāja, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory—a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

¹ Above, pp. 123 and ff., and 166 and ff.

where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kākairā family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kōsala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pamparājādēva would indicate. Karnarāja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles; that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date¹ of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, *viz.*, 1102 A.D., and the latest is that of Bhānudēva, 1320 A.D., there being thus a difference of 128 years between Karnarāja and Bhānudēva. Karnarāja stood in the same relationship to Bhānudēva as did the first ancestor Simharāja to Karnarāja. Simha was great-grandfather of Karnarāja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhānudēva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Simha and Karnarāja, Simha's time would be about 1064 A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long-lived, about 42 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there would be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Rāja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1093 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Simharāja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Rāja family story² as related before (above, page 124) is to the effect that a Purī king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sihāwā, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is possible that the locality was named after him, being called *Simha + arāḥ = Simhārah* (the comfort of Simha) which finally was corrupted into Sihāwā. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as *Dēvahrada tirtha* or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason³ for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sihāwā tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the *rishi* Śringin, who is still worshipped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratāwā where Āṅgāra (Āṅgima) *rishi* used to live, and Muchukunda had his *āśrama* in the village Mechakā 22 miles from Sihāwā. About 10 miles west of Sihāwā there is Dēvakūṭa (the hillock of the gods), which also

¹ It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6 ff.

² A variant of the same story is that a Purī king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the others took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Chhatīgarh and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Rāja family. Thus the Kankar family seems indebted to the Halbas, the Kalahandi family to the Kandhs, the Rairākhols to the Butkā Sudhs, the Bāmra to the Bhuiyās, and so on.

³ Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a *tirtha*, Sihāwā is the source of the Mahānadi or Chitrōtpa, of which it is said:—

Surarāṅkhyā parī paṇḍi puṇḍi Mārjārakṣārī, Kōśalāyām trayāḥ puṇyāḥ puṇyā Chitrōtpā nadi. Surarāṇḍī is the present Sōnpur, capital of the state of the same name, and Mārjārakṣārī is another name of Narasiṃhanāth in Borāsambhar Zamindari of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sins. *En passant* it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carving out a cat-lion instead of a man-lion has metamorphosed the statue of the latter kept in the Narasiṃhanāth cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brāhmins.

- 8 'तस्माद्भूतपतिमण्डलमण्डनस्रीः स्त्रीकर्णराजनृपतिर्विदितप्रतापः । 'यन्यायवर्त-
नक्षपाणभ-
- 9 यात्रवेष्टं 'काकैरदेसममलं न कलिः समर्थः ॥६॥ 'तस्य भोपल्लदेवीति
महिषी वरवर्षिनी । 'वभूवः
- 10 मेने यांज्ञोको लक्ष्मीं क्षितिगतामिव ॥७॥ 'स्ववाहुवीर्येण विजित्य सर्वान्-
पान्तदेशाधिपतीन्सम-
- 11 न्तात् । सेवाकरोपायनदानसीलांश्चकार' सामान्यपदं दधानः ॥८॥ 'तीर्थं
देवक्रदे तेन कृतं प्रासा-
- 12 दपञ्चकं⁹ । स्त्रीयं तत्र ह्यं जातं यत्र शंकरकेसवी¹⁰ ॥९॥ 'पितृभ्यां प्रददौ
चान्यत्क्वरयित्वा¹² ह्यं नृपः ।
- 13 सदनं देवदेवस्य मनोहारि त्रिसूदनः(शूलिनः) ॥१०॥ 'रणकेसरिणे प्रादांनृपायैकं¹¹
सुरालयं । ¹⁵तद्वसन्शीण-
- 14 तां ज्ञात्वा भ्रातृस्नेहेन कर्षराट् ॥११॥ ¹⁶भोपल्लदेव्या, तत्रैव प्रासादः कारितः
सुभः¹⁷ । भर्तुः संक्षेप-¹⁸
- 15 मिहन्त्या देहृतः ¹⁹पुन्यतस्तथा ॥१२॥ चतुर्हंसीत्तरं²⁰ सेयमेकादशे सते
सके । वर्द्धतां सर्वतो नित्यं
- 16 नृसिंवे²¹ कतिना कता ॥१३॥ सूत्रधा[रः*] स्या

TRANSLATION.

Om! Salutation to Śiva.

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—that triad which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily.

(V. 2.) May the god moon be victorious—the (moon) who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (-like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri's penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva's head.

(V. 3.) In that (moon's) family which prospered through Parūravas and other kings there was a king Siṃharāja who was the leader of (other) kings.

¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka. Read तस्माद् °श्रीः श्री°.

² Read °देव°.

⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Metre: Upajāti. Read स्त्रवाह°.

⁷ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹¹ Read पञ्चकं.

¹⁰ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹² Read °क्वारयित्वा.

¹⁴ Read प्रादादृ°.

¹⁵ Read तत्रैव°.

¹⁷ Read सुभः.

¹⁶ Read संक्षेप°.

²⁰ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read चतुर्हंसीत्तरं सेयमेकादशे सते शक्यं.

² Read यन्त्राय°.

⁵ Read वभूव.

⁷ Read °श्रीलता°.

¹⁰ Read °केसरिणी°.

¹² Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁵ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹⁷ Read पुष्पत°.

²¹ Read नृसिंह°.

[illegible]

(V. 4.) From him was born **Vāgharāja**, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him). By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides.

(V. 5.) From this lion as it were was born **Vôpadêva**, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (i.e. retired) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass).

(V. 6.) From him was born the illustrious **Karṇadêva** (who was) the splendour (adorning) assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kākairā country.

(V. 7.) His queen was the beautiful **Bhôpalladêvi**, whom the people considered as if she Lakshmi (goddess of wealth) come to this earth.

(V. 8.) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable.

(V. 9.) In the holy place **Dêvahrada** five edifices were built by him. Two of them were his own, where Śaṅkara and Kêśava (are enshrined).

(V. 10.) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,¹ to be built bestowed them on (i.e. dedicated them in the name of) his parents.

(V. 11.) One temple Karṇarāja gave to (i.e. dedicated in the name of) king **Ranakêśarin**, through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct.

(V. 12.) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by **Bhôpalla-dêvi**, who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V. 13.) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend. Composed by the clever **Nṛisimha**.

The Sûtradhâra (architect) was **Sûpâ** (?).

NO. 25.—VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF VARMALATA ;

[VIKRAMA] SÂMVAT 682.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. ; POONA.

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof. Kielhorn,² with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion. The impressions sent by Paudit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State. I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions. When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof. Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

¹ In the original the word is *trisdanah* which I originally read as *trisiddanah*. Dr. Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text.

² *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1906, H. 2.

returned to me. This is, indeed, to be regretted, as no other scholar could have done better justice to this important inscription.

The inscription was originally discovered at Vasantgaḍh, about five miles to the south of Pindwārā, which is the principal town of the district of the same name, Sirohi State, and which is also a station on the Rājputānā-Mālwa Railway running from Ahmedābād to Ajmer. The stone was lying utterly neglected outside the shrine of Khimel *mātā* recently repaired, of which I was told, it originally formed part. Vasantgaḍh itself is now desolated, but many people to the Sirohi State come there to pay their homage to the goddess. The shrine is looked after by the Bhils of the adjoining hamlets, and they had for a long time utilised the stone for sharpening their implements. As soon as the news of the find of this ancient inscription stone reached the ears of Pandit Sukhānandjī, an antiquary of Sirohi, he hastened to the spot, took it into his possession, and brought it to Sirohi. It is now lying in safe custody in his house.

The inscription contains 17 lines of writing, which covers a space about 1' 13" broad 1' 1/2" high. The writing is, on the whole, well-preserved, but the proper right portion of it is little worn, which is doubtless due to its having been used for whetting weapons. Again, there are two or three cracks running horizontally across the inscription and injuring a few of the letters in lines 1, 2, 10 and 11, but, with care, nearly the whole of the inscription can be made out with certainty on the original stone.

The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{4}$ " to $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets, which was prevalent during the 7th and 8th centuries. The chief peculiarity of this type is the representation of the medial vowels *ā*, *i*, *ī* and the four diphthongs far more frequently by superscript signs placed above the letters than by vertical strokes attached to the sides of the letters to which they belong. This is clearly noticeable e.g. in the Udaipur inscription of the Guhila prince Aparājita, the Jhālrapāṭaṇ inscription of Durgagaṇa, and the Kaṇsuvaṇ inscription of Dhavala; and this characteristic is exhibited by our inscription also. The characters of our record are, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, almost identical with those of the Udaipur inscription. As in the latter, we have the tridented form of the letter *y* and a distinct separate sign for *b*. The letter *y* occurs in the present record no less than thirty times, and, in all these cases except one, the tridented form alone is employed. In this exceptional case (in *yōganīdrī*, l. 1) like that in the Udaipur inscription, the letter is indicated by the old sign occurring, e.g. in the Mankhari inscriptions. We also have special forms for final *k*, *t*, and *n*. In the Udaipur epigraph, final *t* and *m* are represented by ordinary signs for those letters with a small horizontal stroke placed above each. Here, on the other hand, final *k*, *t*, and *n* are denoted by their usual signs, but with the tops a little curved towards their proper right (e.g. in *vanik*, l. 10, *śakrit*, l. 3, and *gūṇān*, l. 6). The sign for the *upadhviniya* occurs three times in *ñripatīh-patī*, l. 4, and *prīyāḥ prīyāḥ prakray-āṭī*, l. 7. The *jihvāmāliya* occurs only once, in *rachana-yutāḥ kī[ryya]*, l. 4. Again, our inscription shows a tendency to use some signs with a little ornamentation. Thus, the *anusvāra* is often represented, not by a simple dot but by something like an asterisk (e.g. in *satatām*, l. 3). The superscript signs of medial vowels are also sometimes ornamentally engraved (e.g. *au* in *śasy-nījan*, l. 3.) We further find the somewhat rare signs for *ñ*, *ḍh*, *ṭh* and *ph*. With regard to *ṭh*, it deserves to be noted that it is exactly like *dh* (e.g. in *brāhmaṇ-ātīṭhī*, l. 8), and can only be distinguished by having regard to the sense of the word wherein it occurs.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *ōm namaḥ* at the commencement and the list of the names of the *gṛsthikas* contained in lines 13-17, the text is in verse. Solecisms are not infrequent. I need only point out the verse (11) which specifies the date, the language of which is anything but grammatical. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. Consonants are, as a rule, doubled as *isarya* followed by *ḥ*, is changed to that letter; *ri* has once been substituted for *ri*, in *śrīṅga*, l. 1; on the other hand,

ri stands for *ri* in °*kriyā*°, I. 3; lastly, *t* has at least twice been doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, in °*rāttr*°, I. 2, and °*mātrai*°, I. 4.

The inscription opens with two verses, the first invoking the blessings of Durgā and the second of Kṣhēmāryā,¹ who is ordinarily supposed to be a form of Durgā, and who here, in particular, is to be identified with Khimel *mītā*, outside whose temple the inscription stone was lying before it was removed to Sirohi, and of which it originally formed part. Verse 3 speaks of a king named Varmalāta, on whom the next verse bestows nothing but conventional praise, comparing him to a sorcerer, as pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn. Verse 5 informs us that Varmalāta had a feudatory of the name of Vajrabhaṭa-Satyāśraya, who was devoted to the worship of *mītā*, i.e. doubtless Kṣhēmāryā, and able to guard 'the son of Himavat,'² i.e. Mount Ābū. His son was Rājijila (v. 6), who behaved like Vaiśravaṇa, i.e. Kubēra, the god of riches, Vata, by lavishing wealth on Brāhmanas, personages deserving hospitality, subordinates, and men skilled in arts (v. 7). While this chief (*rājan*) was governing, the temple of the goddess Kṣhēmāryā was caused to be made by the *gōshthi*³ at Vatakarasthāna (v. 8). The *kīrāpaka*⁴ elected by the *gōshthi* to see this work through was Satyadēva, the son of Pitāmaha, who was merchant by birth (v. 9). Then follows a verse expressing a wish for the endurance of the temple as long as the mountain Mēru, the rivers, the sun and the moon last. Then follows the verse which contains the date. The language of it, however, to quote Prof. Kielhorn, is 'curiously ungrammatical.' Making allowance for the solecisms, the year intended appears to be 682. As almost all the dates of the inscriptions found in Mālwa and Rājputānā, the era of which is not specified and which are capable of being verified, have been shown to belong to the Vikrama era, our date may be taken to be a Vikrama year, and may, therefore, be supposed to be equivalent to A.D. 625. It was in this year, as verse 11 informs us, that the temple of *mītā* was erected. The *prasaṣti* was composed by the Brāhmaṇa Dhūrtarāśi, the son of Divākara, and incised by Nāgamuṇḍin (v. 12). Then follows a list of the individual members of the *gōshthi* who built the temple, their names occupying lines 13-17. Of these, three deserve some notice. The first is that of the only woman who was a member of the *gōshthi*. Her name is Būtā, and she is spoken of as a courtesan (attached to the temple) of Śrī-mītā,⁵ i.e. undoubtedly the

¹ In the verse the words *Kṣhēmāryā* *Kṣhēmakari* occur, of which the latter is taken by Prof. Kielhorn to be the name of the goddess. And this appears no doubt to be supported by the fact that *Kṣhēmakari* or *Kṣhēmāmakari* is actually the name of a goddess. But then the remaining word *Kṣhēmāryā*, which cannot be an adjective, remains unexplained. The final *āryā*, which is the Sanskrit equivalent of *ai*, mother, frequently applied to goddesses, shows that *Kṣhēmāryā* is the name intended. Moreover, *Kṣhēma* is as much a name for Durgā as *Kṣhēmakari*.

² In addition to the verse referred to (viz., above Vol. I. p. 234, verse 5) by Prof. Kielhorn in support of Mount Ābū (Arbuda) being called "son of Himavat," it may be mentioned that, in the *Arbuda-mihālmaya* also, a copy of which exists in the *Pustaka-prakāśi* at Jodhpur, Arbuda has been spoken of as a son of Himālaya and as being put by the latter at the service of the sage Vasishtha to fill up a deep wide chasm, into which his cow had fallen.

³ The word *gōshthi* no doubt signifies, by itself, a *pañch* or committee entrusted with the management of the religious endowments, as was first pointed out by Prof. Bühler (above, Vol. I. p. 190, n. 50), though in compound words, such as *paṇḍita-gōshthi*, *pīna-gōshthi*, and so forth, it has the general sense of "an assembly."

⁴ The proper sense of this word was first shown by Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 62, n. 53). This meaning was not known to me when I edited the Eklingji inscription, where I have wrongly translated the word by "those who caused the temple to be constructed" (*Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXII. pp. 152-3) instead of "persons appointed to look after the construction of the temple."

⁵ The inscription says that the temple of Kṣhēmāryā was built by the *gōshthi* of Vata or Vatakura, i.e. Vasantgadhi, and that Būtā was one of the members of this *gōshthi*. Būtā, as we have seen, was a courtesan of the temple of Kṣhēmāryā, and she could only acquire this position *after*, and not *before*, the erection of the temple. Nobody would appoint a courtesan to a temple to do the duties of dancing and singing before the deity, *before* it was constructed, and much less would she be raised to such a dignified position as the membership of the *gōshthi* prior to the actual building of the temple itself. I am, therefore, somewhat inclined to think that the temple was not built, but *rebuilt*, by the *gōshthi*, and that the word *kīrāpa* in verse 8 has to be taken in the latter sense. Instances of a similar use are not wanting.

militi to whom the temple was dedicated. The second name is *Pratihāra Bōṭaka*, the first of which words I think signifies the race. *Bōṭaka* was thus a *Pratihāra*, i.e. *Paṭiār*, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination *Pratihāra* occurring in an inscription. The third name is *vajrasthēnīya Ādityabhata*, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.¹

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of *Varmalāta* spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet *Māgha*. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the *Śiśupālavadha*, of the name of the king at whose court *Māgha*'s grandfather *Suprabhadēva* is stated have held the office of prime-minister, the variant *Varmalāta* is to be selected as the most like one. But to the identification of this prince with the *Varmalāta* of our inscription, supposing the date V.E. 682 to be correct, it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the *Śiśupālavadha* knows, *Māgha* in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatic treatises, the *Kāśikākrīṭi* and its commentary called *Nyāsa*. The former is the joint production of *Jayāditya* and *Vāmana*, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller *I-tsing* informs us in unmistakable terms that he died about A.D. 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the *Nyāsa* was *Jinēndrabuddhi*, who like *Jayāditya* was a follower of the Buddha.² And it is inconceivable that *I-tsing*, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A.D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the *Nyāsa* could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. *Māgha*, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak³ appears to me to be worth considering. Dr. Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, "the *argumentum ex silentio* is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that *Jinēndrabuddhi* cannot have written before A.D. 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our *Varmalāta* with the king whose minister *Māgha*'s grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring *Māgha* down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that *Jinēndrabuddhi* flourished about A.D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the *Śiśupālavadha* would, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when *Māgha* wrote his poem."

I quite accept Dr. Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects *I-tsing* had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice *Jinēndrabuddhi*, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering *Māgha* and *Jinēndrabuddhi* as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. *Māgha* and *Jinēndrabuddhi* can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two *Varmalātas* remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

¹ *History of Gujarat in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 82.

² It might perhaps be doubted whether *Jinēndrabuddhi* was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for this doubt. A Deccan College manuscript (No. 33 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following: *Iti bōdhisattvadeśīya-āchārya-Drījē(Jinē)ndrabuddhi(ddhi)-viraachitāyām Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-gaṇchikāyām dvitīyā-dhādyasya chaturthaḥ pādah*. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 67.

³ *Jour. Bol. As. Soc.* Vol. XX, pp. 305-6.

The place *Vaṭa*, where the feudatory prince Rājīla was reigning, is doubtless Vasantgaḍh itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to Kṣhēmāryā, said in the inscription to have been built by the *gōshthī* of *Vaṭa*, is no other than the temple of Khimel *mātī* in Vasantgaḍh of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and Brahmā mentioned as existing in *Vaṭapura* in the inscription of Pūrnapāla dated V.E. 1099, are still existing at Vasantgaḍh. A slightly different name for the place, *viz.* *Vaṭākara*, occurs in l. 9. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both *Ārāsapa* and *Ārāsapākara*. The remains at Vasantgaḍh have been fully described and the question regarding the name *Vaṭa* and *Vaṭākara* is fully discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the months July 1905 to March 1906, inclusive, pp. 49 ff.¹

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री³ नमः ॥ धातुर्या योगनिद्रा [जलन] — ◡ ◡ [नस्या]कृतिर्विश्व
योनेः 'कैलासीचाङ्गश्चिह्नप्रतिनियतमुदावासिनोर्डीङ्गसक्ता [1*] या
- 2 रात्रिस्सर्वलोके स्मृतिरपि च सतां या श्रुतिर्ब्रह्मगीता मा देवी दुर्गमेषु
प्रदिशतु जगते मङ्गलानीह दुर्गाः⁵ ॥ [१*] नियतमतिप्रणतिप-
- 3 रस्याजौ यागे 'कृयाफलेष्वसक्तत् [1*] जेमार्या जेमकरी विदधातु शिवानि
नस्मृतं⁷ ॥ [२*] जयति जयलक्ष्मलक्षितवक्षस्व्यलसंश्रितश्रियाधारः⁸ [1*] श्री-
- 4 वर्मलातनृपतिः पतिरवनेरधिकबलवीर्यः ॥ [३*] केचित्सन्देहमाक्षरतिविशदपद⁹
मुद्रया पारगंथा¹⁰ केचिच्चान्ये प्रकाशं प्रतिवचनयुतैर्ह [1]
- 5 [र्य]जापैरजस्रं [1*] अन्ये वै मण्डलान्ते कृतबलिकुङ्ककिर्भूतिदानेन चान्ये
तेनेत्यं सन्नरेन्द्रव्रतमनुचरता शासिता भूमिपालाः¹¹ ॥ [४*] तस्याशेषविशि-
- 6 [ष]दोषरहितान्पुण्याति भक्त्या गुणान् (i) नाम्ना वक्ष्यतेति भृत्यपदवी-
माश्रित्य सत्याश्रयः [1*] ख्यातः कीर्त्तिमतामलघ्यचरितः¹² ¹³श्रीमातु-
रप्यर्जने¹⁴ किञ्च
- 7 [ज्ञा]तगुणः प्रभुर्हिमवतस्सूनोश्च संरक्षणे¹⁵ ॥ (ii) [५*] तस्य सूनुरधिकं प्रियः
प्रियैः प्रश्रयादिसकलैर्महागुणै¹⁶ [1*] राज्ञिलोभवदशेषराजकथ्याप्तकी-

¹ In l. 9 of the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pūrnapāla, *Vaṭa* is also spoken of as the name of a country. In line 17 of the *mātī-kṣ-sāl* inscription found at Ghatiyālā (*Jour. R. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 618), the expression *Vaṭa-vinaya-maṇḍala* occurs. This is doubtless identical with *Vaṭa-Nāpaka-maṇḍala*. Here the country or district is not called simply after *Vaṭa* (Vasantgaḍh) but also after *Nāpaka* which evidently is the present Nāpā, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read कैलासीचाङ्गश्च^०.

⁵ Read दुर्गाः; metre: Sragdharā

⁶ Read क्रिया^०.

⁷ Metre: Āryā; and also of the verse following.

⁸ Wrong for 'श्रियाधारः' which would not have suited the metre.

⁹ Read 'पदमुद्रया'.

¹⁰ Read 'गन्धर्व'.

¹¹ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹² Read 'मलङ्कार्य'.

¹³ The letter *य* is not in the same line with *र* and *ज*, but is engraved exactly below between these two letters, and two vertical strokes are added one above and one below between them to draw attention to the omission.

¹⁴ Read, probably 'श्री' instead of 'ज्य'.

¹⁵ Metre: Sārdūlavikṛidita.

¹⁶ Read 'गुणैः'.

- 8 त्तिरमले कुले नृपः¹ [॥*] [६*] ब्राह्मणातिथिभृत्यादिकलावत्सु विशेषतः² [१*]
 सोधिकं³ द्रविणै⁴ शश्वटे वैश्ववर्णायते⁵ ॥ [७*] तस्मिन्नाजनि
 देव्याश्चासति राज्यं
- 9 वटाकरस्थाने[१*] गोष्ठया कारितमेतद्भवनं भुवनस्य चिह्नमिव⁶ ॥ [८*]
 कारापकस्तु सूनुः पितामहाख्यस्य सत्यदेवाख्यः [१*] गोष्ठया प्रसादपरणं
 निरूपितो ज-
- 10 [म्]ना स वणिक् ।(॥) [८*] यावन्मेरोस्तटानि प्रचुरहिमकणोत्तुङ्गशैलाधिप
 स्यन्दि[न्यो] यावदु[च्चा] अपगतक[लु]षा — — — — [१*]
 यावच्चन्द्रार्कभास-
- 11 [स्म]तरलजलधे[रु]र्मयो यावदुच्चैस्ताव[हे]वालयं [निस्थि]तमिह भवतु श्रेयस
 "वीरजाना"⁹ ॥ [१०*] हिरण्योत्पधिके काले षण्णां वर्षशतोत्तरे * [१*]
 जगन्मातु-
- 12 ¹⁰[रिदं] रु[थ]ानं स्था[पि]तं [गो]ष्ठिप्रपञ्चैः¹¹ ॥ [११*] दिवाकरसुतस्यैवं
 धूत्तराशेहिजन्मनः¹² [१*] पूर्वार्तिमृदुभिर्वर्णैः प्रोत्कीर्णा नागमुण्डिना
 [॥] [१२*] ॥ ॐ ॥
- 13 [गो]ष्ठिकाक्ष¹³ [१] राजिल । बकट । चन्द्रक । प्रतीहारबोटक ।
 राजस्थानीयादित्यभट । जा(?)ब(?)र्ण । मातृदासबङ्गदेव । कुलवर्धन ।
 धनदत्त[ब]मु [१]
- 14 घुघक । धोन्धकपुत्रसत्यदेव । ककिलक । धनदत्त । गोमिक । हरि-
 गुप्त । [ब]पक । पपोष्ट । सत्यदेव । रेभिलाक । रतिदास ।
 तरण । — — — — दत्त
- 15 दृढगुर । धनगर । बपाणन्दि । — — — । राजक । भद्रदेव ।
 रुद्रक । दत्तभिल्लमालकुय । खिलकु । पार्थ्यदिण्ड । गणु
 गण्णरटनाग — —
- 16 तता । भिल्लमालकु । सत्तमदेव । बङ्गदास — — । श्रीमातागणिका
 बूटानाम्नी ॥ * ॥ एवमेषां गोष्ठिकाराणां ¹⁴ना-
- 17 ¹⁵

¹ Metre: Rathôldhatâ.² Read विश्ववर्ण.³ Read द्रविणै.⁴ Read शश्वटे.⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).⁶ Metre: Āryā; and also of the verse following.⁷ The letter य is engraved below the line.⁸ The word *pauraja* is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vata)."⁹ Metre: Sragdhara.¹⁰ The *aksharas* "रिदं" are very indistinct.¹¹ Metre: Ślōka (Anushtubh).¹² Read "राशेहि".¹³ Read गोष्ठिका चक्ष.¹⁴ Read नामानि.¹⁵ About five letters have been incised in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.

No. 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA SANKARAGANA,
SAKA-SAMVAT 715.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA.

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhan Devram Bhat, a Brahmakshatri by caste, and residing at Daulatābād, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a *sanad*. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Talukdār, Aurangābād district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly.

There are three plates, each of which measures about 7½" long by about 5' broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuḍa, squatting and facing full-front; his hands are joined palm to palm on the chest, and are turned upwards; his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The characters of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *ā*, e.g. in *āstī*, l. 2; to *n*, which looks almost exactly like *m*, e.g. in *ṇapūṇa*, l. 12; to *ṇa* in *ḥaṇṇa*, l. 14; to *ṇa* in *Śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇarāja*, l. 27; to *ya* in *eyya*, l. 20; and to *ṇa* in *ṇaḥaḥaḥi*, l. 35. The alphabet also includes signs for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 11. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sāmāṅgaḍi grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The language is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40; the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Rāshtrakūṭa records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word *vra(bra)hmachāri* and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donee and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*; the *visarga* is often wrongly omitted; the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *r*, in *bhāpura=trivishṭapa*, l. 5, *Kanakādri=iv=ḥudrarijāḥ*, l. 8, and *prīyā[ṭma*]jāḥ*, l. 24; the letter *gh* is employed instead of *h* once in *rāja-siṅghaḥ*, l. 4; and an *anusvāra* in conjunction with a following *n* is changed to that letter once in *dhvastin=nayā*, l. 2.

The inscription records a grant by Samarāvalōka-śrī-Śaṅkaragaṇa-rāja of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with Gōvinda-rāja I. The genealogy set forth as far as Krishnarāja I. is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes Gōvinda II. in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a double entendre: "His son was king Gōvindarāja who was like Hari (Krishṇa) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for

having snatched away the glory of Śrī-Pārijāta just as the latter was for having carried off the greatness of the auspicious *pārijāta* (tree), and inasmuch as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Gōvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Gōvardhana (mountain).” The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gōvinda II. defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called Gōvardhana.¹ The names Pārijāta and Gōvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11), which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: “His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-concoited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family.” What the verse means is that Gōvinda II. was a self-concoited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the regal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created disaffection amongst his feudatory chieftains, who deserted him, and that Dhruva-Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother's dominions. The Dōḷi and Karhād grants of Kṛishna III., however, give a slightly different account. They record that “sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.” The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gōvinda II. with the management of the kingdom, the Dōḷi and Karhād grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Rāshtrakūṭa family.² But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed; and hence what most probably happened was that Gōvinda II. gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dōḷi and Karhād grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Rāshtrakūṭa supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gōvinda II. gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother's dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was Śrī-Nanna, brother of Śrī-Kṛishnarāja and son of Śrī-Kakkarāja. Then follows the preamble of the passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

¹ I have taken the word *udharana* in the sense of “uplifting, upholding,” but it also signifies “eradication, extermination.” In that case it would mean that Gōvinda II. slew a prince of the name of Gōvardhana. Or if Gōvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gōvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscriptions, and have also been spoken of in the Purāṇas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 8th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word *Gōvardhana* occurs in the Bagunrā grants of Indrarāja III. (above, Vol. IX, pp. 32 and 36).

² This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words: *gura-bhakti-matō ngasamsthām*. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereigns who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gōvinda II. himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dōḷi and Karhād plates claim, and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party for ousting Gōvinda II. and completely severing his connection with the Rāshtrakūṭa kingdom was that he had shown himself unworthy of his office, i.e. the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and not himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.

name of the grantor **Samarāvalōka-Śrī-Śaṅkaragana-rāja** is specified, and he is mentioned as son of **Śrī-Nanna** just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of **Śrī-Kalivallabha Narendradēva**. The latter was doubtless an epithet of (**Dhruva**-)**Nirupama**, who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin **Śaṅkaragana** was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in ll. 28-33, but, as said above, the names of the original donee and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll. 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from **Tonvi**, and the expression *tat-pāda-pūjārtham guru-dāśhinī*, which occurs in l. 33, shows that he was the preceptor of **Śaṅkaragana**. Lines 24-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: "And this charter was written by **Chandayika** by order of the supreme ruler, when 715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the **Śaka Kings**." The supreme ruler here alluded to is (**Druva**-)**Nirupama**, and the **Śaka** year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record—the **Pañchan** grant—of his son and successor **Gōvinda III**, is dated in **Śaka** 716. It is thus plain that (**Dhruva**-)**Nirupama** could not have lived long after **Śaka** 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the names of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his *gōtra* specified is **Bhārad-vāja**. Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like **Sāmira**. And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-53 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression *vala(IIa)bha-narēndra* which is an epithet generally borne by the **Rāshtrakūṭa** rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with *Śrī-Bhaṭṭaḥ(ṭi)ṛka-mataḥ* || 800. The name *Bhaṭṭārka* reminds one of the inscriptions of the **Valabhi** princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the **Valabhi** era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A.D. 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from **Daulatābād**, a **Brahmakshatri** by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As **Brahmakshatri**s in the **Dekkan** are known originally to have come from **Kāthiāwār**, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates, tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name *Bhaṭṭārka* after the manner of the **Valabhi** plates which he must have either seen himself in **Kāthiāwār** or known about from his forefathers.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

1 श्री² स्वस्ति [॥*] स बोव्यादेधसो³ धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं [॥*] हरश्च
यस्य कानिन्दु-

¹ From the original plates.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read °देधसा.

- 2 कलया कमलंकृतं ॥ [१*] 'आसोद्वपन्तिमिरमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिनयं'-²
 3 अभिमुखो रणशर्वरीषु [१*] भूपः शुचिः द्युरिवासदिगन्तकीर्त्तिं गोविन्द-
 4 राज इति राजसु राजसिंहः⁴ । (॥) [२*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विमुक्तदीर्घकीर्त्ति-
 5 रार्त्तीर्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भूपस्तृविष्टपटुपानुकृतिः
 6 कृतज्ञः श्रीककराज इति गोचमणिर्व्वभूव⁶ । (॥) [३*] तस्य प्रभिन्न-
 7 करटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तिप्रहारविषमोस्त्रिखितांसुपीठः⁷ ।
 8 क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूटकनकादृखिन्द⁸
 9 राजः । (॥) [४*] तस्योपार्जिततपसस्तनयश्चतुर्दधिवलयमालिन्या⁹ ।
 10 भोक्ता भुवि¹⁰ शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् । (॥) [५*] आसेतोव्विपुला-
 11 पलावलिललल्लोलोर्मिवेलाजलादाप्रालियकलांकितोमल-¹²
 12 शिलाजालात्तुपाराचलात् । आपूर्व्वपरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 ¹³प्रसिद्धावधिर्नयं जगती ¹⁴स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपञ्चीकृता । (॥) [६*] अभूव-
 14 भङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशस्त्रमज्ञातमप्रतिहृताक्षमपेतयत्नं [१*] यो व-
 15 क्षमं सपदि दण्डवलेन¹⁵ जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप । (॥) [७*]
 काञ्ची-
 16 ¹⁶मकरलनराधिपचोलपाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं [१*] कर्णाटकं
 17 ¹⁷वलमविन्त्यमजोयमथैः भृत्यै¹⁸ कियद्विरपि यः सहसा विजिग्ये । (॥) [८*]
 तस्मि¹⁹ दि-
 18 वं प्रयाति वल्लभराज कृतप्रजापालः [१*] श्रीककराजसूनुर्महो-
 19 पति²⁰ कृष्णराज[१]भूत् ॥ [९*] त[स्म]नुराहवरुचिः प्रथितो वभूव²¹ श्रीपा-
 20 रिजातविभवाह्वर[ण]प्रतीत²² [१*] गोवर्द्धनोद्वरणलक्षितवाहुवीर्यो²³
 21 गोविन्दराजनृपति ²⁴हरिणा समानः । (॥) [१०*] तस्यानुजो निरुपमस्त-
 सुदीर्घर्णमी-

¹ Read 'आसोद्वपन्ति'.

² Read 'नय'.

³ Read 'कीर्त्तिर्गो'.

⁴ Read 'सिंहः'.

⁵ Read 'भूपस्त्रिष्टप'.

⁶ Read 'व्यभूव'.

⁷ Read 'दन्तिदन्त' and 'स्त्रिखितास'.

⁸ Read 'कनकाद्रि'.

⁹ Read 'मालिन्या'.

¹⁰ Read 'भुवः'.

¹¹ Read 'सिनीर्व्व'.

¹² Read 'कलकितानेन'.

¹³ Read 'प्रसिद्धावधि'.

¹⁴ Read 'वलेन'.

¹⁵ Read 'वलेन'.

¹⁶ Read 'काञ्ची' ; the letter न in 'मकरलनराधिप' was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved below between र and न, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above.

¹⁷ Read 'वल' and 'मजोय'.

¹⁸ Read 'मन्येभृत्यै'.

¹⁹ Read 'तस्मिन्'.

²⁰ Read 'पतिः'.

²¹ Read 'वभूव'.

²² Read 'प्रतीतः'.

²³ Read 'वाहु'.

²⁴ Read 'नृपतिहरिणा'.

१
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- 22 च¹ त्यक्तं नृपैरपि नयेन विलुप्यमानं । र[१*]ज्यं चभार² गुरुभक्तिव-
तोन्मसंस्थं³
23 मा भूत्किलान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्माः⁴ [॥*] [११*] पितृव्यस्तस्य 'गुणवा
श्रीनम इति
24 विद्युतः [१*] श्रीकृष्णराजभ्राता हि श्रीकृष्णराजपुत्राजः⁶ [॥*] [१२*] तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रो 'पात्तानुरागः परच्छिद्रापवादरह-⁷
26 स्येष्वन्धमूकवधिर⁸ विरुद्धकामसेवी विमलागाधसलिल¹⁰ कान्तारभू-
27 मी जलाशय इव प्रणयिनां ¹¹तृद्धोता समरावलोकश्रीशङ्करगणराजः
28 श्रीकलिवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवानुमंत्या¹² सर्वानेवागामिनृपतियामकूट-
29 ¹³महत्तराधिकारिदीनमनुबोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभि-
30 र्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चानल्पपुन्ययशोभिषुष्ये¹⁴ (१) तेन्वीर्विन-
31 ¹⁵र्गतब्रह्मचारी भारद्वाजगोत्राय वासुदे — — — नेयप-
32 ण्डि — — — भुक्त्या सामिराभिधानग्रामः साभ्यन्तरमिद्विसर्व-
33 देयप्रहीणश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धस्तत्पादपूजार्थ¹⁶ गुरुदक्षिणा दत्ता ।
34 यतोऽहं शैरन्यैर्वा पालनीयो रक्षणीयश्च । यो वाजानतिमि-
35 राहतमतिः¹⁷ ¹⁸आच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं चानुमोदेतः¹⁹ स पञ्चभिर्मि[हा]-
36 ²⁰पातकै चोपपातकैः संयुक्त²¹ स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-
37 सेन ।

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 38 षट्तिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदेति²² भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
39 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [१३*] विख्यातवीर्यतोयांशु²³ शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [१*]

¹ ईदृश्य seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form.

² Read चभार ; व and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of व.

³ Read 'भक्तिसंस्थ'.

⁴ Read लक्ष्माः.

⁶ Read गुणवाल्मीकी.

⁸ Read 'प्रियरमजः' ; रम is omitted in the text. The श्री of श्रीकृष्ण, what is more probable, the हि preceding it, is superfluous.

⁷ Read दिक्चक्रः and पात्तानुरागः.

⁹ हि was first incised, and then it was corrected into इ by erasure.

¹⁰ Read 'वधिर'.

¹¹ Read 'सलिलः'.

¹² Read तृद्धोता.

¹³ Read 'देवानुमंत्या'.

¹⁴ Read 'कायदीनमनुबोध'.

¹⁶ Read 'पुण्ड्र'.

¹⁵ Read 'ब्रह्मचारी' ; all letters of l. 31 after 'ब्रह्मचारी' and the first eight letters of the line following are forged ones, put in after effacing the original letters of the charter, which must have contained the name of the grantee and of the village granted.

¹⁷ Read 'पूजार्थ'.

¹⁸ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed.

¹⁹ Read 'आच्छिद्या'.

²⁰ Read 'मोदेत'.

²¹ Read 'पातकैश्चोप'.

²² Read 'संयुक्तः'.

²³ This ought to be सीदते according to the rules of grammar ; but this will not suit the metre.

²⁴ Read 'सीदते'.

- 40 कृष्णाक्षयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं^१ हरन्ति ये ।(॥) [१४*] लिखितं
चैतत्कासनं^१
- 41 शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु ७१५ परमेश्वराज्ञया पर-
42 मेश्वराज्ञया^२ चन्द्रयिकेन ॥ पुनरपि सिसम [१*] पूर्वत[:*]^३ चिच-
43 ग्रामः [द]क्षिणतः निबग्रामः पश्चिमतः दधि[वाह]-
44 न ॥ उत्तरतः^४ पडलावदपटन एवं चतु[र]— —^७
- 45 सिसम^६ पूर्वत^७ टंकं । खितसिमा^{१०} पूर्वदरिदरिगङ्गी (?) [पुनः]
46 टोणम्य टोणम्य मस्तके शिलतलं । तीयनरज । नि-
47 वृतटाकं [१*] दक्षिणतः जंबुय(?)हरकः [१] दक्षिणतः^{११} नीबग्राम
48 सती (?)ताविह—रेलाद्रिसंबकः हस्तिनिकगोयहदरीद-
49 धिवाहलतटा[कं] मिलादयं सिबकपलासचिचाव-
50 दरितटाकं ॥ उत्तरतः^{१२} खाटके हटो क — —

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 51 यु[न]म(?)णिः । पूर्वदरीर(?)[ल]—वससिमापर्यंत^{१३}व-
52 ली—[निब]व । वलभनरेद्रेण हिरमाल—गांडुड-
53 क उत्तरतः^{१४} देसिलस्यद्र ॥ ग्रामे भूमी ॥ इयञ्जीना-
54 चरमधिकाक्षरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥
55 ^{१५}श्रीभटःकर्मतः ॥ ८००

No. 27.—BUCHKALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA ;
SAMVAT 872.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A. ; POONA.

This inscription was first discovered by a *Brahmahatta* of Jôdhpur named Nannurina whose zeal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buchkalâ in the Bilââ district, Jôdhpur State. It is incised on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sabhdâmanḍapa* of what is popularly known there as the temple of Pârvatî. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well-

^१ Read चैतत्कासनं.

^२ This word is repeated unnecessarily.

^३ The original inscription ends at चन्द्रयिकेन ; and after that begins again the forged part which goes on till l. 55 at the close. It is engraved so carelessly that I am by no means certain of my reading of it. It is, moreover, so full of grammatical inaccuracies, which, in many cases, are due to local pronunciation, that it is not desirable to correct them all.

^४ Read सीमा.

^५ Read पूर्वतः.

^६ Read उत्तरतः.

^७ Probably चतुराष्टटः.

^८ Read सीमा.

^९ Read पूर्वतः.

^{१०} Read सीमा.

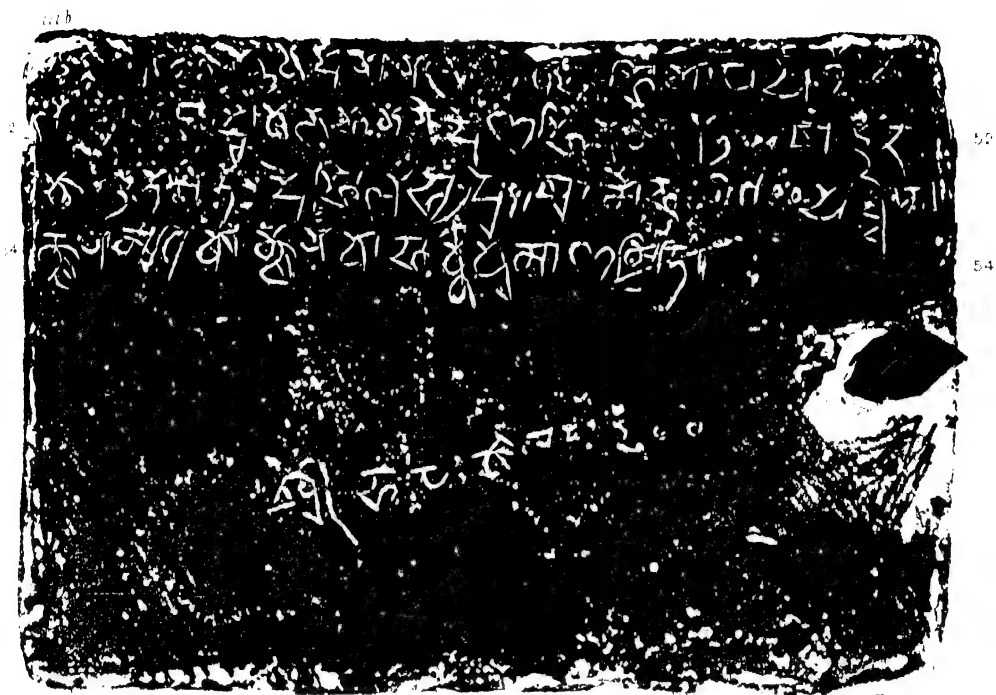
^{११} This दक्षिणतः is probably a mistake for पश्चिमतः.

^{१२} Read उत्तरतः.

^{१३} The reading हटो is also possible.

^{१४} Read उत्तरतः.

^{१५} Read श्रीभटःकर्मतः.



preserved writing which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 11½" broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *gh* and *h* and the numeral figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters *s* and *n* are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and *m*, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much nearer to each other than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical, and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*; *ddhi* is written *ddhi* twice in the word *mahārijūddhirāja*, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former, viz. in *sūtradhīra*, l. 20.

The inscription is dated **Samvat 872**¹ the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and refers itself to the reign of the **P. M. P. Nāgabhaṭṭa-dēva** meditating on the feet of the **M. P. Vatsarāja-dēva**. It is thus clear that Nāgabhaṭṭa is no other person than Nāgabhatta, son of Vatsarāja, of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty wielding sway over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhojādēva I. In fact, we had only one date, viz. Śaka 705 = A.D. 783-84, for Vatsarāja furnished by the Jaina work *Haricamṣa-Purāṇa*. And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S. 872 = A.D. 815 for his son Nāgabhatta.²

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (*nivṛtī*), but what that 'something' was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (*d'vāgri*) and worshipping the feet of *Paramēśvara*, in the village of **Rājyaghaṅgakam**, by the queen **Jāyāvalī**, the daughter of **Jājaka**, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra **Bapuka**, and wife of **Bhumbhuvaka**, the son of **Haragupta** of the family called **Avāṅgānaka**. As Jāyāvalī has been spoken of as queen (*rājñī*), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chieftain, feudatory to Nāgabhaṭṭa, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding, **Rājyaghaṅgakam**, which must be supposed to be the old name of BUCKALA. The name of the *sūtradhīra* or mason is **Pañchahari**, the son of **Deiā**.

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to *Paramēśvara*, which is usually taken to be a name of Śiva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pārvati, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlessly representing some form of Vishṇu, as the mace, discus, and conch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaishṇava structure. The word *paramēśvara* must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Vishṇu.

TEXT.³

- 1 श्री [1] संवत्सरशते ८७२
- 2 चैत्रस्य सितपक्षस्य पंचम्यां
- 3 निवेमिता⁴ ॥ महाराजाधिराज-⁵

¹ It is worthy of note that, in the copper-plate charters issued by Bhojādēva I., Mahendrajāla and Mahipāla alias Viśayakajāla, letter-numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone-inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile 892 is a misprint for 872.—S. K.]

² The date has already been given by Prof. Kielhorn in his *Synchronistic Table for Northern India*, col. 9. Some information furnished by Mr. Ojha.

³ From the original stone.

⁴ Read निवेमिता.

⁵ Read महाराजाधिराज.

- 4 परमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 6 'जाद्विराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनाग-
- 7 भट्टदेवस्वविषये प्रवर्द्धमान-
- 8 राज्ये राज्यघङ्गकङ्गामे
- 9 राज्ञी जायावली प्रतीहार-
- 10 'स्वगोत्रश्रीवपुत्रपुत्रश्रीज-
- 11 अक्रदुहिता ताकुङ्गुवोत्पन्नावा-³
- 12 ज्ञानकस्वगोत्रश्रीहरगुप्त-⁴
- 13 पुत्रभुम्भुकपत्नी 'अत्र च पर-
- 14 मेखरो निर्वी' क्त्वा अनेकजन्मा-
- 15 'तरस्वमिवर्तसंसारदुखाव-⁵
- 16 हरस्य परमेश्वरस्य⁹ पादा¹⁰
- 17 पुजयित्वा¹¹ देवगृहं करा-
- 18 प्य¹² [I*] पुन¹³ तस्य उपलिपन¹⁴
- 19 देव्यासुतप[च्च]हरि¹⁵
- 20 शुचधारः¹⁶ ॥

No. 28.—KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672.

BY K. B. PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhṛīṅgārkar bāvā, a well-known reciter of *kīrtans* at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñānēśvara, the well-known saint of Alandi, with Jñānēśvara, the author of the Jñānēśvari, a famous Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Śaka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the Jñānēśvari, who was contemporary with Rāmadēva, the last of the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri, Bhṛīṅgārkar bāvā was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

¹ Read 'राजाधिरज'.² Read 'सगोत्र'.³ Read 'वीर्यदा'.⁴ Read 'सगोत्र'.⁵ Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.⁶ The words परमेश्वरी and निर्वी as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.⁷ Some such reading as 'जन्मन्तरिवनिवर्त' might be expected.⁸ Read 'दुःखा'.⁹ Read परमेश्वरस्य.¹⁰ Read पादी.¹¹ Read पूजयित्वा.¹² Read तारयित्वा.¹³ Read पुनस्तस्य.¹⁴ Read उपलिपने. This word seems to have been here used in the sense of "engraving."¹⁵ Read 'हरि'.¹⁶ Read शुचधारः.



The plates were found at **Kēndūr**, a village in the **Khēd tāluka** of the **Poona district**. They belong to **Mr. Purushōttama Rājapāthak**, now residing at **Kōndūr**. There are **five plates**, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2" by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing **boar** facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 225 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the **Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II.**, and is issued from the city of **Raktapura**, which is probably to be identified with **Lakshmīśvara**, in the **Dharwar district**. It records that on the full moon day of the month **Vaiśākha**, during a lunar eclipse, in **Śaka 672** expired, in the sixth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at **Raktapura**, **Kirtivarman II.**, at the request of his great queen, granted to a **Brāhmaṇa** named **Ramaśarman**, the village of **Beppaṭṭi** in the centre of the villages of **Peṇbasaaru**, **Kisumaṅgalaṃ**, **Suḷḷaṃ** and **Perbbaḷli**, in the district of **Veḷvola**. The five villages can be easily identified with **Behaṭṭi**, **Hobsur**, **Kuṅgalla**, **Suḷḷa** and **Hebbaḷli**, in the **Dharwar district**. **Veḷvola** is a Sanskritized form of **Beḷvoḷa** or **Beḷvala**, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern **Marāṭhā** country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of **Kirtivarman II.**'s time were known to scholars. Of these the most important is the **Vakkalēri grant**, which has been published by **Mr. Rice**¹ and re-edited by **Dr. Kielhorn**.² As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is **Śaka 679** expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of **Kirtivarman's** reign, while, according to the present grant, **Śaka 672** expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the **Vakkalēri grant**, the first word describing the **Śaka** year is not legible. Both **Mr. Rice** and **Dr. Kielhorn** have proposed to read it as *nava*, nine, and this view has been endorsed by **Dr. Fleet**. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which **Śaka 677** expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the **Chalukya** line was **Polekēśin** who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son **Kirtivarman I.**, who defeated the kings of **Vanavāsi** and other countries. His brother **Maṅgaluśa** being passed over, we are next introduced to **Satyāśraya**, better known as **Polekēśin II.**, who defeated the famous Buddhist king **Harshavardhana**, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller **Hsien Tsiang** and the hero of **Bāṇa's** immortal work, the *Harshacharita*. **Polekēśin II.**'s son, **Vikramāditya I.**, was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse **Chirukapṭha**, part of the **Chalukya** dominions, which had been overrun by the **Pallavas**, and had obedience done to him by the lord of **Kāñchi**, who had bowed down to none other. **Vikramāditya I.**'s son and successor was **Vinayāditya**, who broke the confederacy of the **Chōlas**, **Kēruḷas**, **Pāṇḍyas** and **Pallavas**, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. **Vinayāditya's** son **Vijayāditya**, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 23 ff.

² Above, Vol. V. p. 200 and ff.

to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son **Vikramāditya II.**, who led an excursion into the Tundāka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipōtavarmān, and entered the Pallava capital Kāñchī, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Rājasimhēśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasimhapōtavarmān, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. **Vikramāditya II.** was succeeded by his son **Kirtivarmān II.**, who issued the present grant.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti [*] Jayaty=āviśhkrīta[in] Viśvūḥ=vvārāham kshōbhit-ārṇavam [*]
dakṣiṇ-ōnnata-damśhṛ-āgra-viśrānta-bhuvanān
- 2 vapuḥ [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāpām Hār[i]ti-
putrāpām sa-
- 3 pta-lōkamātribhis=saptamātribhir=abhiwardhitānām Kārttikēya-parirakṣapa-prāsta(pta)-
kalyāpa-
- 4 parānparāpām bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan-ōkṣhaṇa-
kṣapa-
- 5 vaśī-kṛit-āśōsha-mahābhṛitāñ=Chalukyānām kulam=alamkarishṇōr=aśvamōdh-āva-
- 6 bhṛithasnāna-pavitrī-kṛita-gātrasya śrī-Polekēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya sū-
- 7 nuḥ parākram-ākṛānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-paranpīpati-maṇḍala-prapibaddha-viśuddha-kīrti-
śrī-
- 8 Kīrttivarmma-prīthu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājas=tasy=ātmajas=samara-saṁsakta-sakalōttarā-
- 9 pathōśvara-śrī-Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-śabdas=tasya Sa-

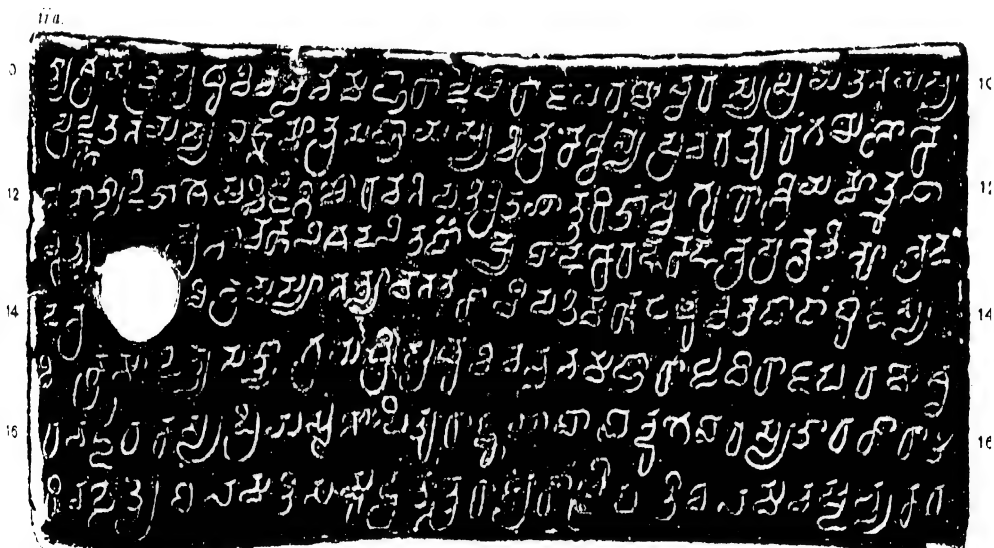
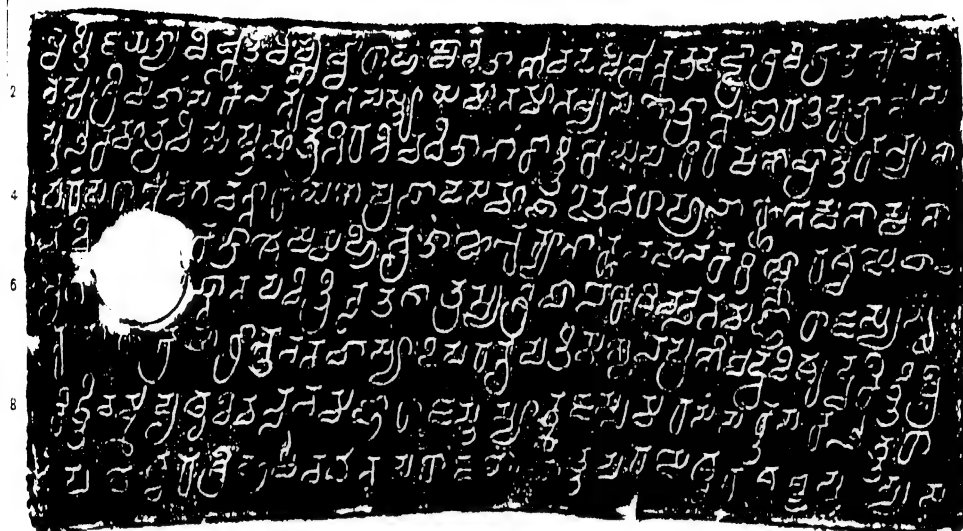
Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 tyāśraya-śrī-prīthu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramōśvarasya priyatanayasya
- 11 prajānā-nayasya khaṭga(dga)-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakapthākhyā-pravara-turamgamē-
nikā-
- 12 n=aiv-ōtsādīt-āśōsha-vijigishōr=avanipati-tritay-āntaritām svagurō śrīya-
- 13 ātmāsā-
- 14 t-kṛitya prabhāva-kulīsa-dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa-Kēraja-Kalabhra-prabhṛiti-bhūbhṛid-a-
- 15 dabhra-vibhramasy-ānanyāvanata-Kāmchīpati-makuta-chumbita-pādāmbujasya
- 16 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-prīthu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
- 17 ra-bhaṭṭarakasya priyasūnōḥ pitur-ājñayā Bālēndugē(śē)kharasya Tārakārāti-
- 17 r-iva daityabalam=atisamuddhataṁ trairāja-Kāmchīpati-balam=avashṭabhyā kara-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 18 dikṛita-Kavēra-Pārasika-Simha-ādi-dvip-ādhipasya sakal-ōttarāpatha²-nātha-mathan-
ōpārjit-ō-
- 19 rjita-pāḍidhvaj-ādi-samasta-pāramaiśvaryya-ōhinha(hna)sya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-
śrīprīthu(thi)vīalla-
- 20 bha-mahārājādhirāja-paramōśvara-bhaṭṭarakasya priy-ātmajaś=śai[śa*]va ōv-ādhiḡat-
āśēsh-āstra-
- 21 āśtrō dakṣiṇāśā-vijayini pitāmahō samunnūlita-nikhila-kapṭaka-sambhāt-
uttarāpatha-
- 22 vijigishōr=gurōr=agrata Av=ānava-vyāpāram-ācharann=arāti-gaja-ghaṭā-pāṭa-

¹ From the original plates.² The engraver has originally written *pathā*, but corrected it.



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- 23 na-viśīryamāṇa-kṛipāṇa-dhāras-samagra-vigraha-āgrāsara[h*] san-sāhasa-rasikah
 24 parām(ū)mukhikṛita-satrumaṇḍalō Gaṅgā-Yamunā-pālidhvaja-paṇḍhakkā-mahāśabala-
 mā-
 25 pīkya-matamgaj-ādin=pitṛisāt-kurvvan=pariṇ palāyamānair=āsādyā katham=api
 vidhivaśā-
 26 d-apanitō=pi pratāpād=ēva viśaya-prakōpam-arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja i-

Third Plate; First Side.

- 27 v-ānapōkshit-āpara-sāhāyakas=tad-avagrahān=nirgatyā svabhuj-āvashāmbha-prasādhit-
 āśēsha-viśva-
 28 mbbharāḥ prabhur=akhamḍita-śaktitrayatvāt(ch)=chhatru-mada-bhamjanatvād-
 udāratvān=niravadyatvād=yas=sa-
 29 masta-bhuvau-āśrayas=sakala-pāramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hētu-pālidhvaj-ādy-u[j*]jvala-prājya-
 rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
 30 rā-
 31 m-bhaṭṭārakasya priyaputras=sakala-bhuvana-sāmrajya-lakṣmī-svayamvar-ā-
 32 bhishhēka-samay-ānantara-samupajāta-mahōtsāhah ātmavamsāja-pū-
 33 rva-uripati-chchhāy-āpahāriṇah prakṛity-amitrasya Pallavasya samāl-
 ōnmūlanāya
 34 kṛita-matir=atitvarayā Tumḍāka-vishayam prāpy=ābhimukh-āgatam=
 Nandipōtavarm-ā-
 35 bhidhānam Pallavam rapa-mukhō samprahṛitya prapalāyya
 kaṭumukha-vāditra-sa-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 36 mudraghōsh-ābhidhāna-vādyā-viśēshān(shau)=khaṭvāmga-dhvaja-pramatta-prabhūta-
 prakhyāta-hasti-varā-
 37 n=sva-kirāṇa-nikara-vikāsa-nirākṛita-timiram-māpikya-rāsiñ=cha hastōkṛitya
 Kalāśabhava-nila-
 38 ya-kurid-aungan-āmohita-kāmchīyamānām Kāmchīm-avināśya praviśya satata-
 pravṛitta-dā-
 39 u-ānā(nu)ndita-dviya-din-ānātha-janaḥ Narasiṃhapōtavarmma-nirmāpita-silāmaya-
 40 Rājasiṃhēśvar-ādi-dōvakula-suvarnarāsi-pratyarpṇa-ōpārjit-ōrjita-pu-
 41 nyah anivārīta-pratāpa-prasara-pratāpita-Pāṇḍya-Chōla-Kēraḷa-Kaḷabhra-
 42 prabhṛiti-rājanyakah kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita-śukti-mukta-muktāphala-
 43 prakara-marīchi-jāla-vilasita-vōl-ākulō ghūrṇamān-ārgō-midhānō daksheṇā-
 44 rpatō śarad-amala-śāśadhara-viśada-yaśō-rāsi-mayam jayastambham-atish[h*]ipat

Fourth Plate; First Side.

- 45 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvalabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bha-
 46 ṭṭārakasya sūnuh(r) bālyō susikṣhita-śāstra-śāstra[h*] sva-guṇa-kalāp-ānandita-
 hṛi-
 47 dayēna pitṛā samārōpita-yauvarājya[h*] svakula-vairiṇah Kāmchīpatēr-
 unnigrahā-
 48 ya mām prēshaya ity-ādēśam prārthya labdhvā tad-anantaram=ēva kṛita-
 prayāṇas=sann-a-
 49 bhimukham-āgatya prakāśa-yuddham kartum=asamartham pravishṭa-durgam
 Palla-
 50 vam samantatō=bbhibhūya bhagnasaktim kṛtvā prabhūta-matta-matamgaja-su-
 51 varṇa-māpikya-kōṭir=ādāya pitṛō samarpitavān=ēvam kramēṇa prāpta-sā-

- 52 rvvabhauma-padaḥ pratāp-ānurāg-āvanata-samasta-sāmanṭa-mā-
53 lā-rajāḥ-pūmja-pimjārita-charaṇa-sarasirhaḥ(ruhaḥ) **Kīrtivarmma-Satyā-**

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 54 śraya-śrīpīthivivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramōśvara-bhaṭṭārakas-sarvān=ēva-
55 m=ājñāpayati [1*] Viditam=astu vō-smābhir=dvisaptaty-uttara-shaṭchhatēshu
Śakavarshēshv=attitēshu
56 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē shashṭhē varttamānē **Raktapuram.**
adhivasa-
57 ti vijaya-skandhāvārē **Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyām sōmagrahaṇē Kāśyapa-gō-**
58 trāya **Vājappaśarmmaṇaḥ¹-pautrāya Mākaya-Vājapō[ya*]-yājinaḥ**
59 putrāya vēda-vēdāṅga-pāragāya **Rāmaśarmmaṇē Vojvola-visha-**
60 yō **Poṇbasaaru-Kisumaṅgalam-Suḷḷam-Perbajli-nāma-grāmāṇam=ma-**
61 dhyē **Boppaṭṭi-nāma-grāmō śrī-mahādēvī-vijñāpanayā dattah**

Fifth Plate.

- 62 Tad-āgāmibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyaiś=cha rājabhir=āyur-aśvāryy-ādīnām vilasitam=
achi-
63 r-Amśu-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhir=āchandr-ārka-dhar-ārpa-va-sthiti-samakālam yaśaiś=
chiki-
64 rshubhis=sva-datti-nirvviśēsham paripālaniyam=Uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda-
vyāsēna
65 Vyāsēna [1*] Babubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1*] yaśya
yaśya
66 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [11*] Svan=dātum samahach=
chhakyam
67 duḥkham=anyasya pālanam [1*] dānam vā pālanam v=ētti(v=ēti) dānāch=chhrēyō-
nupālanam [11*]
68 Svadattām paradattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [1*] shashṭh(i)im
varsha-saha-
69 srāpi vishṭhāyām jāyatē kri(kṛi)mir=iti [11*] **Dhanamjaya-Puṇyavallabhēn**
likhita-
70 m=idam.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Hail! victorious is the body of Vishṇu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplifted right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean.

(Lines 2 to 6.) The great king, the prosperous **Polekēsi-vallabha**, whose body was purified by the *avabhritha* bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous **Chalukyas**, who belonged to the family of **Mānavya** praised by the whole world, who were the sons of **Hārītī**, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of **Kārttikēya**, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered **Nārāyaṇa**.

(Ll. 6 to 8.) His son was the prosperous **Kīrtivarmaṇ**, the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of **Vanavāsi²** and other countries of hostile kings.

¹ [Looks like *Vājapaśarmmaṇaḥ*.—S. K.]

² Also called **Banavāsi** or **Banavase**.

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(Ll. 8 to 9.) His son was he who had acquired the title of *Paramāvara* by defeating the prosperous *Harshavardhana*, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war.

(Ll. 10 to 16.) The dear son of that¹ asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was *Vikramāditya*, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called *Chitrakaptha*, who retrieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three² kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the *Pāndyas*, *Chōlas*, *Kērajas*, *Kajabhras* and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,³ whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of *Kāñchi* who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor.

(Ll. 16 to 20.) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of *Kavēra*, *Pārasika*, *Sinhala* and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three⁴ kings and the lord of *Kāñchi* at the command of his father, just as *Kārtikēya*, at the command of *Śiva* defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty *pāṇḍhava*⁵ and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was *Vinayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 20 to 30.) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting warlike operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated *pāṇi*-banner,⁶ the *ghaṅṅā*, the great musical instruments,⁷ rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone, and like *Vatsarāja*, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a *pāṇḍhava* which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was *Vijayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 31 to 45.) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the *Pallava* king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the *Tuṇḍāka*⁸ district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing *Pallava* king named *Nandipōtavarman*,

¹ *Tasya* means "of one who is well-known or referred to above."

² Compare the expression *avanipatitritaya* with *trairāja* in line 17. * *Atmaṣṭ-kṛitya* should be **kṛitā*.

³ *Vikramāditya* is compared to Indra.

⁴ *Trairāja* is used by Jinasena in the following verse (*Adipurāṇa*, XXX. 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean *Chōla*, *Kēraḷa* and *Pāṇḍya*:—

prasaḍḍhya dakṣiṇām=ādām vibhūḥ trairādyapḍakān |
samāḥ praṇamaydm=sa vijitya jayasādhanaḥ ||

⁵ For the explanation of *pāṇḍhava*, see my paper in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV. p. 104.

⁶ The expression *maḍḍiśabḍa* is frequently used in this sense in *Pampa Bhārata*, p. 211.

⁷ *Tuṇḍāka* or *Tuṇḍal* is a name of the Draviḍa country. *Kāñchi* or *Conjeeverum* was the capital of it.

took possession of particular musical instruments, called *kaṭumukhavāḍḍita* and *samagraghōṣha*, the *khaṭeāṅga-dhvaja*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays, who entered, without destroying it, the city of **Kāñchi**, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced Brāhmanas, and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality,* who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of Rājasimhēśvara and other gods, which had been caused to be built by **Narasimhapōtavarmān**, who distressed Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Kēraḷa, Kaḷabhra and other kings by the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory² in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was **Vikramāditya**, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord.

(Ll. 46 to 54.) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his childhood, was appointed heir-apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his virtues; who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord of **Kāñchi**, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the **Pallava** king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father; who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who bowed to him through love of his heroism, **Kirtivarman**, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all;

(Ll. 55 to 61.) Be it known to you, when six hundred and seventy-two years of the Śaka era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous reign was current, when our victorious camp was located at **Raktapura**, on the full moon of **Vaiśākha** during a lunar eclipse, the village named **Boppaṭṭi** surrounded by the villages named **Peṇbasaaru**, **Kisumaṅgalam**, **Suḷḷam** and **Perbballi**, in the district of **Veḷvola**, was granted by us at the request of the prosperous great queen to **Rāmaśarman**, well versed in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas, who was the son of **Mākaya**, a performer of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and the grandson of **Vājappaśarman** of the Kāśyapa gōtra.

(Ll. 62 to 64.) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of our own family or others, knowing the dash of life and other things to be as changeful as lightning, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean will endure.

(Ll. 65 to 70.) And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas. The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including **Sagara**. Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps its fruit. It is very easy to give what is one's own; it is difficult to preserve what is given by others. Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better. He who takes away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This is written by **Dhanañjaya** **Punyavallabha**.

¹ The expression *hasṭa-kṛitya* is not wrong; compare **Dhanañjaya**, *Dvīsandhānakāvyā* XIII. 36, and **Bhaṭṭoji** **Dikshita's** remark on **Pāṇini** I. 4, 77. *svakāramātram=ity=anyat*; *hasṭa-kṛitya mahāstrānti*. See *Padamanājarī*, p. 224 (Benares edition).

² **Vikramāditya** II. did not set up a pillar of victory; only his fame, which spread to the shores of the southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar.

³ This must be the same person who composed the **Vakkalōḷa** grant five years later. A relative of his, perhaps his father, was **Anivāritapunyavallabha**, who wrote the **Kāñchi** inscription of **Vikramāditya** II. (above, Vol. III. p. 359 f.).

No. 29.— DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, O.L.E.; GÜTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII, page 274.)

From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chôla kings (Nos. 137-158), and two dates (Nos. 159 and 160) of the king Peruñjīngadēva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chôla sovereignty about A.D. 1231-32."¹ Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Rājādhirāja [II.] Rājākēsarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1183. The other dates in general more or less confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong; but No. 142 reduces the period, during which Rājārāja II. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A.D. 1148.²

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttuṅga-Chôla II. Rājākēsarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long.

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chôla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.— RAJARAJA I.

137.— In the Śivayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśālūr.³

- 1 Svasti éri [II —] Kō-Rājārājākēsarivarmakkū yāṇḍu 5 āvadu ivv-ātt[ai]
[Dha]nu-[n]āyargu Nāyargu-kk[i]lāmayum Mūlamum pakka-
2 m 'prathipadamum kūṇṇa vara-yōgatt[i]ṇ pōdu.

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Rājārājākēsarivarman,— on the day of the auspicious yōga which was combined with the first tithi of a fortnight,⁴ (the nakshatra) Mūla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanus of this year."

I have previously found⁵ that Rājārāja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the first tithi (of the bright half of Pausa) commenced 5 h. 6 m., while the nakshatra was Mūla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 56 m., after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious yōga— also called *amṛita-yōga*⁷— of a Sunday with the nakshatra Mūla, see above, Vol. VI. p. 21, No. 33, and note. Compare also Hēmachandra's *Śatbinuśāsana-vṛitti*, end of Adhyāya II. Pāda 2: *Mūlārkaḥ⁸ śrūyate tistare survakalyāṇa-kīraṇam | adhunā Mūlārājas=tu chitraḥ lōkēshu gīyate ||*

¹ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p. 89.

² Compare above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.

³ No. 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

⁴ Read *pratipada*°.

⁵ It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.

⁶ See above, Vol. VII. p. 6.

⁷ See *Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV. p. 114, No. 10.

⁸ I.e. *Mūla-nakshatṛēṇa yuktō'rkaḥ sūryaḥ*.

138 and 139.—In the Amṛitaghaṭṭésvara temple at Tirukkaṇṇaiyūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] [Tiru-ma]ga]
 2 śri-kōv=Irājarājakēsaripanmaṅku yāṇḍu]
 16 vadu āgum yāṇḍu Pi-
 3 [ra][tādi=tti[n̄ga]] piṅ=pākattu=[p]pakkam [8 e[ttu]=kki[la]mai² Tiṅga] nā
 Pu[pa]rpūsam
 9 i[v*]v-[āṇḍēy] Tulā-nāyaṅu pū[rvva-bha]kshat[ta]
 dvā[da]śiyum Nāya[r]u-kīla[m]ai[yum] peṅga Iraivadi . . .³

"In the year which was the 16th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarivarman,—on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8—eight—] of the second half of the month Purattādi on [the day of] Révati which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā in this year."

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Purattādi (i.e. the month of Kanyā), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 0 h. 55 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h. 20 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 1 h. 17 m. after mean sunrise; but as the *nakshatra* was Révati only from 11 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding *nakshatra*) Uttara-Bhādrapadā.

140.—In the Śiva temple at Pēraṅgiyūr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] śri-Rāja-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu
 2[4]āvadu i-yāṇḍu⁶ Mṛiśchika-nāyaṅgu pū[rvva-
 pakshattu=P[pudap]-ki]amaiyum pañjamiyum peṅga Ti[ra]vō[va]ttiṅ nā[.].

"In the 2[4]th year (of the reign) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to the fifth *tithi* and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika in this year."

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the *nakshatra* Śravana the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008, which was the 12th day of the month of Vṛiśchika, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśirsha) ended 3 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Śravana the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original.

¹ No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² The letter *a* is engraved below the line.

³ Read Révati-nā.

⁴ I.e. the *utthāna-dēdāst-tithi* (the *tithi* of the awakening of Viṣṇu).

⁵ No. 203 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁶ Read Vṛiśchika.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amṛitaghaṭṭhēśvara temple at Tirukkadaiyūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pû-mâlai m[i]ḍaiṇdu
 16 kô-Pparakêśaripatmar=â[na] Tribhuvana-
 chechakravatti-
 17 gaḷ śrī-Vikrama-Śôladēvaṅku yāṇḍu 6 āḡ[ā]vadu V[ri]śchi
 ²[y]aiyum [Bu]ḍaṅ-kiḷamaiyum perḡa Mṗigaśīrshatti-nāḷ.

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Parakêśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chôladēva,—on the day of Mṗigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] *tithi* of the
 [of the month of] Vṗīśchi[ku]."

The reign of Vikrama-Chôla has been found ³ to commence on the 29th June A.D. 1118, and this date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123. This was the 11th day of the month of Vṗīśchika, and on it the second *phl* (of the dark half of Kārttika) ended 4 h. 45 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mṗigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 13 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—RAJARAJA II.

142.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.⁴

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pû maruviya Tiru-māḍum
 13 kô-Pparakêśari[pa]tmar=āna Tribhuvanachchakravar-
 14 tiguḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu ⁵ [1]5[vadu] ⁶ Mō-
 15 sha-nāyagḡu pûrvva-pakshattu aṣṭami[yu]m Budan-ki-
 16 ḷamaiyum perḡa Pûsatti-nāḷ.

"In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of king Parakêśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

With the result previously obtained ⁷ for the commencement of the reign of Rājarāja [II.] Parakêśarivarman, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 12 h. 54 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h. 10 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h. 12 m. after mean sunrise.

143.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.⁸

- 4 kô-Pparakêśaripatmar=āna
 [Tri]bu-
 5 vanachchakravattigaḷ śrī-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 1[7]vadu Dha[ua-nāya]ḡu
 [a]para-pa-
 6 ksha[t*]tu navamiyum Nāyagḡu-ki[la]maiyum perḡa A

¹ No. 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Perhaps *devityaiyum* is meant.

³ See above, Vol. VII. p. 8.

⁴ No. 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁵ The letter ṇ is engraved below the line.

⁶ The letters *vadu* are written in a group.

⁷ See above, Vol. VIII. pp. 2 and 264.

⁸ No. 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

"In the 1[7]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of A . . . ,¹ which corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ.

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162, which was the 7th day of the month of Dhanuṣ, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (*of Mārgaśīrsha*) ended 16 h. 56 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h. 47 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h. 30 m., after mean sunrise.

The result shows that the *nakṣatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel *a* remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta).—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Rājārāja II.

144.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [H*] Pā maruviya Tiru-mādum
 8 P[p]ura[k]ēsaripatmar-āna Tribhuvana[ch]chakrava[r]tiga[] śrī-Rājārājadēvaṅku
 yāpdu 15[vadu]³ M[i]na-
 9 nāyayru p[ū]rvva-pakṣattu paṇ[]jamiy[u]m Tiṅgaḷ-kiḷamaiyum perṇa
 M[ri]gaśi[r]shatti-nāḷ.

"In the 15th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A.D. 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mēsha); but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (*paṇ[]jamiy[u]m*) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamiy[u]m*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (*of Chaitra*) ended 3 h. 41 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

Of the three dates, the date No. 142 would show that the reign of Rājārāja II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D. 1146.⁴

D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

145.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin templo at Tiruvārūr.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī[] 6. Kaḍaḷ sūḷuda pār-mag[a]lu[m]
 2 kō Rājākēsaripa[n]ma[r]-āna Tribhuvanachcha[k*]karavattigaḷ śrī-
 Rājādva[]rājādēvaṅku yāpdu 2[ā]vadu⁶ Mēsha-nāyayru pūrvva-pakṣattu
 shuṣṭhiyūn=Diṅgaḷ-kiḷamaiyum perṇa Pūṇarpūśatti-nāḷ.

"In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of king Rājākēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Pūnarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

¹ The name of the *nakṣatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Aśvati (Aśvinī), Attam (Hasta), Avittam (Dhanuṣāthā) or Anuḷam (Anuradhā).

² No. 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ The letters *vadu* are written in a group.

⁴ Compare the date No. 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 264.

⁵ No. 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁶ The word *avadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2.

The five dates Nos. 145-149 are of the reign of a king **Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman**, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kaḍal sūḷnda*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163. With such a commencement of his reign:—

This date, No. 145, corresponds to **Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164**, which was the 7th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first *Vaiśākha*) ended 19 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**, by the *Brahma-siddhānta* from 7 h. 13 m., according to *Garga* from 9 h. 51 m., and by the equal space system from 21 h. 40 m., after mean sunrise.—This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu** only from 7 h. 13 m. (or later) after mean sunrise; and in the case of the date No. 106, above Vol. VIII. p. 263, where also the *nakshatra* was found to be **Punarvasu** from 8 h. 32 m. (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakshatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakshatra* **Ārdra**. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakshatra* **Punarvasu**, instead of the *nakshatra* **Ārdra** in which the moon was at the commencement of the day.¹

146.—In the Kapardīśvara temple at Tiruvalaṅḡuḷi.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī] [||*] Kaḍal sūḷnda pār-mādarum
 5 [kō] Rājakēsari[vanma]r-ā[ṇa] Tribhuvana³chakrava[ti]-
 6 gal śrī-R[ā]jādhirājadēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu [Ṣā]vadu Sim[ha]-n[ā]yag[ṇu] [u]para-
 pakshattu [dv]āda[sīyu]m [Ti]-
 7 [ṅa]ḷ-kīlamai[yn]m perṅa [Pupa]r[pū]ṣat[tu] nā[ḷ].

"In the [a]th year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**,—on the day of **Punarvasu**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Simha**."

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170**, which was the 14th day of the month of **Simha**, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Śrāvaṇa**) commenced 2 h. 3 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Punarvasu**,³ by the equal space system and according to *Garga* for 17 h. 44 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* for 17 h. 4 m., after mean sunrise.

147.—In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr.⁴

- 1 [Sva*][sti] śrīh ||— Kaḍal sūḷnda pār-ḍ[ṇ]n-diāni
 7 . . kōv-Irājakēsari⁵parmar-āṇa Tribhuvana³chakravattigal śrī-Rājādhirājadēvaṅku
 yāṇḍu 10[ā]vadu⁶ Miṇa-nā[yaṅ]ḡu pūrvva-pakshattu trayōda⁷sīyu⁸-Jevvāy-kkīlmai-
 yum perṅa Magattu nāḷ.

"In the 10th year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**,—on the day of **Magha**, which corresponded to a **Tuesday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mina**."

¹ For other dates with *nakshatras* which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare e.g. Nos. 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series.

² No. 627 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

³ A 12th *tithi* joined with the *nakshatra* **Punarvasu** is called *jyanti*; it is a *mañd-dedāsi*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has been quoted in the original date (as a current *tithi*).

⁴ No. 540 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

⁵ The word *dvadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the symbol for ten.

The date corresponds to **Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173**, which was the 5th day of the month of **Mina**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of **Phālguna**) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Maghā**, by the equal space system for 14 h. 27 m., and according to Garga for 2 h. 33 m., after mean sunrise.

148.—In the Darbhāraṇyēśvara temple at Tirunaijār.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī[h] [||*] Kaḍal śū[ṇ]da [pā]r-mādarum
 [k]ōv-irā[śa]kēsar[i]pammar-ā[ṇa] Tirubuya[ṇa][ch]chakkarava[||*]tigā[śrī-ir[ā].
 j[ā*]d[i]ra[ja*]dēvaṅku yā[n]-
 2 du padin-ōṇṇāvu Sinōa-nā[ya]ṇṇu pū[r]vaṇṇa(ksa)ttu paṇṇamiya[m]
 Budan-kiṇmai[y]um p[ē]ṇṇa Śol[i]-nā.

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarma** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**,—on the day of **Svāti**, which corresponded to a **Wednesday** and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Simha**."

The date corresponds to **Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173**, which was the 19th day of the month of **Simha**, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of **Bhādrapada**) ended 13 h. 53 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Svāti**, by the equal space system for 17 h. 44 m., according to Garga for 5 h. 16 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 1 h. 19 m., after mean sunrise.

149.—In the Vṛishabhapurīśvara temple at Mēl-Śēvūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kaḍal śū[ṇ]da pār-m[ā]darum
 2 kō Irāśakē[śa]ripatmar āṇa
 Tirubuvanachchakkaravattiga[śrī-Rājā[dhirā*]jadēvaṅku yāṇdu 13āvu
 Kaṅkaḍa-ṇāyaṇṇu-ppadīnu(mū)ṇṇān-di(di)yadiy-[ā]-
 3 ṇa Budan-kiṇmaiṇuṇṇu apara pakshattu ōkāda[ś]iyum perṇa R[ō]ṇi-nā.

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of king **Rājakēsarivarma** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājā[dhirā]jadēva**,—on the day of **Rōhiṇī**, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a **Wednesday**, the thirteenth solar day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**."

In the three hundred years from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, *viz.* **Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1097**, and **Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181**.

In **A.D. 1097** the **Karkāṭaka-saṁkrānti** took place 17 h. 26 m. after mean sunrise of **Thursday, the 25th June**; the first day of the month of **Karkāṭaka** therefore was **Friday, the 26th June**, and the 13th day of the same month was **Wednesday, the 8th July**. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āśāḍha**) ended 5 h. 36 m., and the *nakshatra* was **Rōhiṇī**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h. 36 m., and by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 3 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise.

In **A.D. 1181** the **Karkāṭaka-saṁkrānti** took place 10 h. 56 m. after mean sunrise of **Friday, the 26th June**, which was the first day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was **Wednesday, the 8th July**. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āśāḍha**) commenced 4 h. 24 m. after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was **Rōhiṇī**, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 1 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ No. 394 of the Government Epigraphical collection for 1902.

² No. 222 of the Government Epigraphical collection for 1904.

It is clear that if, as was assumed above, the reign of Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman commenced between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand, I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures¹ only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really **Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181**. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. Parakēsarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No. 94) of the 39th year of Kulōttuṅga III. corresponds to the 25th January A.D. 1217, while the reign of his successor Rājārāja III. commenced in June-July A.D. 1216; and of this king again we have two dates (Nos. 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A.D. 1248, whereas the reign of his successor Rājendra-Chōla III. commenced in March-April A.D. 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Rājādhirāja Rājakēsarivarman, *i.e.* Rājādhirāja II., commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.

E.—KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III.

150.—In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāśūr.²

1 Tiribuvāṇachakkaravattigal śrī-Vīra[r]ājēndira-Śōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu Gvaṇu
Magara nāyaru pūrvva-pakku[li]ttu³ dvit[i]yaiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kilamai[y]um peṇṇa
A]vittatti-nāl.

“In the 6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śravishtā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**.”

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184**, which was the 22nd day of the month of **Makara**, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 5 h. 36 m., while the *nakshatra* was Śravishtā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., after mean sunrise.

151.—In the Amṛitaghaṭēśvara temple at Tirukkaḍaiyūr.⁴

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puṇal vāyppa
5 kō=[Ppu]rakēsariparman āṇa
Tiribuvāṇachakkaravattigal Madu[r]aiyum Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇaiyum muḍittalai-
koṇḍ-araiya śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 16 vaṇu Mēsha-nāyaru pūrvva-
pakshattu [a]ttamiyu[m]
6 Vijāla-kkilamaiyum peṇṇa Pūṣatti-nāl.

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the

¹ Mr. Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are ‘13.’ I would suggest that ‘the thirteenth’ solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down ‘13’ also for the latter.

² No. 158 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.

³ No. 48 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906.

⁴ Read *-pakshattu*.

⁵ Read *Tribhu*.

crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Pushya** which corresponded to a **Thursday** and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mēsha**.¹

The date corresponds to **Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194**, which was the 7th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h. 50 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Pushya**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h. 24 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

152.—In the Sīvayōganāthasvāmin temple at Tiruviśālūr.²

1 Svasti śrī ||— [Pu]yal vāppa
 16 kō-P[pa]ra-
 17 k[ōśa]ri[pa]rmar=[ā]ṇa T[i]ribuva[ṇa]chela[kka]ravattiga Ma[du]rai[yu]m [P]āṇ[di].
 18 yan mudi-ttaliyū-gond-aruli[na] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[la].
 19 dēvarkku yāṇḍu pūṇi[t]tāva[du] Kum[bha]-nāya[r]u pū[va]-paksha[tu].
 20 tī(tī)tiyiyum Śaṇi-kkilaṇṇiyum p[er]ra [Pā]rattu nā[ṭ].

“In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarma *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Pūrva-Phalgunī**, which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**.”

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakshatra* could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalgunī; and the probability would seem to be that either has the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second, or Pūrva-Phalgunī (Pūrattu) instead of Pūrva-Bhadrpadā (Pūrattādi).³ In my opinion, the date corresponds to **Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1198**, which was the 10th day of the month of **Kumbha**, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phalgunā) commenced 5 h. 40 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Pūrva-Bhadrpadā**, by the equal space system for 4 h. 36 m., after mean sunrise.

153.—In the Vāṭaranyēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu.⁴

1 [Sva]sti [śrī] [||*] Tribhuvanachakkaravattiga Maduraiyu[m] īlamm
 P[āṇ]ḍi[ya]n mūṭittalai[yu]ṇ-go-
 2 [u]ḍ-arū[li]na [śrī]-Kulōttuṅga-Śō[la]d[ō]va[r]kku yāṇ[du] 2]3 vadu
 4 Kanni-nāya[r]u=ppadinā[rāṇ]diyadi[y]-ā[ṇa]
 Śevvāy-kka(kkī)[la]mai[ya(yu)]m pū[ru]va-[pa]ksha[t]-
 5 tu [tī]tiyiyum p[er]ra Sittirai-nā[ṭ].

“In the [2]3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, īlam and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Chitrā**, which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a **Tuesday** which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of **Kanyā**.”

The date corresponds to **Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200**. The preceding Kanyā-sankrānti took place 20 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August; the first day of the month of **Kanyā** therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

¹ Another inscription of the [1]6th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No. 42 of 1906). But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakshatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged. What is actually found is [pā] m[ā]ṅga
Vigāla-kkalaiyūm p[er]ra Pūṭattu ad.

² No. 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

³ Compare the date No. 50, above, Vol. VI. p. 283.

⁴ No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Āśvina) commenced 7 h. 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 2 h. 38 m., after mean sunrise.—There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dvitīya*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*tritīya*).

F.—RAJARAJA III.

154.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.¹

1 Svas[ti] śr[i] [||*] [Tri]bhuvanachchakravattigaḥ śrī-²Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
24[āvaḍu³] Mīd[ā]ṇa-nāyargu pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum
Śaṇi-kkilaṁmai[u]m poṇṇa Ś[ō]ḍi-nāḷ.

"In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The reign of Rājarāja III. has been found to commence⁴ between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1216. This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240, which was the 9th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishṭha) ended 3 h. 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 5 h. 55 m., after mean sunrise.

155.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁶

1 Svas[ti] śr[i] [||*] Tribhu[va]ṇachchakravattigaḥ śrī-⁶Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
2[9⁷ āvaḷu⁸] Tulā-nāyargu-ppūrvva-[pa]kshattu prathamaiyum [Ś]evvāy-
kilāṁmai[u]m peṇ-
2 pa Śōḍi-nāḷ.

"In the 2[9]th⁷ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The date, for the 29th year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 12 h. 58 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 15 h. 46 m., and according to Garga for 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.—For the 26th year of the reign of Rājarāja III. the date would be incorrect.

156.—In the Jambukēśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁹

Svast[i] śrī [||*] Tribhu[va]nachcha[kra]vattigaḥ śrī-¹⁰Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu
2[9¹⁰ āvaḍu¹⁰] Tulā-nāyargu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Śevvāy-
kka(kki)[i]ṇmai[u]m poṇṇa Ś[ō]ḍi-nāḷ.

"In the 2[9]th¹⁰ year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

¹ No. 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁴ See above, Vol. VIII. p. 260.

⁵ No. 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

⁷ The second figure of the date might also be 6.

⁸ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁹ No. 502 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

¹⁰ See the notes on the preceding date.

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to **Tuesday**, the 4th October A.D. 1244.

157.—In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly.¹

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]ga] śr[i]-²Rājarājadēva]ka
[y'āṇḍu 2[9 āvadu]³ Kumbhā-nāyagga=ppū[r]vva-pakshattu navamiyūm
Tīṅga-kīla[m]aiyūm perra Urōṣaṇ[i]-nā].

"In the 2[9]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**."

The date corresponds to **Monday**, the 6th February A.D. 1245, which was the 14th day of the month of **Kumbha**, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 1 h. 12 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.

158.—In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly.⁴

1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||*] Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[i]ga] śr[i]-²Rājarājadēva]ka
[y'āṇḍu 2[9āvadu]³ Kumbhā-nāyagga=ppūrvva-pakshattu navam[i]yūm Tīṅga-
k[i]la[m]aiyūm perra Urōṣaṇ[i]-nā].

"In the 2[9]th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Kumbha**."

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to **Monday**, the 6th February A.D. 1245.

G.—PERUNJINGADEVA.

159.—In the Jambunātha temple at Jambai.⁵

1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Śa[galaba]vaṇachchakkaravattiga] śrī-kō=PPERU[ñ]jīṅgadēva[ṛ]ka
yāṇḍu 16vadu Daṇu-nāyagga pū[r]vva-pakshattu trayōdaś[i]yūm Tīṅga-
k[i]lāmaiṇu[m*] perra Urōṣaṇ[i]-⁶nā].

"In the 16th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king PERUṆJĪṆGADĒVA,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of **Dhanu**."

Above, Vol. VII. p. 165, I have found that the reign of PERUṆJĪṆGADĒVA commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243. This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to **Monday**, the 9th December A.D. 1258, which was the 14th day of the month of **Dhanu**, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Pausa) commenced 7 h. 48 m., while the *nakshatra* was Rōhiṇī, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h. 19 m., and by the equal space system from 13 h. 8 m., after mean sunrise.—Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rōhiṇī, this *tithi* is a *mahā-dvīdaśi* (*pāpa-nāśinī*).

¹ No. 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

² This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

³ This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

⁴ No. 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

⁵ No. 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁶ The syllables *an*[i] are repeated by mistake in the original.

160.— In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]* Śāgalabuvanahechakkaravattigal
 śrī-kô=²Pparuñ-
 2 jūṅgādēvarkku yāṇḍu muppadāvaṇḍu Tulā-nāyargu apara-pakshattu
 3 tri(tri)tiyāiyum Tiṅga[!]-kiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Kāttigai-nāḷ.

“In the thirtieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Poruñjiṅgādēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272, which was the 13th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 6 h. 49 m., while the *nakṣatra* was Kṛittikā, by the equal space system for 13 h. 47 m., by the Brāhma-siddhānta for 0 h. 39 m., and according to Garga for 1 h. 58 m., after mean sunrise.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Parāntaka I. Parakōsarivarman.

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A.D. 907.)

- No. 101 (Vol. VIII. p. 231).—Year 36, Kaliyuga 4044 (current): Saturday, the 14th January A.D. 943.
 No. 55 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 40: Saturday, the 25th July A.D. 946.

B.—Rājarāja I. Rājakōsarivarman.

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A.D. 985.)

- No. 137 (Vol. IX. p. 207).—Year 5: Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989.
 No. 1 (Vol. IV. p. 66).—Year 7: the 26th September A.D. 991.
 No. 61 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 11: Sunday, the 14th June A.D. 996.
 No. 25 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 29th August A.D. 999.
 No. 27 (Vol. V. p. 197).—Year 15: Wednesday, the 15th May A.D. 1000.³
 No. 138 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16: Monday, the 23rd September A.D. 1000.
 No. 139 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 16: Sunday, the 13th October A.D. 1000.
 No. 2 (Vol. IV. p. 67).—Śaka 929 (current). The date is incorrect.
 No. 140 (Vol. IX. p. 208).—Year 24: Saturday, the 6th November A.D. 1008.⁴
 No. 3 (Vol. IV. p. 68).—Year 23, Śaka 934. The date would correspond to the 23rd December A.D. 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

C.—Rājendra-Chōḷa I. Parakōsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A.D. 1012.)

- No. 102 (Vol. VIII. p. 261).—Year 5: Tuesday, the 26th March A.D. 1017.
 No. 32 (Vol. VI. p. 20).—Year 9, Śaka 943 (current): Thursday, the 7th July A.D. 1020.
 No. 4 (Vol. IV. p. 63).—Śaka 943 (current): Wednesday, the 1st March A.D. 1021.
 No. 5 (Vol. IV. p. 69).—Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954: Monday, the 23rd October A.D. 1032.

¹ No. 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Read = *Pperuñjiṅga*.

³ In the original the week-day is wrongly given as Thursday.

⁴ The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday.

- No. 33 (Vol. VI. p. 21).—Year 22, Śaka 955 : Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033.
 No. 34 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959. The date is incorrect.
 No. 62 (Vol. VII. p. 169).—Year 31 : Friday, the 23rd July A.D. 1042¹

D.—Rājādhirāja I. Rājakēsarivarman.

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A.D. 1018.)

- No. 15 (Vol. IV. p. 218).—Year [3]2 (for 22) : Thursday, the 22nd November A.D. 1039.
 No. 12 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 26 : Wednesday, the 14th March A.D. 1044.
 No. 13 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 13th February A.D. 1045.
 No. 14 (Vol. IV. p. 217).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1046.²
 No. 11 (Vol. IV. p. 216).—Year 30 : Śaka 970 (current). The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No. 35 (Vol. VI. p. 22).—Year 35 : Śaka 975 :—probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D. 1053.³

E.—Rājēndradēva Parakēsarivarman.⁴

(The 28th May A.D. 1052.)

- No. 38 (Vol. VI. p. 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 : Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.
 No. 36 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 : Monday, the 27th October A.D. 1057.
 No. 37 (Vol. VI. p. 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984. The date does not admit of exact verification.

F.—Vīrarājēndra Rājakēsarivarman.⁵

(Between the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.)

- Vol. VII. p. 9. —Year 5 : Monday, the 10th September A.D. 1067.

G.—Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. Rājakēsarivarman (Rājēndra-Chōla II.)

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A.D. 1070.)

- No. 56 (Vol. VII. p. 1).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 7th November A.D. 1073.
 No. 39 (Vol. VI. p. 278).—Year 7, Śaka 998 : Friday, the 10th February A.D. 1077.⁶
 No. 63 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 12th March A.D. 1086.
 No. 6 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?). The date does not admit of exact verification.
 No. 9 (Vol. IV. p. 72).—Śaka 1035 : Sunday, the 22nd February A.D. 1114.
 No. 7 (Vol. IV. p. 70).—Year 44 : Friday, the 13th March A.D. 1114.
 No. 8 (Vol. IV. p. 71).—Year 45 : Thursday, the 8th October A.D. 1114.
 No. 40 (Vol. VI. p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036 : Wednesday, the 9th December A.D. 1114.
 No. 26 (Vol. V. p. 48).—Year 48 : Monday, the 7th January A.D. 1118.
 Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol. IV. p. 262, and Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 48 : Friday, the 25th January A.D. 1118.⁷

¹ The *nakṣatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

² The 2nd *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

³ The 13th *tithi* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

⁴ In No. 37 surnamed Rājakēsarivarman.

⁵ No. 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (= A.D. 1063-70).

⁶ The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna.

⁷ In No. 23 the 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No. 20.

H.—Vikrama-Chôla Parakésarivarma.

(The 29th June A.D. 1118.)

- No. 21 (Vol. IV. p. 263, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 4 : Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1122.
 Nos. 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII. p. 262).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 10th May A.D. 1122.
 No. 22 (Vol. IV. p. 264, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5 : Monday, the 31st July A.D. 1122.
 No. 57 (Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 5 : Thursday, the 31st May A.D. 1123.
 No. 10 (Vol. IV. p. 73, and Vol. VII. p. 4).—The 340th day of year 5 : Sunday, the 3rd June A.D. 1123.¹
 No. 141 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 6 : Wednesday, the 7th November A.D. 1123.
 No. 84 (Vol. VIII. p. 1).—Year 7 : Thursday, the 7th August A.D. 1124.
 No. 105 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year 8 : Tuesday, the 18th August A.D. 1125.
 No. 42 (Vol. VI. p. 280).—Year 9, Śaka 1019 : the 27th May A.D. 1127.²
 No. 59 (Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 10 : Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April A.D. 1128.³
 No. 64 (Vol. VII. p. 170).—Year 11 : Wednesday, the 19th December A.D. 1128.
 No. 58 (Vol. VII. p. 4).—Year 11 : Saturday, the 5th January A.D. 1129.
 No. 65 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 15. The date does not admit of verification.
 No. 41 (Vol. VI. p. 279, and Vol. VII. p. 3).—Year 16 : Monday, the 16th April A.D. 1134.
 No. 43 (Vol. VI. p. 281, and Vol. VII. p. 5).—Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) : Thursday, the 18th April A.D. 1135.

I.—Kulōttuṅga-Chôla II.⁴

Vol. VII. p. 9.—Śaka 1056 (for 1065) : the 24th March A.D. 1143.

J.—Rājarāja II. Parakésarivarma.

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A.D. 1146.)

- No. 85 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 23rd November A.D. 1149.
 No. 86 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 24th January A.D. 1152.
 No. 89 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 14th February A.D. 1152.⁵
 No. 87 (Vol. VIII. p. 2).—Year 12 : Wednesday, the 26th March A.D. 1158.
 No. 88 (Vol. VIII. p. 3).—Year 15 : Thursday, the 12th January A.D. 1161.
 No. 144 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 15 : Monday, the 6th March A.D. 1161.⁶
 No. 142 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 15 : Wednesday, the 5th April A.D. 1161.
 No. 106 (Vol. VIII. p. 263).—Year opposite to 16 : Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162.
 No. 143 (Vol. IX. p. 209).—Year 17 : Sunday, the 2nd December A.D. 1162.

K.—Rājādhirāja II. Rājakésarivarma.

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A.D. 1163.)

- No. 145 (Vol. IX. p. 210).—Year 2 : Monday, the 30th March A.D. 1164.
 No. 146 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 8 : Monday, the 10th August A.D. 1170.
 No. 147 (Vol. IX. p. 211).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 27th February A.D. 1173.
 No. 148 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 11 : Wednesday, the 15th August A.D. 1173.
 No. 149 (Vol. IX. p. 212).—Year 13 (for 19 ?) : Wednesday, the 8th July A.D. 1181 (?).

¹ The 7th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.² The year *Plava* is wrongly quoted instead of *Plavaṅga*.³ In the original date either the *nakṣatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.⁴ Perhaps identical with Kulōttuṅga-Chôla II. Rājakésarivarma, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the royal years 4, 10, 14 and 15.⁵ The month of *Mina* is wrongly quoted instead of *Kumbha*.⁶ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th.

L.—Kulóttunga-Chôla III. Parakésarivarman (Virarājendra-Chôla,¹ Tribhuvanavira²).

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A.D. 1178.)

- No. 66 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 3 : Monday, the 11th August A.D. 1180.³
 No. 67 (Vol. VII. p. 171).—Year 3 : the date is incorrect.
 No. 107 (Vol. VIII. p. 264).—Year 4 : Thursday, the 11th March A.D. 1182.
 No. 150 (Vol. IX. p. 213).—Year 6 : Monday, the 16th January A.D. 1184.
 Nos. 108 and 109 (Vol. VIII. p. 264).—Year 6 : Thursday, the 5th July A.D. 1184.⁴
 No. 68 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 7 : Wednesday, the 22nd August A.D. 1184.
 No. 23 (Vol. IV. p. 264).—Year 8 : Monday, the 8th July A.D. 1185.
 No. 90 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 5th January A.D. 1188.⁵
 No. 19 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 12 : Monday, the 4th December A.D. 1189.
 No. 60 (Vol. VII. p. 6).—Year 14 : Thursday, the 2nd January A.D. 1192.⁶
 No. 110 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 16 : Monday, the 17th January A.D. 1194.
 No. 151 (Vol. IX. p. 213).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 31st March A.D. 1194.
 No. 24 (Vol. IV. p. 265).—Year 16 : Saturday, the 4th June A.D. 1194.⁷
 No. 69 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 17 : Monday, the 13th February A.D. 1195.
 No. 70 (Vol. VII. p. 172).—Year 17 : Thursday, the 8th June A.D. 1195.
 No. 152 (Vol. IX. p. 214).—Year 18 : Saturday, the 3rd February A.D. 1196.⁸
 No. 71 (Vol. VII. p. 173).—Year 19 : Monday, the 2nd September A.D. 1196.⁹
 No. 17 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19 : Tuesday, the 12th November A.D. 1196.
 No. 72 (Vol. VII. p. 173).—Year 19 : Wednesday, the 30th April A.D. 1197.
 No. 16 (Vol. IV. p. 219).—Year 19 (for 20), Śaka 1119 : Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197.¹⁰
 No. 111 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 20 : Sunday, the 3rd May A.D. 1198.¹¹
 No. 31 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 20. The date is quite incorrect.
 No. 73 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 21 : Wednesday, the 7th April A.D. 1199.
 No. 74 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 21 : Saturday, the 10th April 1199.¹²
 No. 153 (Vol. IX. p. 214).—Year 23 : Tuesday, the 12th September A.D. 1200.
 No. 112 (Vol. VIII. p. 265).—Year 23 : Monday, the 6th November A.D. 1200.
 No. 113 (Vol. VIII. p. 266).—Year 25 : Wednesday, the 24th July A.D. 1202.¹³
 No. 44 (Vol. VI. p. 231).—Year 27 : Thursday, the 5th May A.D. 1205.
 No. 29 (Vol. V. p. 198).—Year 29 : Wednesday, the 7th March A.D. 1207.
 No. 114 (Vol. VIII. p. 266).—Year 32 : Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209.¹⁴
 No. 18 (Vol. IV. p. 220).—Year 34 : Monday, the 19th September A.D. 1211.
 No. 91 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 35 : Sunday, the 2nd June A.D. 1213.
 No. 92 (Vol. VIII. p. 4).—Year 36 : Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1214.

¹ This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years.

² This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year.

³ I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date.

⁴ The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th.

⁵ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

⁶ The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second.

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.

⁸ The *nakshatra* Pūrva-Phalguni is wrongly quoted instead of Pūrva-Bhadrapadā.

⁹ The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

¹⁰ The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th.

¹¹ The *nakshatra* Uttarāśādhā is wrongly quoted instead of Uttara-Bhadrapadā.

¹² The month of Rishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mēsha.

¹³ The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th.

¹⁴ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

- No. 93 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 37 : Monday, the 17th November A.D. 1214.
 No. 30 (Vol. V. p. 199).—Year 37 : Sunday, the 7th June A.D. 1215.
 No. 94 (Vol. VIII. p. 5).—Year 39 : Wednesday, the 25th January A.D. 1217.

M.—Rājārāja III. Rājakesarivarman.¹

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A.D. 1218.)

- No. 115 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 2 : Monday, the 29th January A.D. 1218.
 No. 75 (Vol. VII. p. 174).—Year 4 : Monday, the 22nd June A.D. 1220.
 No. 76 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 5 : Wednesday, the 19th August A.D. 1220.²
 No. 77 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year opposite to 6 : Thursday, the 13th October A.D. 1222.
 No. 95 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year opposite to 8 : Monday, the 7th October A.D. 1224.³
 No. 116 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year opposite to 8 : Sunday, the 23rd February A.D. 1225.⁴
 No. 117 (Vol. VIII. p. 267).—Year 10 : Friday, the 17th April A.D. 1226.
 No. 78 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 10 : Tuesday, the 21st April A.D. 1226.
 No. 118 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 12 : Monday, the 2nd August A.D. 1227.
 No. 119 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16 : Thursday, the 10th July A.D. 1231.
 No. 120 (Vol. VIII. p. 268).—Year 16 : Saturday, the 22nd May A.D. 1232.
 No. 45. (Vol. VI. p. 281).—Year opposite to 16 : Saturday, the 25th September A.D. 1232.
 No. 46 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 17 : Tuesday, the 18th January A.D. 1233.
 No. 47 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18 : Tuesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1233.
 No. 121 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18 : Sunday, the 13th November A.D. 1233.
 No. 48 (Vol. VI. p. 282).—Year 18 : Wednesday, the 7th December A.D. 1233.
 No. 122 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 18 : Sunday, the 25th December A.D. 1233.
 No. 49 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 18 : Monday, the 2nd January A.D. 1234.
 No. 123 (Vol. VIII. p. 269).—Year 19 (for 18) : Sunday, the 21st June A.D. 1234.
 No. 50 (Vol. VI. p. 283).—Year 19 : probably Sunday, the 13th August A.D. 1234.⁵
 No. 124 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19 : Sunday, the 5th November A.D. 1234.
 No. 125 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year 19 : Thursday, the 25th January A.D. 1235.
 No. 128 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 (? for 21) : Monday, the 12th January A.D. 1237.⁶
 No. 51 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year 22 : Tuesday, the 16th March A.D. 1238.⁷
 No. 52 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22 : Monday, the 28th February A.D. 1239.
 No. 53 (Vol. VI. p. 284).—Year opposite to 22 : Wednesday, the 2nd March A.D. 1239.
 No. 54 (Vol. VI. p. 285).—Year opposite to 22 : Friday, the 4th March A.D. 1239.
 No. 154 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 24 : Saturday, the 2nd June A.D. 1240.
 No. 126 (Vol. VIII. p. 270).—Year opposite to 24 : Saturday, the 12th January A.D. 1241.
 No. 127 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 27 : Wednesday, the 30th July A.D. 1242.
 Nos. 155 and 156 (Vol. IX. p. 215).—Year 29 : Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.
 Nos. 157 and 158 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 29 : Monday, the 6th February A.D. 1245.
 No. 129 (Vol. VIII. p. 271).—Year 29 : Monday, the 26th June A.D. 1245.
 No. 130 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 39 : Sunday, the 17th December A.D. 1245.⁸

¹ This surname occurs only in the date No. 45.

² The 5th *tithi* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th.

³ The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

⁴ [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mīna.

⁵ In the original date either the *nakṣatra* Uttirattāli (Uttara-Bhadrapadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttirām (Uttara-Phalguni), or the first fortnight instead of the second.

⁶ If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first.

⁷ The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th.

⁸ The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th.

- No. 96 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 : Friday, the 7th February A.D. 1248.
 No. 97 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 32 : Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248.

N.—Rājendra-Chôla III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A.D. 1248.)

- No. 79 (Vol. VII. p. 175).—Year 3 : Saturday, the 20th March A.D. 1249.
 No. 98 (Vol. VIII. p. 6).—Year 4 : Sunday, the 12th September A.D. 1249.
 No. 131 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 4 : Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1250.
 No. 80 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 7 : Wednesday, the 25th December A.D. 1252.
 No. 83 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year opposite to 7. The date is intrinsically wrong.
 No. 132 (Vol. VIII. p. 272).—Year 9 : Tuesday, the 12th January A.D. 1255.
 No. 133 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year opposite to 11 : Monday, the 9th July A.D. 1257.
 No. 134 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 16 (for 17) : Monday, the 1st May A.D. 1262.
 No. 135 (Vol. VIII. p. 273).—Year 18 : Wednesday, the 2nd January A.D. 1264.¹
 No. 136 (Vol. VIII. p. 274).—Year 20 : Wednesday, the 20th January A.D. 1266.
 No. 81 (Vol. VII. p. 176).—Year 21 : Wednesday, the 30th June A.D. 1266.
 No. 99 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 22 : Wednesday, the 20th April A.D. 1267.
 No. 82 (Vol. VII. p. 177).—Year 22 : Sunday, the 8th May A.D. 1267.

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O.—Peruñjiṅgadvēva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

- Vol. VII. p. 164, B.—Year 7 : Friday, the 30th July A.D. 1249.
 No. 159 (Vol. IX. p. 216).—Year 16 : Monday, the 9th December A.D. 1258.
 Vol. VII. p. 164, A.—Year 18, Śaka 1182 : Sunday, the 31st October A.D. 1260.
 No. 160 (Vol. IX. p. 217).—Year 30 : Monday, the 10th October A.D. 1272.
 Vol. VII. p. 165, D.—Year 31 : Saturday, the 10th February A.D. 1274.

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P.—Tribhuvanavīra-Chôladēva.

(Between the 24th August A.D. 1331 and the 23rd August A.D. 1332.)

- No. 100 (Vol. VIII. p. 7).—Year 11 : Friday, the 23rd August A.D. 1342.

No. 30.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By the late Professor F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283.)

From the numerous dates of Pāṇḍya kings sent to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I here give five (Nos. 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos. 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1368, and Māravarman Kulaśēkhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.

¹ The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king **Rājakēsarivarman Vira-Pāṇḍya**, according to Mr. Venkayya a ruler of Koṅgu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient *data* for exact verification, even where at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

A.—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam.¹

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārāpaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvāṇachchakravattiga| śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiya-dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 7vadu [Riṣha]bha-[nāyi]ṅṅu=ppadiṇṁ[ā]ṅṅān-diyadiyum pūrvva-
² mikshattu daśamiyum Nāyirru-kki|a-³
 2 mai[yu]m peṅ[ra*] U[tti]rattu nā|.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of R̥ishabha."

I have previously found ⁴ that the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. The preceding V̥ṛishabha-saṅkrānti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A.D. 1245, which was the first day of the month of V̥ṛishabha; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishṭha)⁵ commenced 0 h. 43 m., and the *nakṣatra* was Uttara-Phalgunī, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

B.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

64.—In the Arjunēśvara temple at Kilādi.⁶

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō Mārava[rma]r-āṇa Tr[i]bhuvāṇachcha[ka]vattiga|
 [em]maṇḍalamuṇ-gopd-arni|ya śr[i]-Kulaśēkharadēvaṅkku [yā]ṇḍu 23vadu
 Mith[ā]na-ṅāyirru 6 ti⁸ pūrvva-pakshattu [tri]t[i]yai[yum] Vell[i]-kk[i]lamaiyum
 peṅṅa Pūśattu nā|.

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No. 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

² Read -pakshattu.

³ The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure.

⁴ See above, Vol. VI. p. 305.

⁵ I.e. the *tithi* of the *Darkhalf*.

⁶ No. 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

⁷ Read 'chakra'.

⁸ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tiyadi*.

I have previously found¹ that the reign of Māvarman Kulaśekhara I. commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A.D. 1268. This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to **Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291**. The preceding Mithuna-saṃkrānti took place 7 h. 16 m. after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A.D. 1291, which was the first day of the month of **Mithuna**; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was **Friday**, the 1st June A.D. 1291. On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Āśāḍha) ended 3 h. 3 m., and the *nakṣatra* was **Pushya**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h. 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h. 29 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which **Māvarman Kulaśekhara I.** must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268.

65.—In the Arjunéśvara temple at Kīlāḍi.²

1 Svasti śrī [||*] śrī-kō
Mārapaṇmar-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakavattiga[³] c]mmandalamuñ-gon[ḍ-a]ruliya
śrī-Kulaśēgaradēvarṇu yāṇḍu 30vadiṇ edirāṃ=āṇḍu Ka[r]kkaṭaka-nāyaru 8 tith
apara-pakṣattu ḍ[k]āda[śi]yumu peṇṇa Rôhiṇi[i]-nā.

“In the year opposite the 30th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of **Rôhiṇi**, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of **Karkāṭaka**.”

For the year opposite the 30th, *i.e.* for the 31st year, of Māvarman Kulaśekhara I. this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A.D. 1298. The preceding Karkāṭaka-saṃkrānti took place 17 h. 19 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A.D. 1298. The first day of the month of **Karkāṭaka** therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśāḍha) ended 18 h. 55 m., and the *nakṣatra* was **Rôhiṇi**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h. 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h. 59 m., after mean sunrise.

C.—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

66.—In the Bhūmīśvara temple at Guḍimallūr.⁵

1 Suvasi⁶ [śrī] [||*] Kō Mārapaṇmar Ti[ra]buvanaçchakkarava[t]ti śrī-Kula-
[ś]ēgaradēvarṇu yāṇḍu 12[āvaḍu]⁷ paṇṇ[i]raṇ[ḍāva]du [M]ēṣa-nāyaru
pupu[ṇu]va-pakṣattu chatutteṣiyumu Velli-kkiḷamaiyumu peṇṇa Avittat[ta n]ā.

“In the 12th—twelfth—year (of the reign) of king Māvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśēkharadēva,—on the day of **Dhanishṭhā**, which corresponded to a **Friday** and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Mēsha**.”

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakṣatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishṭhā on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of **Mēsha**. Irrespectively of the *nakṣatra*

¹ See above, Vol. VIII p. 273.

² No. 439 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ Read *çakra*.

⁴ The syllable *ti* here stands for *tiyadigu*.

⁵ No. 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ Read *svasti*.

⁷ The word *āvaḍu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to 2.

Read *pūrva*.

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māṇavarman Kuṣāśekhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māṇavarman Kuṣāśekhara II. (which has been found¹ to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A.D. 1314) the date would regularly correspond to **Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325**, which was the 4th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h. 9 m., while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h. 30 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h. 13 m., after mean sunrise.—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date, and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Attattu nāl*, “the day of **Hasta**,” instead of *Ariffattu nāl*.

The date would prove that Māṇavarman Kuṣāśekhara II. could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A.D. 1314.

D.—JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

67.—In the Satṭagirinātha-Perumāḷ temple at Tirumaiyam.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Śrī-kō=[Chchadai]paṇmar=āṇa Tr[i]bhuvāṇa[kra]vatt[i]gaḷ śrī[i]-
Parākk[i]rama-Pāṇḍiyadēvarakku [ā]ṇḍu 5vad[īṇ]
2 eḍir 7vadu . . . -n[ā]yaru apara-pakshattu dvādisiyum Nāyaru-kk[i]-
ḷamaiyum porra Uttarāḍattu nāl.

“In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jaṭa]-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Paṇḍyadeva,—on the day of Uttarāśhādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of”

I have previously found³ that Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Paṇḍya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, *i.e.* of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to **Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1369**, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 21 h. 7 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttarāśhādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Paṇḍya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A.D. 1367.

POSTSCRIPT.

RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA.⁴

In the Kariyamānikka-Perumāḷ temple at Vijayamaṅgalam.⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Naṇmaṅgalañ=jirakka [||*] [Śaga]r-yāṇḍu āyiratt-iru-nūṇṇ-irandil
[kō]v=[Irā]ṣa[k]ēsaripa[ṇ]mar=āṇa [Tri]bhuvāṇachoha[kravat]-
2 tigaḷ śrī-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvaraku yāṇḍu pa[di]ṇaiṇjāvadu ⁶Tu[ḷ]ā-nāyaru apara-
pakshattu ⁷Ttiṅgaṭ-kiḷamai[u]m daṣamiyūm pe[ṇṇa] Ut[t]irattu n[ā]l.

¹ See above, Vol. VI. p. 315.

² No. 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.

³ See above, Vol. VII. p. 17.

⁴ This king is neither a Paṇḍya nor a Chōla, but a ruler of Kōṅṇu; see Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79.

⁵ No. 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

⁶ The *akshara tu* is engraved above the line.

⁷ The guttural *ḷ* is engraved above the line.

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Rāj]akēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍyadeva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā."

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired; but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect.

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to **Monday**, the 2nd October A.D. 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 2 h. 37 m. after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalguni.

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to **Saturday**, the 19th October A.D. 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 18 h. 25 m., while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h. 10 m., according to Garga for 15 h. 46 m., and by the equal space system from 3 h. 17 m., after mean sunrise.

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for **Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current)**. For this year it would correspond to **Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293**, which was the 29th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārttika) ended 6 h. 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Uttara-Phalguni during the whole of the day.

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A.D. 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A.D. 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos. 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern List*.

A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

A.—Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara.

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A.D. 1190.)¹

- No. 2 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to 13: Thursday, the 26th February A.D. 1204.
 No. 1 (Vol. VI. p. 301).—Year 12 opp. to 13: Saturday, the 29th November A.D. 1214.
 No. 45 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 13 (for 13 opp. to 13?): Thursday, the 6th October A.D. 1216(P).
 No. 44 (Vol. VIII. p. 275).—Year 14 opp. to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A.D. 1217.

B.—Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D. 1216.)

- No. 6 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year 7: Monday, the 13th March A.D. 1223.
 No. 5 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year 9: Friday, the 28th March A.D. 1225.
 No. 46 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A.D. 1230.

¹ Or perhaps: Between the 7th October and the 29th November A.D. 1190.

No. 3 (Vol. VI. p. 302).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17 : Monday, the 4th September A.D. 1234.

No. 4 (Vol. VI. p. 303).—Year opp. to year opp. to 17 : Monday, the 19th February A.D. 1235.

C.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

(Between the 15th June A.D. 1238 and the 18th January A.D. 1239.)

No. 63 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 7 : Sunday, the 7th May A.D. 1245.

No. 10 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year 11 : Sunday, the 25th April A.D. 1249.

Nos. 7 and 8 (Vol. VI. p. 304).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11 : Wednesday, the 18th January A.D. 1251.

No. 9 (Vol. VI. p. 305).—Year opp. to year opp. to 11 : Wednesday, the 14th June A.D. 1251.¹

D.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A.D. 1251.)

No. 11 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2 : Thursday, the 27th March A.D. 1253.

No. 12 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 2 : Saturday, the 19th April A.D. 1253.

No. 13 (Vol. VI. p. 306).—Year 3 : Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1253.

No. 17 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 7 : Sunday, the 7th October A.D. 1257.²

No. 14 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9 : Tuesday, the 29th April A.D. 1259.

No. 15 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 9 : Sunday, the 15th June A.D. 1259.

No. 16 (Vol. VI. p. 307).—Year 10 : Wednesday, the 28th April A.D. 1260.

No. 18 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 11 : Tuesday, the 19th July A.D. 1261.³

E.—Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 11th November A.D. 1252 and the 13th July A.D. 1253.)

No. 32 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 7 : Sunday, the 13th July A.D. 1259.

No. 31 (Vol. VII. p. 10).—Year 15 : Thursday, the 10th November A.D. 1267.

F.—Māṇavarman Kulaśékhara I.

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A.D. 1268.)

No. 20 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 10 : Wednesday, the 5th January A.D. 1278.

No. 48 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 22 : Monday, the 27th June A.D. 1289.

No. 64 (Vol. IX. p. 223).—Year 23 : Friday, the 1st June A.D. 1291.

No. 21 (Vol. VI. p. 309).—Year 26 : Wednesday, the 18th November A.D. 1293.⁴

No. 19 (Vol. VI. p. 308).—Year 27 : Friday, the 10th December A.D. 1294.

No. 49 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 30 : Wednesday, the 31st July A.D. 1297.

No. 65 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year opp. to 30 : Saturday, the 5th July A.D. 1298.

No. 50 (Vol. VIII. p. 277).—Year 34 : Saturday, the 8th July A.D. 1301.⁵

No. 51 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 29 (for 39) : Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306.

No. 22 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 40 : Saturday, the 24th February A.D. 1308.

No. 47 (Vol. VIII. p. 276).—Year 40, Śaka 1229 : Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308.

¹ The month of Mīna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna.

² In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tulā.

³ Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday.

⁴ The 2nd tithi is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.

⁵ The 3rd tithi is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd.

G.—Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

(Between the 13th September A.D. 1275 and the 15th May A.D. 1276.)

- No. 25 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 6: Monday, the 21st July A.D. 1231.
 No. 52 (Vol. VIII. p. 278).—Year 10: Monday, the 23rd July A.D. 1285.
 No. 54 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 12: Wednesday, the 27th August A.D. 1287.¹
 No. 26 (Vol. VI. p. 311).—Year 12: Friday, the 12th September A.D. 1287.²
 No. 53 (Vol. VIII. p. 279).—Year 11 (for 12): Wednesday, the 29th October A.D. 1287.
 No. 23 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14): Monday, the 1st August A.D. 1289.
 No. 24 (Vol. VI. p. 310).—Year 13 (for 14): Friday, the 5th August A.D. 1289.
 No. 27 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year opp. to 14: Monday, the 15th May A.D. 1290.
 No. 55 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 2 opp. to 13: Monday, the 28th August A.D. 1290.
 No. 56 (Vol. VIII. p. 280).—Year 9 for 10(?): Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1286(?).³

H.—Māraṇavarman Kulaśekhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A.D. 1314.)

- No. 29 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 4: Saturday, the 23rd July A.D. 1317.
 No. 30 (Vol. VI. p. 313).—Year 5: Monday, the 5th March A.D. 1319.⁵
 No. 28 (Vol. VI. p. 312).—Year 8: Saturday, the 14th November A.D. 1321.
 No. 66 (Vol. IX. p. 224).—Year 12: Friday, the 29th March A.D. 1325.⁶

I.—Māraṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 1st December A.D. 1334 and the 1st November A.D. 1335.)

- No. 33 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 6, Śaka 1262: Wednesday, the 1st November A.D. 1340.
 No. 34 (Vol. VII. p. 11).—Year 8 (for 18): Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

J.—Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1357 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

- No. 67 (Vol. IX. p. 225).—Year 7 opp. to 5: Sunday, the 4th February A.D. 1360.
 No. 35 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 10 opp. to 5, Śaka 1293: Friday, the 9th January A.D. 1372.

K.—Kōṇēraṇmaikoṇḍāṇ Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A.D. 1401.)

- No. 59 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 4: Sunday, the 15th February A.D. 1405 (?).⁷
 No. 58 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 8: Friday, the 27th July A.D. 1408.
 No. 57 (Vol. VIII. p. 281).—Year 15, opp. to 2, Śaka 1339: Wednesday, the 12th January A.D. 1418.

¹ The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th.² The 13th *Uṣṭi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.³ The [first day of the] month of Kanyā is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Śirihā.⁴ This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J. Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., corresponding to Friday, the 23rd March A.D. 1259.⁵ The date is intrinsically wrong. The month of Śirihā is wrongly quoted instead of Mīna, and the *nakṣatra* Pushya (*Pūṣattu nāl*) instead of Pūrva-Phalguni (*Pūṛattu nāl*).⁶ The *nakṣatra* Dhanishṭhā (*Avinṭattu nāl*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Aṭṭattu nāl*).⁷ In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd.

L.—Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Arikēsaridēva.**(Between the 18th June and the 19th July A.D. 1422.)**No. 37 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year opp. to 31 : Thursday, the 19th July A.D. 1453.¹

No. 36 (Vol. VII. p. 12).—Year 2 opp. to 31, Śaka 1377 : Monday, the 24th March A.D. 1455.

No. 38 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 4 opp. to 31 : Wednesday, the 16th March A.D. 1457.

No. 39 (Vol. VII. p. 13).—Year 8 opp. to 31, Śaka 1381 : Wednesday, the 17th June A.D. 1461.²**M.—Māṇavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya.****(Between the 13th March and the 28th July A.D. 1443.)**

No. 60 (Vol. VIII. p. 282).—Year 11 opp. to 2 : Monday, the 28th July A.D. 1455.

No. 61 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14 : Sunday, the 16th January A.D. 1457.

No. 62 (Vol. VIII. p. 283).—Year 14 : Saturday, the 12th March A.D. 1457.

N.—Jaṭilavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya Kulasekhara.**(Between the 15th November A.D. 1479 and the 14th November A.D. 1480.)**

No. 40 (Vol. VII. p. 14).—Year 20, Śaka 1421 : Thursday, the 14th November A.D. 1499.

O.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya III.**(Between the 2nd June A.D. 1531 and the 1st June A.D. 1532.)**

No. 42 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 22 opp. to 2, Śaka 1477 : Saturday, the 1st June A.D. 1555.

P.—Jaṭilavarman Śrivalabha.**(Between the 29th November A.D. 1534 and the 28th November A.D. 1535.)**

No. 41 (Vol. VII. p. 15).—Year 3, Śaka 1459 : Wednesday, the 28th November A.D. 1537.

Q.—Jaṭilavarman Śrivalabha Ativirāma.**(Between the 23rd August A.D. 1562 and the 22nd August A.D. 1563.)**

No. 43 (Vol. VII. p. 16).—Year 5, Śaka 1489 : Friday, the 22nd August 1567.

No. 31.—TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I.**By PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).**

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr. Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chōla documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I. p. 98, does not contain any misreadings.³ But the translation on p. 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chōla inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

¹ Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday.² Śaka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st.³ Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'); the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p. 232 below.

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a colotype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jaina figure on the top of the hill of **Tirumalai near Pôlûr** in the North Arcot district. The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*śruti śrī*, l. 1; *śhai* of *vishaiya*, l. 9; *Mahī*°, l. 10; *Śrī-Rājendra-Chôladêva* and *ja* of *Jayanôṇḍa*, l. 12; *śrī*, *Jina* and *dêra*, l. 13; *vyâpâri*, l. 13 f.).

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chôla king **Parakêsarivarma** alias **Rājendra-Chôladêva I.** (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A.D. 1012.¹ Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru mappi*, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in Perundevanâr's commentary on the *Viraśôliyam*.²

The list of conquests opens with *Idaidugai-nâḍu* (l. 1 f.), i.e. the country of **Yedatore** in the Mysore district, and *Vanavâsi*, i.e. **Banavâsi** in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of *Kolippakkai*, must have been included in the Western Châlukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by Rājadhiraḷa I. in the course of a war against Sômêśvara I. and Vikramāditya VI.,³ and it is mentioned as **Kolipâke** in an inscription of Jayasimha II.⁴ *Maṇṇai-kataka* is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of **Mappe** in the Nelamangala taluka of the Bangalore district.⁵

Îlam (l. 2) or *Îla-maṇḍala* (l. 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of Ceylon. Rājendra-Chôla I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the Pāṇḍya king had previously deposited with the king of Ceylon: a crown and the 'necklace of Indra.' Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter LIII.) also refers to the crown of the Pāṇḍya, which had been left with the king of Ceylon and was taken from him by the Chôlas,⁶ and that the 'necklace of Indra' is alluded to in several Pāṇḍya inscriptions.⁷

The **Kêraḷa** (l. 3) is the king of Malabar. *Śāndimattivu* (l. 5), i.e. the island of **Śāntimat** (?), is unknown. **Muśaṅgi** is perhaps identical with the fort of **Uchehaṅgi** in the Bellary district.⁸ **Jayasimha** of **Raṭṭa-pāḍi** (l. 6), who was put to flight at **Muśaṅgi**, is the Western Châlukya king Jayasimha II.⁹

Śakkaragôṭṭam, i.e. **Chakrakôṭṭa**, is shown by the inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of Dhârâ.¹⁰ **Madura-maṇḍala** (l. 7) need not be connected with Madhurâ, the capital of the Pāṇḍya king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern Mathurâ on the Yamunâ. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At **Ādinagar** (?) Rājendra-Chôla I. captured **Indraratha** of the race of the Moon (l. 8). As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,¹¹ this prince may be identical with that **Indraratha** who is mentioned in the Udaypur inscription as an enemy of Bhôjadêva of Dhârâ.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 196; *ibid.*, Vol. VIII. p. 262.

² Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 197.

³ *Ibid.* p. 62.

⁴ Above, Vol. III. p. 231. Compare also Vol. VI. pp. 224, 225 and 227 (*Kolippakkā*).

⁵ *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III. p. 10 of the Introduction.

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 78.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 63 f.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 72 and note 73.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 94, note 4.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 96.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 132.

¹¹ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Odḍa-vishaya (l. 9) is the province of Orissa, and **Kōśalai-nāḍu** is probably *Southern Kōśala*.¹ **Tanḍabutti**, i.e. **Danḍabhukti**, and its ruler **Dharmapāla** are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with **Rapaśūra**, who ruled over **Takkapaḷāḍam** (l. 10), i.e. **Dakṣiṇa-Virāṭa**² or Southern Berar, and with **Gōvindahandra**,³ the ruler of **Vaṅgāla-deśa**, i.e. the Bengal country. **Mahipāla**, whom the Chōla king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kielhorn with the Pāla king Mahipāla I.⁴

The list of conquests closes with **Uttiralaḍam** (l. 11), i.e. **Uttara-Virāṭa** or Northern Berar, and the **Gaṅgā**, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll. 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of **Malliyūr** in **Karaiyaḷi**, a subdivision of **Perumbāpappādi**. The temple was called **Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya** (l. 13), i.e. the Jina temple of **Kundavai**. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to **Kundavai**, the daughter of **Parāntaka II.**, elder sister of **Rājārāja I.** (and consequently the paternal aunt of **Rājendra-Chōla I.**) and wife of **Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēvar**.⁵ The sacred hill (**Tirumalai**) is stated to have formed part of **Vaigavūr**, a *paḷḷichchandam*, i.e. 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,'⁶ in **Mugai-nāḍu**, a subdivision of **Paṅgala-nāḍu**, a district of **Jayaṅgoṇḍa-Chōla-maṇḍala**. **Malliyūr** is the modern **Gudimallūr** near Arcot.⁷ The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 89, and above, Vol. VII. p. 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of **Rājendra-Chōla I.** which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No. 20. Mr. Venkayya has shown that my former identification of **Kaḍāram** with a place in the Madura district⁸ must be wrong, because the Chōla king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, **Nakkavāram** and **Pappālam**, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.⁹ Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *niṟaiśīr-viśaiyamum*, and in line 11 *kalai-ttakkōr puḷai-ttakkōlamum*. The second of them, **Takkōlam**, may be identical with Ptolemy's *Τάκωλα ἰμπόριον*, which Colonel Gerini places at **Takōpa** on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.¹⁰ Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at **Kanḍiyūr** near Tanjore reads *niṟai-śrīviśaiyamum*, 'the prosperous Śrīviśaya.'¹¹ This may be the correct reading; for according to the larger Leiden grant (l. 80) **Śrīviśaya** was the name of the country ruled over by the king of **Kaṭāha** or **Kaḍāram**.

¹ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I. p. 97.

² In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 87 f., Mr. Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Ilāda* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujarāt), but to *Virāṭa* (Berar).

³ Page 84 of Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed.) contains the following note:—"The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a *Sēramān*, but also a king of *Karuvaḷ* (or *Kaṭūr*) and a *Gōvindahandra* (king of *Kannāḍa*)."—*Kannāḍa* (= *Kannāḍa* or *Karpāṭa*?) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkapaḷāḍam*, which happens to precede the name *Gōvindahandra* (l. 10), and *Karuvaḷ*, here represented as referring to *Karuvūr*, is probably derived from *Adinagar-avaḷ* (l. 8). I am not drawing attention to these mistakes in order to gloat over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

⁴ *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 4.

⁵ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 68. For three other princesses named *Kundavai* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI (l. p. 298, note 13, and *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 100.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII. p. 116, note 1.

⁷ See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p. 36 f., Nos. 418, 416 and 419.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 106.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p. 17. Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III. p. 194 f.

¹⁰ *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1904, p. 247.

¹¹ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p. 4.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiru maṇṇi vaḷarav-iru-nila-maḍandaiyum pōr-chchaya-ppāvaiyuñ-jir-ttaṇi-chchelviyuñ-^adaṇ perun-dēviyar=āgi iṇb-uṇu neḍ-udiyal ōḷiyuñ
Iḍaidu-
- 2 rai-naḍun-duḍar-vaṇa-vēli-ppaḍar Vapaṇvāsiyuñ-jullī-chchūl-maḍit-Kolippākkaiyu-
naṇṇaḱ-aru-muraṇ Maṇṇaikkaḍakkamum poru-gaḍal iḷatt-araśaḍa-muḷiyuñ
āṅga-
- 3 var dēviyar-ōṅg-eḷiṇ-muḍiyu-muṇṇ-avar pakkal-Ttonṇavar vaitta śūndara-
muḍiyum Indiran-āramun-deṇ-ḍirai iḷa-maṇḍala-muḷuvadam oṇi-baḍai=
Kkēraḷar
- 4 muḷaimaiyir-chūḍuñ-gala-ḍaṇam=āgiya palar pugai muḍiyuñ-Jēṅgadir-mālaiyuñ=
jaṅg-aḷir-vōlai-ttōl-b-aruñ-gāvaḱ-pal-baḷan-di(di)vuñ-jeraviḱ cheṇa-
- 5 vill irubatt-oru-gāḷ-araśiṅḷai kaṭṭa Paraśurāmaṇ mēv-aruñ-Jāṇḍimattiv-aruñ
karuḍi iruttiya śem-boṇ-iḷirun-ttaṅu-muḍiyum bayañ-goḍu paḷi miḷa
Muśaṅgiyil mu-
- 6 ḍuḅ-iṭṭ-olitta Śayaśi(śi)ṅgaṇ āḷa-pperun-buḷaḷuḍum piḍ-iyal Irattabāḍi ā-ari
ilakkamu-nava-nedi-kkula-pperu-malaiḷalum vikkirama-vīrar Śakkaragōṭṭamu-
7 mudira-baḍa-vallai Mādura-maṇḍalamum kâ-miḍai-vaḷaiya=Nāmaṇaikkōṇamum
veñ-jilai-vīrar Paṇjappalliyum pās-ṇḍai-ppaḷa-naṇ-Māṣuṇi-dēśamum ayaṇvi-
8 l-vaṇ-gi(gi)rttiy-Ādinagar-avaiyir=Chandiraṇ-pōl-guḷatt-Iraḍaraṇai¹ vilaiy-
amarakaḷattu-kkīḷaiyoḍum piḍ[it]tu-ppala-ḍaṇattoḍu niṇai kula-ḍaṇa-kkuvai-
9 yuñ jitt-aruñ-jeri-miḷaiy² Oṭṭa-vishaiyamum bāsurar śēr nal-Kkōśalai-naḍun-
ḍaṇmabāḷapai vem-muṇaiy-aḷittu vaṇḍ-uḷai-śolai-Ttaṇḍayu(bu)ttiyum-
Iraṇa-
- 10 śūraṇai muraṇ-uṇa-ttākki=ttikk-aṇai-gi(gi)rtti-Ttakkaṇalāḍamun-Gōvindaśandaṇ
māv-iḷind-ōḍa-ttaṅḷāda-śāraḷ Vaṅḷaḷa-dēśamun-doḍu-gaḍaḱ-chāṅḷugōṭṭaṇ³
Mahibāḷapai
- 11 veñ-jama[r*]-vaḷāḡatt-aṇjuvitt-aruli oṇ-ḍiḡal yāṇaiyum peṇḍir-baṇḍāramu-
nittiḷa-neḍuñ-gaḍal-Utti[ra]lāḍamum veṇi-maṇaḱ-ṭirtta-ttōṇi-buṇaḱ-Kaṅḷaiyu-
mā-p-
- 12 poru-ḍaṇḍaṅ-kōṇḍa kō=Pparagēśaribaṇmar-āṇa uḍaiyār Śrī-Rājendra-
Chōḷadēvaṇku yāṇḍu lāṇadu [Ja]yaṅḷoṇḍa-Śōḷa-maṇḍalattu Paṅḷaḷa-
nāṭṭu naḍuvil
- 13 va[ḡ]ai Mugai-nāṭṭu-ppallichchandam Vaigavūr-Ttirimalai Śrī-Kundavai-
Jinālayattu dēvaṇku=Pporumbāṇappāḍi-Kkaraivaḷi Malliyūr irukkum vyā-
- 14 pāri Nannappayaṇ maṇavāṭṭi Śāmuṇḍappai vaitta tirunaṇḍaḷiḷakku oṇṇinakku=
kkāśu irubadam [tiru]vamudukku vaitta kāśu pattum [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! Prosperity!

(L. 12.) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Parakēśarivarman alias the lord Śrī-Rājendra-Chōḷadēva, who,—

¹ Read *-chinari*.

² Read *oṭṭa-araṇ*.

³ Other inscriptions read *alapp-aruṇ*; see *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 93, note 5.

⁴ Read *Indiraradanaḷi*. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner:—(1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on *Chandira*, the third word before it. (2) The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads *Indiradanaḷi*. (3) *Indrapaṭha* is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings.

⁵ The Tanjore inscription No. 20 reads *kitt-aruñ-jeri-miṇai*.

⁶ Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No. 20, *tōḍu-gaḷaḱ-chāṅḷu-oṭṭaḷ*.

(I. 10.) in *(his)* life of high prosperity, while Tiru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, *(and)* while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

(I. 11.) seized by *(his)* great, warlike army *(the following)* :—

(I. 1.) Idaidurai-nāḍu; Vapavāsi, *(round which)* a fence of continuous forests was spreading;¹ Kolippākkai, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood;² Mannai-kkudakkam, whose strength was unapproachable;³ the crown of the king of Īlam *(on)* the tempestuous ocean; the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that *(king)*; the beautiful crown⁴ and the necklace of Indra, which the king of the South *(i.e. the Pāndya)* had previously deposited with *thet (king of Īlam)*; the whole Īla-maṇḍala *(on)* the transparent sea; the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting *(king of)* Kēraḷa rigutfully wore; many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound; the crown of pure gold, worthy of Tiru (Lakshmi), which Paraśurāma, having considered the fortifications of Śāndimattivu impregnable, had deposited *(there)*, when, in anger, *(he)* bound the kings twenty-one times in battle; the seven and a half lakṣas of Iraṭṭabādi, *(which was)* strong by nature, *(and which he took)*, together with immeasurable fame, *(from)* Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at Muśaṅgi and hid himself; the principal great mountains *(which contained)* the nine treasures *(of Kuvēra)*;⁵ Śakkaraḡōṭṭam, whose warriors were brave; Madura-maṇḍala, whose forts *(bore)* banners *(which touched)* the clouds; Nāmaṇai-kkōṇam, which was surrounded by dense groves; Pañchappalli, whose warriors *(bore)* cruel bows; the good Māṣuni-dēsa, whose fruits were fresh; a large heap of family-treasures, together with many *(other)* treasures, *(which he carried away)* after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon, together with *(his)* family, in a fight which took place in the hall *(at)* Ādinagar, *(a city)* which was famous for unceasing abundance; Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, *(and which he subdued in)* close fights; the good Kōśalai-nāḍu, where Brāhmaṇas assembled; Taṇḍabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded, *(and which he acquired)* after having destroyed Dharṇapāla *(in)* a hot battle; Takkanalādam, whose fame reached *(all)* directions, *(and which he occupied)* after having forcibly attacked Raṇaśūra; Vaṅḡala-dēsa, where the rain-wind never stopped, *(and from which)* Gōvindachandra fled, having descended *(from his)* male elephant;⁶ elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, *(which he seized)* after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahipāla, decked *(as he was)* with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets; Uttiralādam, as rich in pearls as the ocean; and the Gaṅgā, whose waters dashed against bathing-places *(tīrtha)* covered with sand,—

(I. 12.) Chāmaṇḍappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided *(at)* Malliyūr *(in)* Karaivaḷi, *(a subdivision)* of Perumbānappādi, deposited twenty *kāṣas* for one perpetual lamp and ten *kāṣas* for offerings to the god of the Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya *(on)* the holy mountain (Tirumalai) of Vaigavūr, a *paḷlichechādam* in Mugai-nāḍu, a subdivision *(vagai)* in the middle of Paṅḡala-nāḍu, *(a district)* of Jayaṅḡṇḍa-Chōḷa-maṇḍala.

¹ It seems most natural to take *paḍar* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit *bhāṭa*, 'a warrior.'

² This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōḷa army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *suḷli* the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* notes the following:—'brouilles, menu bois sec pour brûler.'

³ Other inscriptions read *nannark-arum-aran*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable.'

⁴ It seems more simple to take the first member of *sundara-muḍi* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Sundara.'

⁵ See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 95, note 1.

⁶ Compare *paḡaḍ-iḷḷuḍ-ōḷa*, *ibid.* Vol. III. p. 34, text line 7 f.

No. 32.—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI; KOLLAM 149.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., MADRAS.

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the Māmballi bhāṇḍāntil of the Māmballi *matha* and was secured for me for publication by Mr. S. Govinda Pillai, High Court Vakil, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same *matha*, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kīlappērūr¹ dynasty of the Vēṇāḍu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrī-Vīra-Dēvadarāṇ-Kēraḷavarman of Kīlappērūr.²

The plate measures $10\frac{1}{3}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayālam characters, the word Māmballi. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet. The words *śrasti* and *śrī* in line 1; the letter *śrī* occurring in the name Śrīvallavaṅḍai in lines 7, 18 and 19; *rakshi*³ and *rakshu*³ occurring in the words *rakshicholu* and *rakshābhōgam* in l. 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant *k* retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom; this form differs from the later ones which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for *ch*. The letter *pū* (of *pūṅgi* in l. 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter *kra*. The language of the inscription is Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast: e.g. *irundaruḷiy-iḍattu vaichchu*, (=at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in l. 5; *paṭṭāra-gakkolḷa* for *paṭṭāragarukk-ulla* (= belonging to the *bhaṭṭāra*) in lines 6 and 12; *ari* for *arisi* (= rice) in l. 9; *Muruṇṇaiyūr* for *Muruṇṇaiyūr* in l. 21; *Saṇṇaran* for *Saṇṇaran* in l. 22; *rakshichchu* for *rakshittu* in l. 12. The phrase *nīṇṇichcheydu* is contracted in the modern Malayālam language into *nāṇṇichche*.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Śrīvallavaṅḍai.³ It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era,

¹ Kīlappērūr is annexed as the house-name of the Vēṇāḍ (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Ārriṅgal, which is the hereditary domain of H. H. the Senior Rani of Travancore (Mr. Nagamajaya's *Travancore Manual*, Vol. III. p. 579). The country round Ārriṅgal seems to have been known as Kūpadēśa in ancient times. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vēṇāḍu and Kūpadēśa were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vēṇāḍu kings are said to have assumed the family name Kīlappērūr after this annexation.—V. Venkayya.]

² [This name occurs without the title *vīra* in a Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscription from Virāṇam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kēraḷavarman II. and assigned A.D. 1193 for his date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 283).—V. V.]

³ [In the name Śrīvallavaṅḍai *kōḍai* was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vēṇāḍu. The first part of the name, i.e. Śrīvallavaṇ (Śrīvallabha) may be that of the king to whom Vēṇāḍu was feudatory. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrīvallavaṅḍai be a similar compound, Śrīvallavaṇ or Śrīvallabha might be the name of a Pāṇḍya king. The Pāṇḍya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vīra-Pāṇḍya, with whom the Chōḷa Āditya II. is said to have fought in his youth. Vīra-Pāṇḍya himself claims to have taken "the head of the Chōḷa (king)", and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Śūchindram in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrīvallabha, although the designation was common enough among the Pāṇḍyas. On the other hand, the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A.D. 975-991 by Vallabha, the Chōḷa king (Mr. Wijesinha's *Translation*, Chapter XIV, p. 86). It is, however, doubtful if the Chōḷas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. And as the chronology of the Sinhalese chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Māmballi plate was a Chōḷa feudatory. The history of the Chēras is very little known. Consequently it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrīvallabha, whose feudatory the Vēṇāḍu ruler might have been in A.D. 973, belonged.—V. V.]

on a Sunday corresponding to the *Aśvati*-nakshatra in the month *Vṛiścika* when the planet Jupiter stood in the constellation *Tulā*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date:—"If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to Sunday, the 9th November A.D. 973, which was the 15th day of the month of *Vṛiścika*, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of *Mārgaśīra* ended 11 h. 12 m., while] the *nakshatra* was *Révatī* for 16 h. 25 m., after mean sunrise, and *Aśvinī* (*Aśvati*) for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was $191^{\circ} 44'$, and his true longitude $195^{\circ} 27'$, i.e. in either case Jupiter was in the sign *Tulā*."

"The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the *nakshatra* *Aśvinī*, when this *nakshatra* only commenced 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise; and I have no doubt whatever that either *Aśvinī* (*Aśvati*) has been quoted erroneously instead of *Révatī*, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday,¹ the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 10th November A.D. 973, the 16th day of *Vṛiścika*, when the *nakshatra* was *Aśvinī* (*Aśvati*) for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign *Tulā*."

The inscription informs us that *Umaiymamai* of *Tirukkalayapuram*, daughter of *Adichechan*, set up a *bhaṭṭāraka* (image) in the temple at *Ayurūr*. The king *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai* made a gift of land to *Umaiymamai* for the purpose of keeping up the services of the *bhaṭṭāraka* set up in the *Ayurūr* temple; and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the *Tiruchcheṅguṇṇūr* temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the *Poburāḷ*s of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the *Poburāḷ*s of the temple of *Tiruchcheṅguṇṇūr* had to supply to the temple daily 4 *nāḷis* of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 *paraḷ*s (of 9 *nāḷis* each) of paddy.² If the word *uḍai* used in l. 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of 'of or belonging to,' the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that *Umaiymamai* was a near relation of *Śrīvallavaṅgōdai*—either mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage *Śrīvallavaṅgōdaiy=uḍai Adichechan=Umaiymamai* means *Adichechan Umaiymamai belonging to Śrīvallavaṅgōdai*. She might perhaps be the daughter of the Chōḷa king *Āḍitya II.*,³ to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, *uḍai* be a mistake for *iḍai* then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.⁴

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word *attippēru* (ll. 8 and 19) implies 'acquisition by the pouring of water.' This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, *etc.*⁵ The meaning of the expressions *kilḷiḍu* and *iḍaiy=iḍu* is not definitely known. *Kilḷiḍu* literally means 'that which is placed under,'⁶ and *iḍaiy=iḍu*, 'that which is placed in the middle.' A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a *kilḷiḍu* with reference to that person. If this person subject to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the *iḍaiy-iḍan*, i.e. he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name *poburāḷ* was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

¹ [According to the Editor's footnote 4 on p. 236, the name of the week-day is engraved over an erasure.—F. K.]

² [See below, p. 238, note 8.—V. V.]

³ [The record may belong either to the reign of *Āḍitya II.* or of his successor *Madhurāntaka*. If *Umaiymamai* was the daughter of the Chōḷa king *Āḍitya II.*, it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of *Tirukkalayapuram*. In all probability she was a private individual.—V. V.]

⁴ [See below, p. 238, note 10.—V. V.]

⁵ [See below, p. 237, note 12.—V. V.]

⁶ [Compare *Hultzsch, Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 292.—V. V.]

become the name of a sub-caste among the **Ambalavāsi** section of the Malayālis. Then again, the word *ūṛiḷan* is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, *magistrat de la ville*, or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first two meanings. The term *adhikāri* occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil and Malayālam countries, and is used in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a division,'¹ and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase *mukkūḷvattam* implies, according to Dr. Gundert, a Bhagavati temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the *bhaffīraka* set up by Umaiyaṁmai might be taken to be **Bhagavati**. But its literal meaning, 'the three-fourths of a *vattam* (circuit or group of villages),' and the use of the *bhaffīraka* instead of *bhaffīraki* preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavati temple in the present instance. How *mukkūḷvattam* came to mean a Bhagavati temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions *Śīrūrṇaḍai* and *Śīrūrṇaḍai-ttaṇḍam* is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as "the custom obtaining in small towns" and "the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns."

The places mentioned in this inscription are:—**Kollam**, **Tirukkalayapuram**, **Ayirūr**, **Tirucheṇṇuṅṇūr**, **Idaiyāmaṇam**, **Muruṇṇaiyūr**, **Maṇalmūḱku**, **Puṇalūr** and **Kuḍaḱōttūr**. Of these Kollam, Ayirūr and Tirucheṇṇuṅṇūr are the modern **Quilon**, **Ayirūr** and **Chengannūr**² (the head-quarters of the tāluka of the same name) in North Travancore. Idaiyāmaṇam might be identified with Eḍamaṇ, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway; and Puṇalūr is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

TEXT.³

First Side.

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Kollan-dōṅṇi nūṛṇu-nāṇpattonbadām=āṇḍu Tul.-
- 2 ttu| Viyāla niṇṇa Mirichehiga nāyirṇu [Nāyir-āṇḍa]⁴
- 3 Acheluvadi i-nnā[?]āl Kollattu-p[?]ūḱgāviṇ kōyilu[-]uṇa-
- 4 riya koṭṭiln| Tirucheṇṇuṅṇūr=pparudai-pperu-makka| kūṭṭa-
- 5 n-gūḍi irundaruḷiy-eḍattu⁵ vaichchu Tirukkalaiyapuratt-Ādicheṇṇu
Umaiyaṁmai
- 6 Aynṇarig=piradittai-śoyda pattāragaraiyum pattāragarkkollā⁶ pūṇiyum
Ādi-
- 7 cheṇṇu=Umaiyaṁmaikku [ni|rōḍ aṭṭi-kkoḍuttāṇ Vēṇāḍ=uḍaiya Śrīvallavaṅḱōḍai
[||*] Ādiche-
- 8 cheṇṇu=Umaiyaṁmai tāṇ-aṭṭirpēru koṇḍadu Tirucheṇṇuṅṇūr=ppattāraga-
- 9 rkkū-kkīl-iḱāy=chchirṇūr nḱaiy-oḱu kūḍa nāṇāli-cheṇṇu[da]ri tiruva-
madi-
- 10 nukkum [o]ṇbadi=nāli=pparaiyāl irunṇu paṇai-cheṇṇu[y]du nel āṇḍu-
- 11 varai kuḍappiḱāga=ppoluvā| kaiyyil nīrōḍ-aṭṭi-kkoḍuttā| [||*] Ayirūr
mu-
- 12 kkāl-vattamum pattārakollā⁷ iḱaiy-iḱum rakshicheṇṇu koḍuttu rakshā-
pōḱaṇ-

¹ [The word *adhikārin* is also used in the sense of 'minister;,' *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 92, and above Vol. VII. p. 196.—V. V.]

² [According to Mr. Nagamaṇi the village is called Chengannur (*Travancore Manual*, Vol. III. p. 581) and there is a large and famous pagoda dedicated to the goddess Bhagavati, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 28 days.—V. V.]

³ From the original copper plate.

⁴ This portion is engraved over an erasure.

⁵ Read *irundaruḷiyay-eḍattu*.

⁶ Read *pattāragarkkullā*.

⁷ Read *pattāragarkkullā*.

First Side.

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

Second Side.

16
18
20
22
24
26

STEN KONOW.

SCALE 0.30.

W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH.

13 gollakkaḍaviyar poduvālmār [||*] i-ppariśu śoyda kil-iṭṭil ārālarāga i-
 14 daiy-iḍarāga pukku vilakkavum poru! kavavavum peṇār [||*] ¹idā[ṇṇāli]l-onṇu

Second Side.

15 Seyyumavaṇ ²yeppeṇṇu-vagai chechiṇṇūr-naḍai=ttaṇḍam irunūṇṇu kkalāṇṇu
 16 poṇ taṇḍa-ppaḍa-kkaḍaviyaṇ [||*] avaṇka³ pāḍu tāṇṇmavaṇṇu ippari-
 17 ṣe taṇḍappaḍuvidu [||*] i-ppariśu mōḡ=chollappaṭṭa Ayurūr mukkā-
 18 l-vattannum paṭṭāragarkk=olla⁴ idaiy-iḍuñ Śrīvallavaṇḡōdaiy uḍai-
 19 Āḍichchaṇ=Umaiyaṁmai aṭṭi-ppēru koḍadu [||*] Śrīvallavaṇḡōdaiy-u-
 20 ḍaṇ-irukka-⁵Tiruchecheṇṇuṇṇūr=ppaṭṭāragarkku kil-iḍāga aṭṭiy o-
 21 ḍaṭṭ-aṇiyuñ=jāḍukka! Muruñṇaiyūr Tēvaṁ=Bavittiraṇ nāṇum-aṇi-
 22 vaṇ [||*] Idaiyāmaṇattu Śāṇḥaraṇ=Gaṇḍaṇ nāṇum-aṇivaṇ [||*] Maṇalmūkki[ṇ]
 23 Kaṇḍan=Dāmōḍaran nāṇum-aṇivaṇ [||*] Vēṇāṭṭiṇku aḷigāraṇ jeygi-
 24 ṇṇa Puṇalūr(i) Iravi Parandavaṇ nāṇum-aṇivaṇ [||*] Kuḍagottūr:
 Pparan-
 25 davan-Gaṇḍaṇ nāṇum-aṇivaṇ [||*] ivai Tiruchecheṇṇuṇṇūr-ppoduvā-
 26 l Sāt[ta]ñ Jādaiyaṇ eḷuttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 7). Hail! Prosperity! In the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding⁶ to the Achchuvadi (*āśvati-nakshatra*) in the month of Mirichchigam (Vṛiśchika), when Jupiter stood in Tūlā—while⁷ the great men of the *parudai*⁸ (assembly) of Tiruchecheṇṇuṇṇūr were pleased to be assembled⁹ on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of Kollam, Śrīvallavaṇḡōdai, (the king) of Vēṇāḍu gave, by the pouring of water, to Āḍichchaṇ-Umaiyaṁmai of Tirukkalayapuram, the *baṭṭārakar*¹⁰ set up by Āḍichchaṇ-Umaiyaṁmai at Ayurūr, and the lands belonging to the *baṭṭārakar*.

(Ll. 8 to 11). Āḍichchaṇ-Umaiyaṁmai gave, as *kil-iḍu* to the *baṭṭārakar* of Tiruchecheṇṇuṇṇūr, by pouring water in the hands of the *poduvāl*,¹¹ what she acquired by gift,¹² so that (he)

¹ [The reading seems to be *id[ai] nāiyil-onṇu*. If *nai* has to be taken as *nā* it would be quite different from the other *nā*s which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil *nā*.—V. V.]

² [The reading seems to be *veppēṇṇu*.—V. V.]

³ Read *avanukku*.

⁴ Read *paṭṭāragarkkuḷla*.

⁵ Read *aṭṭiyaṇ-idattu*.

⁶ [The original has *Nāyir-āṇḍa Achchuvadi*, which would mean in Tamil 'the (*nakshatra*) *Āśvati* (*Āśvini*) which was governed by *Nāyiru* (the Sun).' If then the week-day be Sunday, *Nāyir-āṇḍa* would correspond to the modern *Nāyirāḷcha* and the word *āḷcha* which Dr. Gundert derives from the root *āl* 'to sink' may, in that case, be derived from the root *āl* 'to rule'.—V. V.]

⁷ [The expression *idattu vaichehu* of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayālam *idatti vaichehu* which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil *idattil*.—V. V.]

⁸ [The word *parudai* occurs also in the form *paradaḷ* and is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *pariśat*.—V. V.]

⁹ [The original has "were assembled and were pleased to be seated."—V. V.]

¹⁰ [It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Āḍichchaṇ Umaiyaṁmai; see below, p. 238, note 19.—V. V.]

¹¹ [According to Dr. Gundert, *poduvāl* means "a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants" and *agappoduvāl* with *pāṇḍal* officiate as priests and administrators of temple property.—V. V.]

¹² [*Attiṇṇu* is evidently the same as *aṭṭiṇṇu* which, according to Dr. Gundert, means "complete purchase of a free hold." Mr. Nagamaia defines the term as 'the out and out surrender of the jenmi's rights by sale (Travancore Manual, Vol. III, p. vill).—V. V.]

might supply, according to the rate current in small towns,¹ four *nāli* of rice² for (daily) offerings, and two hundred *para*i of paddy at nine *nāli* per *para*i, annually.³

(Ll. 11 to 13). The *poduṛāḷs* shall protect the *mukkal-vaṭṭam*⁴ of Ayurūr and the *iḍaiyidu* of the *bhaṭṭāraka*, and take (a fraction of the produce) as remuneration for the protection (afforded).⁵

(Ll. 13 to 14). The *ārāḷars* shall not enter as *iḍaiyidars* in the *kiliḍu* (which is the subject of) this transaction,⁷ and shall neither dismiss (the *kiliḍars*) nor collect the rent.

(Ll. 14 to 16). He that reduces this to a fourth⁸ shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred *kaḷaṅju* of gold.⁹

(Ll. 16 to 17). He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way.

(Ll. 17 to 19). Both the *mukkalvaṭṭam* of Ayurūr and the *iḍaiyidu* belonging to the *bhaṭṭārakar*, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Ādicheṇṇa-Umaiyaṁmai (of, or) related to Śrīvallavaṅḡḍai.¹⁰

(Ll. 19 to 22). (The following are the signatures of) the *sādhus* who were present at the time when Ādicheṇṇa-Umaiyaṁmai, while she was with Śrīvallavaṅḡḍai, made this gift of

¹ [I take *chirṛūr-naḍaiyōḍu kḍḍa* as meaning "together with the shrine at Śirṛūr." *Naḍai* (*naḍa*) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr. Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Gaṇapatināḍai meaning 'shrine or temple of Gaṇapati.'—V. V.]

² [I would read in the original *chēḍad-ari* (l. 9) and *chēḍadu nol* (l. 10) and take *chēḍadu nol* as equivalent to *ṭenṇal* which occurs in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (above, p. 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue — as *śūṇḍali*."—V. V.]

³ [As the dative *tiruvamudiṇṅkum* is used and as the purpose for which the 200 *para*i of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four *nāli* of rice per day the quantity required for a year or 360 days comes to 1,440 *nāli* of rice or 160 *para*s according to the equivalent of the *para* given in line 10. How 160 *para*s of rice can be obtained from 200 *para*s of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I., 2½ times the quantity of paddy was required to obtain a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.—V. V.]

⁴ [The word *mukkalvaṭṭam* occurs in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman, where Professor Hultzsch has translated it by 'temple' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 292). According to Dr. Gundert the term denotes in Travancore 'a temple of Kōṇḡapimūr.' An inscription at Tiruvāliśvaran near Ambāsamudram in the Tinnevely district mentions *Tiripuradāna* ('dahanam') *paṇṇina śōṇḡanār tirumukkalvaṭṭam*, where *tirumukkalvaṭṭam* appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Śiva (No. 120 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for 1905).—V. V.]

⁵ [According to Dr. Gundert *rakṣā-bhōgam* is synonymous with *rāja-bhōgam*, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1796-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one-fifth (of the revenue).—V. V.]

⁶ [The word *ḍa* here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 290, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil *ḍadu* or *ḍḍiṇ* and the Malayalam *ḍḡaṭṭ*.—V. V.]

⁷ [*I-ppariṭu* means 'in this manner, thus.' I would translate the passage thus: "Neither the *ārāḷar* nor the *iḍaiyidu* shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the *kiliḍu* thus settled or to seize (any) property."—V. V.]

⁸ I.e. he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity.

⁹ [I would translate the passage as follows: "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred *kaḷaṅju* (to) the shrine at Śirṛūr." See notes 1 and 2 on p. 237 and note 1 above.—V. V.]

¹⁰ [Instead of *Ayurūṇṇi-ṇiradittai teyḍa paṭṭāragar* of line 6, we have here *Ayurūr mukkal-vaṭṭam* which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of *mukkal-vaṭṭam*. Instead of *paṭṭāragark-ōḷa pāni* in line 6, we have here *paṭṭāragark-ōḷa iḍaiyidu*, which denotes the interest which the Ayurūr shrine possessed in the land acquired by Ādicheṇṇa-Umaiyaṁmai from Śrīvallavaṅḡḍai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 5 to 7 that Ādicheṇṇa-Umaiyaṁmai had obtained the concession from Śrīvallavaṅḡḍai. Accordingly, it seems to me that *Śrīvallavaṅḡḍaiy-ṇḍai* at the end of l. 18 is a simple clerical mistake for *Śrīvallavaṅḡḍaiy-ḍai*. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word *ḍai* were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Ādicheṇṇa-Umaiyaṁmai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrīvallavaṅḡḍai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him.—V. V.]

British Museum stone of Kanishka.



E. Hultzsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

land as *idaiyīḍu* to the *bhattāraḥ* of Tiruchcheṅṅupūr:—¹ I, *Dōvam*-²*Pavittiraṇ* of *Muruṇṇaiyūr*, also know;³

(L. 22). I, *Saṇṇaran Kaṇḍaṇ* of *Idaiyāmaṇam*, also know;

(L. 22 to 23). I, *Kaṇḍaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ* of *Maṇalmūḱku*, also know;

(L. 23 to 24). I, *Iravi-Parandavaṇ*⁴ of *Puṇalūr*, the *adhikārīn* of *Vēṇāḍu*, also know;

(L. 24 to 25). I, *Parandavaṇ-Kaṇḍaṇ* of *Kuḍagōṭṭūr*, also know.

(L. 25 to 26). This is the writing of *Śāttan-Śaḍaiyaṇ*, the *podurūl* of Tiruchcheṅṅupūr.

NO. 33.—THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS.

By PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, PH.D., ROSIOCK.

I.—BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KAṆISHKA.

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr. Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate.

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India.

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklaco, braceleta, ear-drops, and a *dhoti* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a Nāga and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmī of the earlier Kushana type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja dōva Putra Kaṇishka, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

¹ [In the original the name *Ādicheṇa-Umaiyaṇmai* is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if *Śrīvallaṇḍōḍai* was seated with the members of the assembly of Tiruchcheṅṅupūr in the palace at Kollam (II. 4-5) while making the gift to *Ādicheṇa Umaiyaṇmai*. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows:—“(The following are) the *sādhus* who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (*Ādicheṇa Umaiyaṇmai*)—while *Śrīvallaṇḍōḍai* was sitting with (the assembly ?)—granted the *ktīḍu* (of the land ?) to the lord (*bhattāraḥ*) of Tiruchcheṅṅupūr.” The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9.—V. V.]

² [The name of the man was apparently *Dēvaṇ Pavittiraṇ*.—V. V.]

³ I.e. the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same.

⁴ [*Parandavaṇ* is apparently a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *Parāntapa*.—V. V.]

TEXT.

- 1 Siddha[*ih*]¹ maharājasya dēva[*putrasya*]²
 2 Kāṇishkasya savatsarē [10]³
 3 gri 2 di 9 śtayaḥ purvay[*ā*]⁴
 4 [n]arāyaṇ⁵ na[*va*]rikāyaṇ⁶ [h]ā-
 5 [rmya]n-[*d*]atā[n]⁷ priyatām dēvi⁸ grā[*masya*].⁹

REMARKS.

1 The *anusvāra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture. — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner. — 3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt. — 4 The *ā* is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayān*. — 5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *natarāyaṇ*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base. I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone. — 6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental. — 7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure. — 8 The *ś*-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dē* in the first line it is added in the middle. — 9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural.

TRANSLATION.

Success! In the year 10 of the *mahārāja dēva*putra Kāṇishka, in the second (*month of*) summer, on the ninth day,—on that (*date specified as*) above a temple was given in the northern *naramikā* (?). May the goddess of the village be pleased!

NOTES.

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvāra* being frequently not expressed in writing. A long *ā* appears in the word *harmya*. According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taitt. Ār.* VI, 6, 2 instead of the ordinary *harmya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Atharvav.* XVIII, 4, 55. In *harmya*-*datām* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following mate, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect. Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8: *priyatām=bhagavān=Ṛishabhaśrīh*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record: *priyatām dēvi grāmasya*.

Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, Kāṇishka, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *n*. With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmī inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement.¹ In the Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions of Suē Vihār² and Zeda³ the name is read as *Kanishka*, in that of Manikyāla as *Kaneshka*,⁴ but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kanishka* and

¹ Mathurā inscr. of S. 5, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 34 ff., No. 4; Mathurā inscr. of S. 7, above Vol. I. p. 391, No. 19; Mathurā inscr. of S. 9, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 173, No. 2, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 37, No. 6; Mathurā inscr., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 25; Sarnāth inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. VIII. p. 170, No. 3; Sarnāth inscr. of S. 3, above Vol. III. p. 170, No. 3⁴.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 326.

³ *Journ. As. Ser.* VIII. Vol. XV. p. 137.

⁴ *Journ. As. Ser.* IX. Vol. VII. p. 8.



Scale .9

From an inked estampage.

E. Hultsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner, Halle-Saale.

Kanishka would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *ṇ*, and I would therefore propose to use *Kanishka* as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sarnāth inscription, No. 3^a, the editor, it is true, reads *Kanishkasya*, but the photo-lithograph¹ distinctly shows *Kānīshkasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nāgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nāgi. That during the Kushāna period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Muthurā inscriptions² which mention the temple (*st[h]āna*) of the *nāgēndra* Dadhikarṇa and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarṇa (*Dadhikarṇadēvīkulika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utarāyaṃ navamikāyaṃ*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (*i.e.* intercalated) ninth (lunar day)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *ēṭayē purrayē*, and secondly, as Professor Kielhorn informs me, *uttara* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dr̥ṭīya*.³ The words must therefore be connected with *hīrṇyavataṃ*, and as a form ending in *-āyaṃ* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *ā*; *utarā navamikā* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamikā* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utarā navamikā* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nāgi. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

II.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SAMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 129, No. 15, and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* New Ser. Vol. V. p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was to contain the 'Indo-Scythic' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first-rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available.—The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watiss, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China-ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

¹ [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *ā* is quite certain.—S. K.]

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 390, No. 18; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102, No. 13.

³ Professor Hultzsch writes to me that he is nevertheless inclined to connect *utarāyaṃ navamikāyaṃ* with the date, but he would take *uttara* in the sense of *uchyamāna*, *uparī-likhita*, 'above-mentioned.'

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dowson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brāhmī of the Kaśhapa type. The *sha* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rā[jātīrāja] dēvaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

TEXT.

- 1 Mahārajasya¹ r[ā].....²
- 2 sya dēvaputrasya Vāsu....³
- 3 savatsarē⁴ 70⁵ 4 varsham[ā]-⁶
- 4 sō prathamō divasō
- 5 tris[ā]⁷ 30 asyam⁸ parvvayam⁹
- 6 Talakiy[ā]¹⁰ mahādāṇḍa-
- 7 nāyakasya¹¹ Vā-
- 8 linas[y]¹² k[shā]t[rā]¹³ Mihi-
- 9 [mahādāṇḍa]¹⁴.

REMARKS.

1 The *ā*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—2 The *ā*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *rājātīrāja*.—3 The *ā*-stroke is quite distinct, though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below.—4 The *ā*-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct.—5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below.—6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *ā* are not quite distinct.—7 The *ā*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper.—8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts' eye-copy the tail is quite straight.—9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental.—10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ā*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talakiyam* would be possible.—11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nā* of line 7 and the *li* of line 8. The *ni* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *śā*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nā*, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain.—13 The *ksh* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ā* of *kshā* is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trā* as in Capt. Watts' eye-copy.—14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *dā*.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rājātīrāja dēvaputra Vāsu....., in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirtieth day, 30,—on that (day specified as) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vāliṇa at Talakiya (or Talakī?) Mihi.....

Mathura inscription of Samvat 74.

Scale .5



E. Hultsch.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *dīṇḍa* appears again in the same word in the Set-Mahot inscription, above Vol. VIII, p. 181, and we may further compare such forms as *āhtēvāsisa* and *āhtēvāsiniye* in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 198 f., Nos. 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. Cunningham¹ originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.² In 1891 Bühler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,³ and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushanas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. III. Vol. XII. p. 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Bühler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhmī inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood :—

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, Bühler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep. Ind.*, *loc. cit.*, Bühler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Bühler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 17, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 183, No. 5, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102.

(4) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 1, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 182, No. 1, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 11.

(5) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 127, No. 2, and Plate; *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 183, No. 2, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 102, No. 13.

(6) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX. Part I. p. 130, No. 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 101, No. 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.

(7) Mathurā inscription, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 184, No. 7, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

¹ The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

² Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 194.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 373, note 7.

It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration :—

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of mahārāja Huviksha, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No. 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurā inscription, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 33, No. 10, and Plate; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 396, No. 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No. 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurā inscription of the time of mahārāja Huvishka, *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 34, No. 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No. 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 163, No. 14.

(12) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, No. 20, and Plate; p. 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos. 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 387, No. 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *bra*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāuchi inscription of the time of mahārāja rājātīrāja dēvaputra Shāhi Vāsashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f., and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr. Fleet in a paper in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326 ff., and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr. Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p. 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr. Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357.¹

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsu, whereas we know that from 33–60 Huvishka was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1–7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

¹ Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of mahārāja rājātīrāja dēvaputra Huvashka, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 204, note 61.

No. 2, and S. 77 for Nos. 3-7. The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result. No. 4, it is true, mentions the *maharāja vijñātarāja dāraputra* Huvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihāra* of that king. As to the date S. 72 for the *mahākshatrapa* Śoṭāsa, I refer to the remarks of Dr. Fleet in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1907, p. 1924 ff.

If the St. Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40. The inscription No. 8, therefore, would be dated in S. 44, No. 9 in S. 45, No. 10 in S. 47, and No. 11 in S. 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos. 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huviksha or Huvishka.

The symbol occurring in No. 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos. 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign.¹ In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S. 49, not S. 79. There is another point in favour of this interpretation. The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vṛiddhasthi (*Vṛiddhasthin*), a preacher in the *Koṭṭiya* (*Koṭṭikāyana*), the *Vāṭṭā* (*Vāṭṭā*) *sikhā*. There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S. 60,² recording a gift made at the request of the *ganin*, the venerable Kharuṇa, a pupil of this same Vṛiddhasthin. If Vṛiddhasthin in S. 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *ganin*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S. 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S. 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S. 60.

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No. 13. The form appearing in the photograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40.

As regards the symbol in No. 14, I agree with Dr. Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No. 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40. On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20. I have lately received through Dr. Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription, which is in Brāhmī characters of the Kushana type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct. Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sāñchi inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integral part of it and not to belong to the following sign. And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day. Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushana period³ certainly being entirely different. I do not want to offer a new hypothesis. In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question. In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S. 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below.

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col. V, of Bühler's *Indische Paläographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

¹ Perhaps the symbol found in No. 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign. As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No. 12.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 386, No. 8, and Plate; Vol. II. p. 204, No. 19, and Plate; *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. XX, p. 37, and Plate V, fig. 6.

the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1890, Plate to p. 639. Here the St. Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *pta* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No. 12 as 70. I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I contend that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality.

Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vīśu[dāśasya]*. When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors, I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three aksharas *dāśasya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vāsushkasya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S. 76 and S. 78,¹ whereas the first undoubted record of Vāsudēva's reign was dated in S. 80. What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty. But the evidence for the existence of a king Vāsushka in S. 76 and S. 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly. As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāñchi inscription mentioning a king Vāsushka² is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S. 76 and recording repairs in the reign of Vāsushka has not yet been published. As Dr. Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known. Under these circumstances a decision is of course impossible for the present. If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vīśu* to *Vāsushkasya*, otherwise the reading *Vāsudēvasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks. *Talakiya* or *Talaki* seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it. The title *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times. In the Kushapa inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *daṇḍanāyaka* occurs in the Manikyāla inscription,³ where the correct reading in l. 2 is, not *Laladoḍa-nayago*, but *Lala-daṇḍanayago*.

III.—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚONḌĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V. p. 188, No. 29. In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III. p. 30, No. 1. And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII. p. 149, No. 24. For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above.

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off. On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides. This, however, is not the case. Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines. With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

¹ Mathurā inscription of S. 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96; Sāñchi inscription of S. 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 369 f.

² This is the reading suggested by Dr. Fleet, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of Vāsushka, if the existence of such a name should be proved; see *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1905, p. 357 f.

³ *Journ. As. Ser.* IX. Vol. VII. p. 8 f.

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions; see especially the letters *da*, *sa* and *sha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śēgrava (Śaigraṇa) gōtra, the treasurer of *svāmīn mahākshatrapa* Śoṇḍāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

TEXT.

1 Svāmīsyā mahākshatrapasyā Śoṇḍāsasya¹ gamjavarēṇa brāhmaṇēna Śēgrava-sagōtrēṇa [p]...².

2 raṇi imāśhām yamaḍa-pushkaraṇinām paśchimā pushkaraṇi udapānō ārāṭō³ stambhō i...

3 [śilā]paṭṭō⁴ cha-

REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka*-. —3 The outlines of the letters *ni udapānō ārāṭō* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilā* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

TRANSLATION.

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahākshatrapa* Śoṇḍāsa, a Brāhmaṇ of the Śēgrava (Śaigraṇa) gōtra, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (was caused to be made).

NOTES.

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imāśhām*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, *imēsam* and *imīsām*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imāśhām* as he was wont to render *imīsām* by *imāśhām*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkaraṇi* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli *pokkharani*. *Yamaḍa* corresponds to Skt. *yamala* or *yamala*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brāhmaṇēna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the *mahākshatrapa*, which is generally supposed to be Śoḍāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *śo*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *Śindīśasya* (for *Śiṇḍīśasya*) and the latter *Sauḍīśasya* (for *Sauṇḍīśasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvāra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *śo*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvāra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gamjavarēṇa* and in *pushkaraṇinām*.

The form Śoṇḍāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā mentioning this *mahākshatrapa*¹ Bühler read *Soḍāsa*, but the photograph by no means excludes the reading *Soṇḍāsa*. Right above the *śo* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ni* of *hāraṇītamīsō* which Bühler read as *anusvāra*. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription² Mr. Thomas reads the name as *Śuḍāsa* and *Śuḍisa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akshara* seems to be *śo*, and that the alternative forms *Śu*^o and *Sau*^o, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 160, No. 2.

² *Above*, Vol. IX. pp. 143, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Soḍṣa* and *Suḍṣa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anusvara* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Soṇḍṣa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Soḍṣa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Soṇḍṣa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gañjarāna*, and Bühler, *Vienna Or. Journ.* Vol. V. p. 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gañ* into *rañ*, 'during the reign.' The new reading *gañjarāna* shows that *gañjarāna*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* V, 177 and Kshémendra's *Itihāsaśāstra*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Benfey,¹ *gañjarāna* is the Persian *ganjwar*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.²

The donor calls himself by his *gōtra* name Śēgrava, which in correct Sanskrit would be Śaigrava. According to the *Gaṇapāṭha* the Śaigrava *gōtra* is referred to by Pāṇini in II, 4, 67 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying Śaigrava with Pāli *Siggava*,³ the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upasampadā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggalliputta.⁴

NO. 34.—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.⁵

Pathārī in Long. 78° 15' and Lat. 23° 56', is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopāl Agency of Central India.⁶ Its antiquities were first described, in 1818, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or lakes, and that the present town of Pathārī and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus:— 'Near to the western edge of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2½ thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.'

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 70, thus:— 'Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

¹ See the *St. Petersburg Dictionary s. v.*

² In the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1901, p. 239 ff., Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of *Soḍṣa*. With the exception of the first three *akṣaras* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads: *brahmañiśa go(P)da ra(?)-tha(?) na*. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brāhmaṇa* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brāhmaṇa* Śaigrava, the *gañjarāna* of *Soḍṣa*, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

³ *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, Vol. II. p. 266.

⁴ See *Dīpaṇ*, V, 57; 69, etc.

⁵ [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]

⁶ Constable's *Hand Atlas of India* Plate 27 D d.

3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa,¹ but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A.D. 600. Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Vishnu sitting on Garuda over the door-way.

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultzsch two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr. H. Consens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle; and an excellent photograph² of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr. Fleet. From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1901, Part I. p. 519 ff. A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone.

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high. It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines. But fortunately³ all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31; and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—38. The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it e.g. in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 933, published with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 159 f. With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A.D. They include the rare sign for *jh*, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word *jhatiti* towards the end of line 15. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for *v* is used for both *v* and *b*, and that the words *amaṣa* and *dhvansa* are written *ans* and *dhvansa*, in lines 2 and 8.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38. This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a post-script, which may record the installation of an image of Vishnu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words *ōm namaḥ* at the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Sragdharā metre, one in the Vasantatilakā metre, one in the Upajāti metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre. So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph.⁴

The first verse of the inscription commences with the words *Lakshmi-nārāyaṇa*, which were apparently misread as *Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa*.

¹ The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultzsch from Mr. Consens' photograph. A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless.

² Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be.

I am sanguine enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription. It will then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 38.

The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with *ôṃ namaḥ* and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a *praśasti*, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king **Parabala** of some **Rāshṭrakūṭa** family founded a temple of Śaṅgī (Hari, Viṣṇu), before which he erected the Garuḍa-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The *praśasti* opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glorify, the god Viṣṇu, under the names of Marīci, Kṛiṣṇa and Hari. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king **Jējja**, under whom 'this **Rāshṭrakūṭa** *vaṃśa*' was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of **Karṇāṭa** soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the **Lāṭa** kingdom. Jējja's son was **Karkarāja** (v. 11), who put to flight the king **Nāgavalōka** and invaded his home (vv. 14 and 15). And Karkarāja's son was **Parabala**, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed (V. 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the *praśasti* was composed by Harsha (v. 29) and engraved by the *sūtradhīra* Sāhila (v. 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever.—The date at the end of line 31 is *saṃvat 917 Chaitra-sudi 6 Śukrā*, i.e. "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917." In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for 9 is the same as e.g. in line 6 of the Dōḍgaḍi pillar inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (*Archæol. Surv. of India*, Vol. X, Plate xxxiii. 2), and in line 22 of the Gurmāḥa plate of Jayādityadēva II. of the [Vikrama] year 927 (*Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. LXX. Part I. Plate i). The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admit of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 917, to **Friday, the 21st March A.D. 861**, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h. 44 m. after mean sunrise.

The *praśasti* will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses.² Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadhā*, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem.³ I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with *Śiṣ.* XIX. 52. The former is:—

Śakalikṛita-sarvāṅgā nānūbharanabhūṣitāḥ |
drīṣyantē ripavō yasya nānūbharanabhūṣitāḥ ||

"With their limbs all cut to pieces (and thus)⁴ decorated with manifold ornaments (*ūbharana*), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (*raṇa-bhū*)."

And Māgha's verse is:—

Śaṣṭravṇanamaya-śrīmad-alaṃkaranabhūṣitāḥ |
dadṛśē śyō Rāvaṇavad-alaṃkaranabhūṣitāḥ ||

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (*alaṃkaraṇa*) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Rāvaṇa, though abiding on a battle-field (*raṇa-bhū*) that was not connected with *Lankā*."⁵

¹ The original apparently mentions the place where Nāgavalōka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.

² Compare e.g. verses 13, 15, 20 and 30.

³ The *praśasti* somewhat pointedly ends with the word *śrīmatt*, which, in the case of an author who had studied the *śṛyāṅka mahākāvya* does not seem to me to be without significance.

⁴ Compare the following note.

⁵ Mallinātha explains: *sarvāṅganācraṇabhūṣanatoḥ Rāvaṇa śo-dyaṃ Lankāsambandha-virahādiḥ vyatīrka ity-arthaḥ | upama-vyatīrka-yamakāṇḍaḥ saṃkṛtaḥ |*

Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words *ibharana-bhāṣita* and *alamkaraṇabhāṣita*, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (*dṛṣyantē* and *dadṛśi*) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the *Śiśupālavadha* commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha's verse: the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Māgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A.D.

Among the contents of the *prasaṣti* there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Parabala, for whom it furnishes a date in A.D. 861. The second point is, that Parabala's father Karkarāja defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king Nāgāvalōka. And to these may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkarāja's father Jēja, after defeating certain Karpāṣas, took possession of the Lāṭa kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskrit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungir plate of Dēvapāla¹ translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1731 — that the Pāla king Dharmapāla married 'Rangādēvi, a daughter of the glorious Parabala, the ornament of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family;' but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a *biruda* of one of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mulkhōḍ, perhaps of Gōvindarāja III. or Amoghavarsha I., according to the notions which they had formed regarding the time of Dharmapāla. Now there cannot remain any reasonable doubt that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Parabala of our Pathari inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungir plate, a daughter of whom was married by Dharmapāla. But it does not follow that Dharmapāla's reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala's reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapāla is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archaeological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapāla's reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king Nāgāvalōka² who was defeated by Parabala's father Karkarāja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nāgāvalōka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vīgraharāja,³ in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Chāhamāna Gūvaka I. of Śākambhārī, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Chāhamāna *Mahāśamantādhipati*, which records a grant that was made at Bhṛigu-kachchha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A.D. 756).⁴ I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

¹ See *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 128, and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 253.

² I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known *birudas* ending in *avalōka* of certain Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings (*Khadgavalōka*, *Vikramavalōka*, etc.).

³ See above Vol. II. p. 121, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is *śrīman-Nāgāvalōka-pravarānripa*.

⁴ If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D. 756.

Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lāṭa kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala's grandfather Jōjja. The known names of chiefs connected with Lāṭa from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol. VIII. App. II. p. 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lāṭa, between A.D. 757 and A.D. 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jōjja and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and may perhaps be permitted to say —

Harshōṇa nūnam rachitā prasastir=
vidhēr=vaśād=aśma-talē vilinā |
prakāsīt=ēyam pramadāch=chhramēṇa
satām mudām santatam-ātanōtu ||

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² namaḥ || ³Lakshmi-nīramdhrapina[sta]nakalaśa-la[sa]t-pallavā Vpitra-śatrōs=
ttrailōkyasvāmya-dīkshāvidhi-varaguravō=[r]i-
- 2 shtanāśa-prachapdāh | dōrddandāḥ Kōśikōśagraha-ruchirara[t-ā]ghushṭa-
h[i]marānsandēśā⁴ Daityēbha-sthūlakumbha[stha]-
- 3 ladalana-d[ri]dhāḥ pāntu vas-tō Murārēḥ ||[1*] ⁵Vā(bā)lārka[chechhav]i-
chakrav[āka]vimala-vyāl[ā]hat-āvēṣṭitah⁶ karṇ[ā]lamvi(mbi)ta-kundalō⁷
jaladhara-
- 4 chehhēdāvadāta-chohhaviḥ | satkārtaśvarakūta-niragata iva snigdhēndranilōpala-
stambhaḥ⁸ skandhaga-padmarāgayungalāḥ Kṛishṇō=stu
- 5 vah śrēyasō ||[2*] ⁹Tribhuvanabhavana-stambhō nabhastalāmhbhōdhi-sōtur=agha-
dahanah | vra(bra)hmāṇḍamaṇḍa(ḍa)lāṇva(ba)jadandā-ruchir=jjayati¹⁰ Ha-
- 6 ri-charanaḥ ||[3*] ¹¹Ahimakarachakra-kuvahyavilasatkamal-ālayah sa-dāna[vakā]yah |
jalanidhir=iva Harir=avatāt=purāṇa-purushō=pi yah sadā nava-kā-
- 7 yah¹² ||[4*] ¹³Rāj=āsīd=varachakkralāṇchhita-karō lakshmi-sanāthah purā driptāri-
prava(ba)hadvishat-pramathanas=ch=ā[dhā]ra-bhūtō bhuvah | vā(bā)hūdaśta-
mahidharō [nara]-
- 8 ka-hā tūngadvipadhvasakrit=¹⁴Kainsārāti=samō=py=akrishṇatanubhṛich=chhri-Jōjja
āryyuiḥ stu[ta]ḥ ||[5*] ¹⁵[Ra]mya-prasūtir=achchhidras-taṅgaḥ
prithur=akam[akah] | śrī-Rāshṭra[kū]-
- 9 ṭa-vaiśō=yam sampiddhō yattra bhūbhṛiti ||[6*] ¹⁶Jitvā [vikāṭa]karighati-
pra[bhuta]ra-Karṇpātabhā[asahasrā]ḥ[qi] | [prithu ?] L[ā]ṭ-ākhyam rāshṭram
lavdham(bdham) yasy-āgrajēn=ājau ||[7*] ¹⁷[Vana]-

¹ From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr. Consens.

² Metre: Sragdhārā.

⁴ Read 'śrāṇsandēśā.

³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

⁶ Compare Śārigīrīśha-phanikāuchuka-, above Vol. II. p. 4, v. 22.

⁷ Originally -kundalō seems to have been engraved.

⁸ Compare Śitupālavadha III. 11.

⁹ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁰ Originally -ruchēr= was engraved.—Compare above Vol. I. p. 40, verse 2: vra(bra)hmāṇḍamaṇḍa-lamahōtpalandā-lāṇvi(bi)bhṛat.

¹¹ Metre: Āryāgiti.

¹² Compare Śitupālavadha xiv. 70: navam buddhāyam purāṇa-purusham prachakshat.

¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

¹⁴ Read 'dhvamsakrit-'

¹⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁶ Metre: Āryā.

¹⁷ Metre: Mālinī.



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- 10 mahisham=asahyam vājinō lōla-nētrā madagalita-kapōlā dantīnāḥ siṃham-
ugrāḥ | [jvalitapavana ?]-kirṇā vairi-vīrāḥ Kṛitāntam rāpa-sīrasi yam-ēkaḥ
mōvirō naika-[rāpam ||] [8*]
- 11 ¹Ekō=p-itas=tataḥ kurvann-arāti-[ku]lam-ākulaḥ | chāruchāmīkar-ōpā[tō n]ila-
rūpāḥ vi(bi)bha[rtti] yaḥ ||[9*] ²[Prāpt-ōchohhrayā ?] ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ —
prakampā[n]-mukt-āli[bh]iḥ svamahima-pratipādanāya | [dōśā ?]nta[rāny-u]-
12 paratā vikālā disāsu yasya dhvajā iva sālā ripu[vō] bhramanti ||[10*]
Tasy-ātma-jō ripuva(ba)l-[ā]nta ∪ — ∪ — — h³ sīrī-Karkkarāja iti
sainyati lavdha(bdha)-kīrttiḥ | P[ārth-āgrāṇ ?]i-
- 13 r-iva va(ba)bhūva⁴ nirasta-sālyō duḥśāsana-iva(ba)la-sāsana-bhīmasō[na]h ||
||[11*] ⁵Vi[kshipta ?]-[vai ?]ri- ∪ — ∪ nā | ya[t-ka]rōṇa
rāṇambhōdhi-mathanō⁶ Mandarāyitām ||[12*] ⁷Vidhvasta[vai]-
14 riva[nitā]-nayanaprañālī-saisakta-kajjalayutāsujala-pra[vāhai]h | sōshichyamānam=api
chandramarichi-[hāri sphitām] va(ba)bhūva [nanu] yasya yasō-tichittrām ||[13*]
⁸Durvārārāti-mattadvi[rada]-
15 ghanaghaṭātōpasamghaṭṭa-chaṇḍō samgrāmō [hrishta-yō]dhō [tura]gakhuramajā-
chhanna-dikchakkrav[ālō] | [valga ?]t-pālidhvaj[ālau] kshatarudhi[rasa]ritprājya-
sāmanta-chakrō chakrō Nāgavalōkam [jha]ṭiti ∪⁹
- 16 lav[ā]n¹⁰ yaḥ parāvṛtita-mūrttiḥ ||[14*] ¹¹Durvāravairivaravāraṇa-
kumbha[mukta]-muktāphalapra[kara]-nirmmaladantamālā | Nāgavalōkanripa-
[vēsma]ni viprakīrṇō yasy-ōddhātām prahasat=iva kripāṇa-p[āli] ||[15*]
- 17 ¹²Śakalikṛita-sarvavāṅgā nānābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ | drīṣyuntō ripavō yasya
nānābharaṇabhūṣitāḥ [16*] ¹³Yasy=ōtpalacchhavi[mu]shā s[v]ajal-ōnatōnā¹⁴
khaḍgōna tumgātara-bhū[mibhri]-
18 [tām] āi[rassu] | dhārānīpāta-janitair-asrijān¹⁵ pravāhair=yuddhā
mahāpralaya[kāla ?]ghana-[pratitiḥ ?] ||[17*] ¹⁷Ahimakara iv=ādya tyakta-
dōshānushaṅgō himakara iva jā[ta]h
19 śuddha-mūrttiḥ kalāvān | parava(ba)ladalan-ōgrō=nugra-chakshuḥ pratāpi
Parava(ba)la iti putras-tasya [āst]-īha bhū[mim] ||[18*]
¹⁸[Tyaktvā ?]māyām=adamblāñ-cha sakta-kārttasvarāḥ sadā | bhuvā[jatō] sīrī-¹⁹

¹ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

² Metre of verses 10 and 11: Vasantatilakā.

³ The original possibly has ²Lantaka śva mūrtaḥ.

⁴ Originally vibhūva or vōbhūva was engraved.

⁵ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).—I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king's hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary. Compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 203, l. 7.

⁶ Originally randmbhōdhi- was engraved.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.—Compare *Śitupdlavadha* XV. 90.

⁸ Metre: Sragdhārā.

⁹ The *akshara* which is missing here I am unable to restore with confidence.

¹⁰ Of these three *aksharas* the first and the last seem to be certain, and the second is either *va* or *vu*.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹² Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh). See above, p. 250.

¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

¹⁴ The water of the sword-blade (*asiddhāra-jala*, *khaḍgadhārā-paya*, *khaḍgadhārdmbha*) is often spoken of by poets; compare e.g. *Ākavāṭ*, pp. 64 and 168, and above Vol. II. p. 307, v. 21.

¹⁵ The plural of *asrij* is similarly used in *Śitupdlavadha* xvii, 55 (*asrijāḥ*).

¹⁶ I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial *i* was originally engraved before the *akshara* which I read as *pra*, but it has clearly been struck out.

¹⁷ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁸ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁹ This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. *Śrīphala* is used in the double sense of 'the fruit of his prosperity' and 'Bilva fruit.'

- 20 śrīphalāny=asya subhiddo vidvishō=py=alam ||[19*] ¹Makarakōtutulā[hrita].
sundarījana-vilō[lita]lōchana-mā[la]yā | [sva]-śnuchibhū[śhaṇa]-va[rshmani]
linay-ā[ma]rapurēndra-samō bhuvī yō=bha[vat ||] [20*]
- 21 ²Prabhārījanō vairi-mahiruhāpām samāśrī(śrī)tānān dhanadō [janā]nām
[d]jin-ā[tu]rāpām [sa]kripō nripāpā[m=ōkō]=pi yō=bhūch=charitair=anēkaḥ ||
[21*] ³Vishayēbhyaḥ parityājya [vi]graha[daṇḍa]-lī-
- 22 layā | indriyāp-iva [yē]n=āsu jītāny=ari-va(ba)lāny=api ||[22*] ⁴Sura-gurur=
iva samya[g=mantr]isa[kt-ā ?]vadhā[ua]ḥ sura-patir=iva hōlādārit-ārātīgōtraḥ |
sura-gaja iva ni[tyām] sārū[dra-dā]-
- 23 n[ā] pravṛtitaḥ sura-girir=iva bhūbhṛinmamḍal-ōtkriṣh[abbūtaḥ] ||[23*]
⁵Jyārāvakriṣhṭadriḥhakārmaka-mamḍalāgra-bhinōbhakumbhabhava-lōhita-
kirupahārā | pālīdhvajān=bhujalatāsita-[vā]namālā [ya]-
- 24 sy-ājigāya rapa-mūrdhāni rāja-lakṣmīḥ ||[24*] ⁶Achikarad=dēvakulān
Saurōr-īdām Hi[mō]rv vidharaśrī[ṅga]-t[ulya]n | [subhā ?]gra[vinyasta ?]-
sita[dhvajā]i vi(bi)bhartti yasy=āmaraśindhu-sōbhām ||[25*] Stambh[as-tu
yā ?]-
- 25 [d]ig ?]=Garudadhvajā[drau ?]7 p[urā] viśālō Garudadhvajō=yam | Harōḥ
puras-tāpī[śa] ā[va] tēna stambhaḥ samuttambhūta ōsha rājā ||[26*]
⁸Vishnōḥ kim charaṇas=trivikrama-kritēḥ stambh-ākritōr=vvā vapuḥ
Sthāpōr-bhū-viva[rā]-
- 26 t-phanindra-ripuṇā Sōshō=thavā prōddhritaḥ | ittham bhūri vi[chāra]yadbbhir=
amarnir-ālokyā ni[śchī]yatō stambhaḥ sūddhāśilāmayaḥ
Parava(ba)la[kṣmā]pāla-kīrtipradaḥ ||[27*] ⁹Tasy=āmātyō va(ba)bhūva
[Kṣh ?]i ○ ○ ○
- 27 iti yaḥ sarvvadharm-ādhipikāri hēmābhaḥ satyavādī Parava(ba)la-nripatēr=
mūl[ārdha]-vandyāḥ pra[dhāna ?]ḥ | [tēn=ō]tturīg-ā[śinavā(bā)h ?]ur¹⁰=
Mmadhamathana-purō Vainatēy-ōpalakshyaḥ stambhaḥ samistambhit-ārēr=
[upahā ?]-
- 28 [sita ?]-yagaḥ stambha uttambbhitō=yam ||[28*] ¹¹Prakriṣhṭa-varṇaḥ ○ ○ — ○
[van ?]sō svabhāva[samp]ādita[sambhramō] yaḥ | Hā[rsh]ōṇa [padyai]
rachitā praśastir-mmuktāphalālī-śriyam=ātanōti ||[29*] ¹²Pravi[ṇā]
- 29 [gam]bhīrā vividhapadavinyāsa-chaturā dṛiḥhōdāra-granth=[āvivu(bu)dhaja]na-
durjānā[hridayā] | [praśastir=mmādhurya]prabhṛitiguṇasam[dō]ha-ruchirā
surastr-iv-ābhātī sphatikavimalastambha-[likhitā] ||[30*]
- 30 ¹³Utkriṇṇā sūtradhārēṇa Sāhilēna sphuṭ-ākṣharā | chittrāṅga[vāgvya ?]gra-varṇā
[Sarasvat ?]-iva [bhā]satō ||[31*] ¹⁴[Yāvat]= — ○ ○ — ○ — ○ ○ jito
lakṣmīḥ sthit-ōrusthalō dōhārdhō Giri[śasya]

¹ Metre: Drutavilambita.² Metre: Upajāti.³ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh).—Instead of *vishayēbhyaḥ* I should have expected the accusative *vishayān*, but this would not have suited the metre.⁴ Metre: Mālinī.—I am somewhat doubtful about the correctness of the first Pāda, and I miss a relative pronoun in the verse.⁵ Metre: Vasantatilakā.⁶ Metre of verses 25 and 26: Upajāti.⁷ Originally *dhvajādri* was engraved, but the sign for *i* has been struck out or altered to *au*. I am not sure about the exact meaning of the first half of the verse.⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁹ Metre: Śragdharā.¹⁰ Compare *Śitupālavadhā* III. 78, *ultāga-taraṅgabāhu*.¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.¹² Metre: Śikhariṇī.¹³ Metre: Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh). I am doubtful about the second half of this verse.¹⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.

31 II[aima]giriḥ Śāśh-ṭtamāṅgō kshitiḥ | chañchachchandramarichi-[bhāsura]lā ?
 yāvād-di[vi] svaṛddhuni [tāvat=kīrttir-ana]śva[r-ā-tu] [nripatēr=
 bhūmyās=ta ?]lō śrīmati ||[32*] Samvat¹ 917 Chaitra-śudi 8 Śu[kr]ē ||
 32 Om² namaḥ ||³

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.⁴

(Verse 5.) There was formerly a king whose hands were marked with auspicious discs, who was endowed with fortune, and who, harassing haughty foes and powerful adversaries, was the support of the earth; who with his arm overthrow princes, who warded off hell and destroyed huge elephants,⁵ and who, although thus like Kaiśa's enemy (Kṛishṇa) [whose hand bears a choice disc, who is united with Lakṣmī, who harassed haughty foes and powerful adversaries, and supported the earth; who lifted up with his arms the mountain (Gōvardhana), slew (the demon) Naraka, and destroyed (Kaiśa's) huge elephant], did not bear Kṛishṇa's body,⁶—the glorious Jējja, praised by the noble.

(V. 6.) While he was king this glorious Rāshṭrakūṭa family was prosperous, a family in which there is pleasing progeny, which is without blemish, noble, large, and free from trouble being like the bamboo, which has pleasing shoots, is free from flaws, high, broad, and without thorns].

(V. 7.) His elder brother, having defeated in battle thousands of Kārṇāṭa soldiers whose might was increased by arrays of enormous elephants, obtained the broad Lāṭa kingdom.

(V. 11.) Jējja's son⁷ was the glorious Karkarāja, who, (causing) the destruction of the forces of adversaries, acquired fame in battle; who removed trouble [and was therefore] like (Yudhiṣṭhira) the foremost of Pṛithā's sons [who annihilated Śalya]; and whose armies were terrible in chastising the forces of enemies difficult to be chastised [so that he was like Bhīmaśena⁸ subduing the strength of his enemy Duṣṣāsana].

(V. 14.) In a battle which was terrific by the collision with the multitude of the close arrays of the furious elephants of the irresistible enemy, where warriors rejoiced and the circuit of the regions was hid on by the dust from the hoofs of horses, where rows of *pālidhvaja*⁹ banners were fluttering and the crowd of feudatories was inundated with streams of blood issuing from wounds, he at¹⁰ caused Nāgāvalōka quickly to turn back.

(V. 15.) The blade of his sword, with rows of spotless teeth formed on it by the mass of pearls that were shed by the frontal globes of the choice elephants¹¹ of the irresistible adversary, exultingly laughs as it were in the devastated home of king Nāgāvalōka.

¹ Read *samvat*.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ On the second part of the inscription, lines 32-38, see above, p. 249.

⁴ I consider it sufficient to translate here those verses of the original text only which refer to historical events. The other verses will interest Sanskrit scholars only, to whom they will present no more difficulties than any ordinary classical text. A brief summary of the contents of the inscription has been given above.

⁵ In the case of the king the words *tuṅga-dvīpa* might possibly have to be translated by "the elephants of (king) Tuṅga," where the name Tuṅga would perhaps have reference to one of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkhād who had *divudasa* ending in *tuṅga* (Sāhasatuṅga, Subhātuṅga, Jagattuṅga, etc.).

⁶ For the figure *virōdha* or *virōdhābhāsa*, 'seeming contradiction,' used here by the poet, see above Vol. VI. p. 246, note 18.

⁷ The original has 'his (i.e. Jējja's) son.'

⁸ The word *bhīmaśena* is similarly used in a double sense, e.g. in the *Vāsavadattā*, p. 122, l. 5.

⁹ For this word which occurs also in verse 24, see e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 170 and Vol. VII. p. 227.

¹⁰ Here the original probably has the name of a place containing four syllables and ending with *lavana* or *lavana*.

¹¹ Compare in *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 107, l. 5: *nistriṣṭaghātavidalat-karikumbha-mukta-mukhāphalaprakara-*; also e.g. *Śiṣupālavadhā* V. 12.

(V. 18.) Now his son **Parabala** rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night; who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits; who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess.

(V. 24.) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms—conquered for him *pāḍidhvaja* banners.

(V. 25.) He caused to be built this temple of Śanri,¹ resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods.

(V. 26.) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected?) on the mountain of Garuḍadhvaṇja(?),² exactly so was this large Garuḍa-bannered pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari.³

(V. 27.) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Viṣṇu's foot making three strides, or the body of Sthāṇu³ shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śeṣha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king,⁴ the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king **Parabala**.

(V. 28.) His prime minister was [Kṣh?]i . . . , administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king **Parabala**. He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer⁵ of Madhu this Garuḍa-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes.⁶

(Line 31.) The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra.

No. 35.—ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA;

The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

On a hillock to the south of **Īanumkoṇḍā**⁷ (Anmakonḍa) near Warangal in the Nizam's State, stands the small temple of **Padmākṣhī** which, unlike other buildings attributable to the **Kākatīya** period,⁸ is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

¹ I.e. Viṣṇu.

² I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original. *Garuḍa-dhvajādri* might be equivalent to *Kṛṣṇagiri*.

³ I.e. Śiva.

⁴ These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuḍa on the top of the pillar.

⁵ I.e. Viṣṇu.

⁶ In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Viṣṇu.

⁷ This is the form given in Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 46.

⁸ The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakonḍa was built by Prōla's son Rudra in or about A.D. 1162-63 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI, p. 9 f.) and contains some excellently sculptured door-posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the **Kākatīya** kings at that place (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, p. 4). Mr. Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the*

some **Jaina** images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting Jaina ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting Jaina figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the Padmākshī temple was originally dedicated to the Jaina¹ goddess **Kadalalāya** and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the *basadi* (Jaina temple). At present the Brāhmanas of Annamakonda, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name Padmākshī, which they believe to be synonymous with Durgā.² It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the Jainas to the Brāhmanas.

Annamakonda, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, Annakundā (l. 16) or Annakunde (l. 75), was originally the capital of the Kākatiya kings and was situated in the **Andhra** country.³ The neighbouring town of Warangal (**Ōruṅgallu** in Telugu or **Ēkasīlanagara** in Sanskrit) became the seat of government about the end of **Gaṇapati's** reign and continued as such until the collapse of the Kākatiya family.⁴ Annamakonda and Warangal are now stations

Nizam's Territories, p. 47). The temples near the Rāmappa Lake in the Warangal district are (*ibid.* p. 49) of the same type as the great temple at Haumakonda, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A.D. 1213-14 by Rudra of Rēcharla, who was a dependant of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. The village Uparalle in the Yelgandal district is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the Kākatiya period (*ibid.* p. 74). The *śimśā* of the Tripurantakēśvara temple at Tripurantakam in the Kōrnol district was constructed in A.D. 1254-55 under the orders of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati (Epigraphical collection for 1905, No. 169). The Padmākshī temple at Annamakonda is the earliest known structural monument of the Kākatiya period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

¹ Jaina remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the Nizam's Dominions, which borders on the Bombay Presidency. Annamakonda is almost on the eastern border; see the map accompanying Mr. Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in II. II. the Nizam's Territories*.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1901-2*, paragraph 7. The goddess Padmākshī to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four *Śāsana-devīs* of the Jaina mythology. Ambā or Ambikā, the *Śāsana-devī* of the 22nd Tithānkara Neminātha, is supposed to be a form of Durgā. Padmāvatī was the *Śāsana-devī* of Parśvanātha (Dr. Burgess' *Archæol. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. V. p. 45 f. and p. 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by Mālama in the *basadi* at Annamakonda was either Ambikā or Padmāvatī—called, in Kannarese, Kadalalāya, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

³ Above, Vol. III., p. 82, and footnote 4.

⁴ The Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of the time of Gaṇapati states (v. 9) that Rudra, son of Prōla, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named after those towns in the city of Ōruṅgallu and peopled them with their respective inhabitants; while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of Rudrēśvara and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that Warangal, which was already in existence as an important city (see l. 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by Rudra. Rēcharla Rudra, a general of Gaṇapati (see above, p. 256, note 8) is said to have put to flight king Nāgati and founded the temple of Rudrēśvara at the city of Ōruṅgallu (Warangal)—perhaps after his own name. Ōruṅgallu or Ōrugallu, which was thus improved by the Kākatiya king Rudra, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position in the time of Prōla, Rudra and Gaṇapati, while Annamakonda was the capital. No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905-06 which belongs to the time of Rudra and is dated in Saka-Samvat 1197, Viśākhānu (= A.D. 1195-80) states that the *mahāmāyadēśvara* Kākatiya Rudradēva-Mahārāja was "the lord of Annamakonda, the best of towns." Nos. 195 and 223 of the same collection belong to Gaṇapati and are both dated in Saka-Samvat 1174, Paridhāvin (= A.D. 1252-53). The former refers to Gaṇapati as "the lord of Annamakonda, the best of towns." In Saka-Samvat 1175 Gaṇapati still called himself the lord of Annamakonda (Mr. Butterworth's *Nellore Inscriptions*, O. 28). But No. 231 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905, dated in Saka-Samvat 1176, Ānanda, distinctly states that Gaṇapati was ruling with Ōrugallu as his capital. Whether his successor Rudranaddevi (or, as she is called in inscriptions, Rudradēva-Mahārāja) reigned from the newly established capital Warangal or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor Pratāparudra ruled over almost the whole of the Telugu country and portions even of the Tamil country from his throne at Ōruṅgallu. He is generally known as Ōruṅgaṇṭi Pratāparudra-lēva, i.e. Pratāparudra-lēva of Ōruṅgallu.

on the Hyderabad-Bezvada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. in the district of Sabbi-sâyira 'the Sabbi one thousand,' which formed part of the Western Châlukya empire, and to have been conferred by Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI. on his feudatory the Kākatiya chief Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta.¹ Sabbi-sâyira is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Dominions are published.²

The subjoined inscription³ engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear Kanaroso characters of the twelfth century A.D. The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1' 3½" on the east and west faces and 1' 2½" on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3' 6", 3' 5½", 3' 7", and 3' 3½" respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces. The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already. Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imprecatory verses (11 and 12) are in the Sanskrit language. Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation. The rest of the inscription is in Kanarose prose (ll. 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 99, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10). The writing calls for very few remarks. The *anusvara* is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll. 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll. 86, 98, 100 and 102). The *virāma* occurs once in l. 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter. The *ē*-sign, which is almost similar in form to the *virāma*, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal. In ll. 40 and 55, however, the *e* of *ḍe* in the word *pergyaḍe* and *ē* of *yē* in the word *hṛdayaḥ* are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right. In other cases this sign along with the *ē*-sign first described, marks the *ai*-sign. An attempt is made to distinguish the long *i* from the short *i* but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of *pa* ought to be shorter than in that of *sha*, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make *pa* look almost like *sha*. The forms *kṛinā* for *kṛamā* in l. 20 and *yējñā* for *yajñā* in l. 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarose pronunciation.

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of Jinēndra (v. 1) and refers in ll. 6 to 24 to the reign of the mahārājādhirāja, paramāśvara and paramabhaṭṭāraka, the [Western] Châlukya king Tribhuvanamalla-dēva [Vikramāditya VI.] and his feudatory the mahāmāṇḍalāśvara Kākati Bēta (l. 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (*pañcamahākāśa*) and who was 'the lord of Annakundā (l. 16), the best of towns.' The hereditary minister of Kākati Bētarasa (l. 30) was the *maṇḍalhinātha* Vaija (v. 2). Verse 3 states that Vaija brought his master the *maṇḍalika* Kākati Bēta (ll. 32 and 37) to the feet of the Châlukya (l. 33) emperor⁴ (*chakrin*) (viz. Vikramāditya VI.) and made him rule the district of

¹ See verse 3 below.

² Sabbi or Chhabbi Bāry, a small district over which the Western Gaṅga king Pañchaladēva was ruling in A.D. 971, and which took its name from the village of Chabbi or Chhabbi in the Hubli taluka of the Dharwar district (Dr. Fleet's *Kanarose Dynasties*, p. 307) seems to be different from the Sabbi-sâyira district which was ruled by the Kākatiya chief Bēta.

³ No. 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902. Mr. Cousens refers to this as No. 4 of the inscriptions at Hamkundā and Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*, p. 48).

⁴ In footnote 7 on p. 91 of Vol. VI. above, Professor Lüders questions the propriety of the title *chakrin* (*chakravartin*) as applied to Vikramāditya VI. in an inscription at Sravapa-Belgoja, dated in Saka-Samvat 1031. He presumes that the title *chakrin* is based on the analogy of the epithets *sarvajñachakravartin*, *pratyachakravartin* and *Châlukyachakravartin* assumed respectively by three of Vikramāditya's successors, viz. Sōmēśvara III., Jagadēkamalla II. and Taila III. The title *Châlukya-chakrin* applied to Vikramāditya VI. in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial *biruda* originated with him;

Sabbi-sāyira (l. 34 f.) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vaija's son by Yākamabbe (l. 38 f.) was the *pergaḍe* Bēta, who became the minister of Kākati Prōla (l. 43). The only act of this Bēta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (*i.e.* temples) in his native village (v. 5). The wife of this minister Bēta—the son of Yākamāmbikā (l. 53 f.)—was Mailama (vv. 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the Kadalalāya-baṇḍi on the top of the hill (v. 9) and that—in the Chālukya-Vikrama (l. 76) year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hemalāmbi, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Paushya, while the king Kākatiya Pojalarasa (l. 73), son of the *maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla (l. 72) was ruling at Annakunde (l. 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six *matṭar* (l. 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bētana-*pergaḍe* (l. 81).¹ The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Mailama on the same occasion (l. 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten *matṭar* (l. 98 f.) of land to the same temple by the *mahimaṇḍalāśvara* Mōlarasa of Ugravadi (ll. 92 to 94), a member of the family of Mādha[va]varman (l. 91) ' (who possessed a fabulous army) of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot-soldiers.' The land which Mōlarasa granted was situated below the Kūchikore tank, which belonged to Oruṅgallu (l. 95). This town was under the control of Mōlarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a *pāḍa* (*hūga*) coin to the temple sweeper Bōya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kishhorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription:—"Ch. V. 42 = Ś. 1039 exp. = Hemalāmba. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 24th December A.D. 1117. On this day the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place 14 h. 55 m. after mean sunrise, during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausya, which commenced 6 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise, and ended 10 h. 13 m. before mean sunrise of the following day."

Seven inscriptions of the Kākatiya dynasty have been published so far.² The earliest of these belongs to the time of Rudra,³ five to that of Gaṇapati,⁴ and one to that of Pratāparudra. The first of these and the Kāñchi inscription of Gaṇapati⁵ supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kākatiya dynasty, *viz.* Tribhuvanamalla Bētana. The Chōbrōlu record of Gaṇapati⁶ and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Bētana, the form Bēta. The former of these two records and the unpublished Pakhāl inscription of about the time of Gaṇapati⁷ mention a certain Durjaya in the Kākatiya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bēta and the other as the father of Prōla. The Pakhāl inscription further states that

chakrin is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief,' above, Vol. IV., p. 96.

¹ This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmakṣi temple is situated.

² Nos. 534 to 589 and No. 1066 of Appendix to Vol. VII. above.

³ This is his Annakonda inscription of Śaka-Saṃvat 1084, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI. pp. 9 ff. An unpublished record at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives for him the date Śaka-Saṃvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Gaṇapati being now fixed at Śaka-Saṃvat 1121 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 43) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Śaka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Annakonda inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Śaka 1084.

⁴ These range in date between Śaka 1135 and Śaka 1172. The earliest inscription of Gaṇapati found at Tripurāntakam is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1131 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bezvāḍa already in Śaka 1123; see below, p. 262, note 2.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI. p. 197 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. V. p. 142 ff.

⁷ No. 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pakhāl) tank by Jagadāla-Mummaḍi, son of Bayyana-Nāyaka, a minister of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati. One's (Pakhāl) tank by Jagadāla, the capital of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, with the chief Jagadāla-Mummaḍi. The tradition that the kings of Bastar trace their descent from the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra (above, p. 164 f.) lends further support to the chief's connection with Jagdālpur.

Karikāla-Chōla of the solar race was one of the predecessors of **Durjaya**. The **Kāñchī** epigraph quoted above, which also traces the **Kākatīyas**, as the **Chēbrōlu** and the **Pākhal** inscriptions do, to the **Sun**, **Mann**, **Ikshvāku**, and other mythical kings of the **Rāghu** family, does not give the names of either **Karikāla-Chōla** or of **Durjaya**. The appearance of these two names in the **Kākatīya** genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king **Karikāla-Chōla** as an ancestor of the **Kākatīyas**, attention may be drawn to the fact that the **Telugu-Chōḍas** who invariably claim connection with this mythical **Chōla** king, became feudatories of the **Kākatīyas** in the time of **Ganapati**.¹ With regard to **Durjaya**, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the **Telugu** country.² The first historical ancestor of the **Kākatīya** family was **Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta**. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the **Andhra** country before he became a feudatory of the **Western Chālukyas** and the governor of the **Sabbi** one thousand district. The surname **Tribhuvanamalla** which occurs here as well as in the **Kāñchī** and **Anmakonda** inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord **Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI**.

Bēta's son and successor was **Prōla**, **Prōlorāja**, **Prōdarāja** or **Polalarasa**, whose surname **Jagatikesarin** is known to us from the **Kāñchī** inscription of his grandson **Ganapati**. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being the earliest **Kākatīya** record and the only one of **Prōla** found so far. Like his father **Bēta**, **Prōla** appears to have continued as a feudatory of **Vikramāditya VI**.³ The **Anmakonda** inscription of his son **Rudra** and the **Ganapēsvaram** record of his grandson **Ganapati**, mention in detail the military exploits of **Prōla**. These have been fully discussed by **Dr. Fleet** and **Professor Hultzsch**.⁵ One of the opponents of **Prōla** was **Tailapadēva** called "the crest-jewel of the **Chālukyas**" in the **Anmakonda** inscription. **Dr. Fleet** has identified him with the **Western Chālukya** king **Taila III**. (A.D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for **Prōla** from at least the **Chālukya-Vikrama** year 42 (= A.D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A.D. 1150-51, the first year of **Taila III**, unless we suppose that **Prōla** fought with **Taila** while the latter was yet a prince.⁶ That **Rudra**, son of **Prōla**, successfully averted a usurpation of the **Chālukya** throne after the death of **Taila III**, by a certain **Bhima**

¹ See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the **Chōḍas** of the **Telugu** country, remarks under **Ōpiliśiddhi II** and paragraph 53.

² The **Kondapadmati** chief **Buddharāja** and the *mahimandālēśvara* **Nambaya**—two petty chieftains of the **Telugu** country on the southern side of the **Krishna** river—bore the surname 'the lion of the mountain—the **Durjaya** family' (above, Vol. VI. p. 268 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from **Telugu** records that a family of chiefs known by the name **Chāgi** was contemporaneous with the **Kondapadmati**. Nos. 253 and 271 of the *Epigraphical collection* for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the **Durjaya-kula** born from the feet of **Vishnu**. No. 255 of the same collection, which is dated in **Saka-Samvat 1148** and which belongs to the time of **Chāgi Ganarāja-Mahārāja** who was probably a member of this **Chāgi Durjaya-kula**, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the **Yanamadala** inscription describing the **Kākatīya** king **Ganapati** (above, Vol. III. p. 97 f., text II. 31 to 36). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged; otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the **Chāgi Durjaya-kula** were borrowing from the royal **Kākatīya** family of **Warangal** not only names, but sometimes even the description of the members of its family.

³ This may be inferred from the use of the **Chālukya-Vikrama** era in the date portion of the subjoined record.

⁴ The **Pākhal** inscription referred to above, states that **Rudra** was born in the family of **Prōla**, which is quite against the testimony of other **Kākatīya** inscriptions.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 10 and above, Vol. III. p. 83.

⁶ The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for **Prōla** is actually stated to have captured **Taila** in battle and to have released him, out of 'loyalty and love' (*bhakti-anurāgat*). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the **Chālukya** throne different from **Taila**. *Chālukya-chāḍāmāni* seems to have been a title of **Western Chālukya** princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.

whose capital was at Vardhamānanagari,¹ shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Chālukyas. Prōla's other enemies referred to in the Annamakonda inscription were Jagaddēva, Gōvinda (or Gōvindadandēsa, as he is called in the Ganapēśvaram inscription), Guṇḍa and Udaya or Chōḍōdaya. Jagaddēva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva, the Śāntara chief of Paṭṭi-Pombuchchapura, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. and then of his grandson Jagadēkamalla II. He must have "stood encompassing the city of Annamakonda" on behalf of the Chālukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prōla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prōla inflicted the defeat on prince Taila III. as stated above. Indeed, Prōla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Guṇḍa, the lord of the city of Manthana or Mantrakūṭa which is probably identical with the village of Mantena² in the Nuzvid Zamindāri of the Gōlavari district. Gōvinda or Gōvindadandēsa, I would identify with the Gōvindarāja of the Abtūr inscriptions,³ who was the nephew of Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya VI.—and with the *daṇḍanīyaka* Gōvindarasa, who in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A.D. 1126-27 was ruling the Koṇḍapaḷli three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurāntakam.⁴ Here we are told that this *daṇḍanīyaka* Gōvindarasa "burnt Beṅgipura (Vōṅgi?)" and conquered Goṅka.⁵ This Goṅka is apparently identical with the Velanāṇḍu chief Goṅka II., father of Rājendra-Chōḍa.⁶ Udaya or Chōḍōdaya, whom Prōla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultzsch perhaps "to be connected with Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅka

Vira Nalamba Pallava Permāṇḍi Jayasīṅghadēva, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI, had such a birda. Perhaps Taila's defeat by Prōla took place while the former was yet a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p. 11. Vardhamānanagari is said to have been burnt by Rudra after marching 'a few steps' from his capital Annamakonda. Dr. Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizām's dominions not far from Annamakonda. There are two places with either of which Vardhamānanagari may be identified. One is Vardhanpet, about 20 miles south-west of Annamakonda and the other is Waddamarri, about 50 miles south-west of Annamakonda in the direction of Kalyāṇa. A later chief of Vardhamānanagari is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Raichur, as a feudatory of Pratāparudra. The record is dated in A.D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratāparudra derived from inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II., paragraph 14). I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 56.

² There is a place called Mantani in the Yelgandal district of the Nizām's State which is about 50 miles north of Annamakonda.

³ Above, Vol. V. p. 213 ff.

⁴ No. 258 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, paragraph 40.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV. p. 35. On p. 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultzsch refers to the birda *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha* of Goṅka II. and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Chālukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanāṇḍu chiefs became the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas subsequent to the death of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I. (*ibid.* p. 37), the title borne by Goṅka II. was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. No. 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Velanāṇṭi-Goṅka in Śaka-Saivat 1028 (= A.D. 1106-07). This Goṅka is identical with Goṅka I. in the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chief s. The inscription states that he bore the title *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha*, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No. 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Śaka-Saivat 998, the cyclic year Nala, corresponding to the [7]th year of Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja [Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I.] registers a grant by Velanāṇṭi-Goṅkara (i.e. Goṅka I.), the commander of all forces (*samasta-shūdrhipati*) of the king. This shows that the title *Chālukya-rājya-bhavana-mūlastambha* assumed by Goṅka I. when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. We also learn from No. 151 of 1897 that Goṅka I. was the son of Guṇḍāmbikā. He was a *trikāṭōttara-sahasrāvant-niṭha* 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No. 277 of 1905), while his grandson Goṅka II. was a *trikāṭōttara-shaṣṭasahasrāvant-niṭha* 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No. 274 of 1893).

of Velanāṇḍu.¹ Thus Prōla who, in his early career, was a Chālukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reign of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkaṁalla II., preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Annakonḍa inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrīśaila.²

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks. Mēlarasa of Ugravāḍi who belonged to the family of Mādhavavarman, is not known from other inscriptions. A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Krishnaraya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bezvāḍa and were ruling a portion of the Udayagiri-rajya, traces its origin to a certain Mādhavavarman of the Solar race and the Vasishṭha-gōtra.³ It is doubtful if this Mādhavavarman could be connected with the mythical Mādhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mēlarasa of Ugravāḍi.

TEXT.⁴

East Face.

- 1 Śrīmaḍ-Jinēndra-pada-padmaṁ=a-
- 2 śēsha-bhavyān=avyāt-trilōka-nṛi-
- 3 patēndra-munēndra-varāḍyam | niḥ-
- 4 śēsha-dōsha-parikhamāḍana-chamḍa-kā-
- 5 ṇḍam ratna-traya-prabhavam-udgha-

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 83. If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chōḍōlaya may be identified with the Velanāṇḍu chief Kulōtunga-Chōḍa-Gonka III (No. 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṇḍu chiefs on p. 35 of above, Vol. IV.) whose inscriptions range between A.D. 1138 and A.D. 1157. And the word *Chōḍōlaya*, which literally means 'one who is) born of Chōḍa' may very aptly be applied to Kulōtunga-Chōḍa-Gonka III, whose father Velanṭi-Rājēndra-Chōḍa is called Chōḍa of Velanāṇḍu in one of his inscriptions at Pālakōḍi, dated in A.D. 1136 (No. 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chōḍi in an inscription at Nidubrolu, dated in A.D. 1132 (No. 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f.), and probably also in the Ganapēśvaram inscription as king Chōḍi, the overlord of the Ayya chief Nārāyana I. who was the grandfather of Jayama, the general of Ganapati. This identification of Chōḍōlaya with Gonka III, whose latest date as stated above, is A.D. 1157, if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Annakonḍa inscription that Chōḍōlaya died out of fear of Prōla's successor Rudra, who burnt his city.

² This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra's dominions is concerned. The existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No. 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrīśaila. Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Telugu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kandūrōḍa-Chōḍa (above, Vol. III. p. 83). Ganapati did likewise by taking to wives Nārāmbā and Pērāmbā, the two sisters of his general Jāyama (*ibid.* p. 84). A Tripurāntakam inscription (No. 204 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Ganapati's sister Mēlāmbikā married Vakkaḍinalla Rudra, the second son of Buddha (lord of Nāṭavāṭi-vishaya). The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bezvāḍa which is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1123 (above, Vol. VI. p. 159, text line 8) where Nāṭavāḍi Rudra (not his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the *magandī* 'brother-in-law' of Ganapati. Ganapati's daughter Ganapāmbā was given in marriage to the Kōṭa chief Bēta of Amarāvati (above, Vol. III. p. 94). The Kōṭa chief Kēta II., whose mother Sabhamā was the sister of the Velanāṇḍu chief Gonka III. (above, Vol. VI. p. 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Krishnā river. Two unpublished inscriptions from Amarāvati in the Guntur district (Nos. 261 and 262 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viṣṇamā of the family of the chiefs of Oṅginimārga (perhaps identical with Oṅgōrumārga over which Nambaya of the Durjaya family was ruling; see above, Vol. VI. p. 224); Sabhamā of the family ruling the country "to the west of the hill," i.e. the Kondapadmaṭi; Pārvatī of the family of the chiefs of Kōṇa-Kugdravāḍi; Nāgamā of the family of the chiefs of Kākati and Komarama, another princess of the Kondapadmaṭi family. It is doubtful if the Kākati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kākatiyas of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kākati in consequence of its relationship with the Kākatiyas either directly or indirectly.

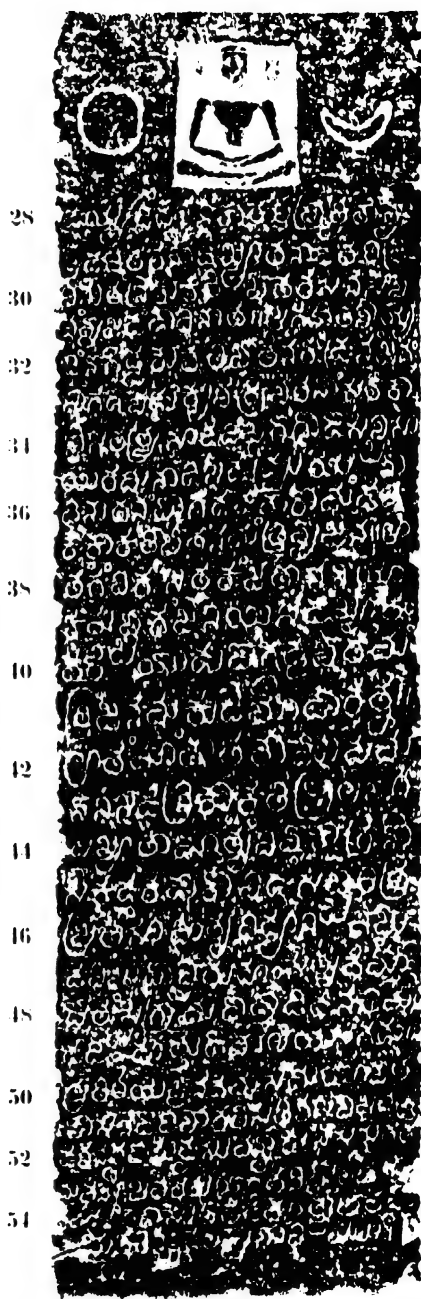
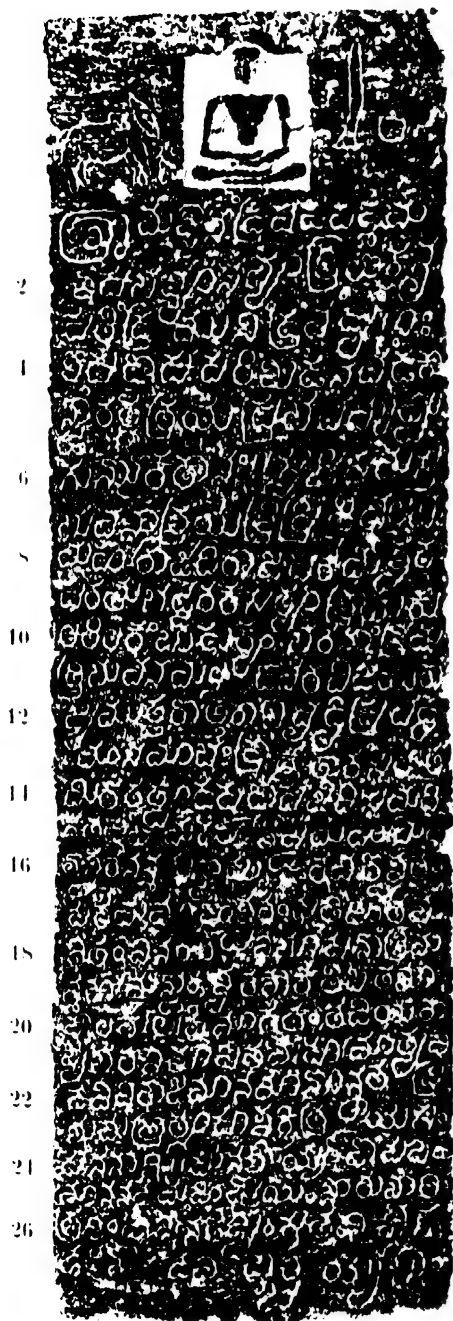
³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1906-07, Part II., paragraph 73.

⁴ From two ink-impressions prepared by me in 1902.

Anmakonda inscription of Prola. — Chalukya Vikrama 42.

East face.

North face.



Sten Konow.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

Scale 15



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- 6 guṇ-nikāṭināṁ || [1*] Svasti samasta-
 7 bhuvanāśraya śrī-pri(pri)thvivallabha
 8 mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara
 9 paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśraya-ku-
 10 la-tilakam Chālukya-ābharanam śrīma-
 11 t-[T]ribhuvanamalladōvara vijaya-rā-
 12 jyam-uttar-ōttar-ābhividdhi pravarddha-
 13 mānam=ā-chaṇḍe-ārka-tāram salutta-
 14 m=ire [I*] Tat-pādapadm-ōpajivi samadhi-
 15 gatapamchamahāsabla mahāmam[ḍa]-
 16 lōśvaran=Anmakundā-puravar-ēśvaram
 17 parama-Māhēśvaram pati-hita-cha-
 18 ritam vina[ya]-vibhūṣaṇam śrīma-
 19 n-mahāmāṇḍalōśvara[m] Kākatī-Bēta-(bhū)-
 20 pāla-kula-kri(kra)māgataṁ tadīya-rā-
 21 jya-bhara-nirūpita-mahāmātya-pa-
 22 davi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata pra-
 23 bhu-mamtr-ō[t]sāha-śakti-trayn-sam-
 24 pāṇnan-ā[gi] || Ghana-śauryy-ātōpa[ḍi]m
 25 māntauada mahimoyim chāru-chāri-
 26 tradim[d-o]lpina telpim sat-kaḷā-kaṇṇa-
 27 ḷadi[n-o]david=Āścharyya-[sau]m-

North Face.

- 28 daryyadiṇḍ-a[rtthi]nikāya-prārthit-ārttha-
 29 [pra]da-vitarana-[vi]khyātan-ādām dharitri-
 30 [vi]nutam śrī-Kākatī-Bōtarasana sachi-
 31 vam Vaija damādādhinātha || [2*] Agapita-śauryya-
 32 diṁ negaḍḍa[ḍa] Kākatī-Bēta-marōṇḍranam jagam
 33 poṁgaḷe¹ Chālukya-chukri-charanam salo kā-
 34 ṇiṣi tat-prasādaliṁ bagegole Sabbi-sā-
 35 yiraman=Āṇiṣi[d=u]dgha-yaśō-
 36 dhināthanam pogaladar=āro māṇḍa[ḷi]-
 37 ka-Kākatī-Bētana mamtri Vaijanna || [3*] Ā-
 38 tūgam vikasita-kamjāt-ānana Yā-
 39 kamabbogam janīyisidam khyātam
 40 dhareyoḷu perggale Bētam mān-
 41 tri-jana-makuta-chūḍaratna || [4*]
 42 Ātam Mām[dh]āta-Rām-ōpama-
 43 n-enisida śrī-Kākatī-Prōla-bhū-
 44 pa-khyāt-āmātyam vivōk-āgrani²
 45 sakaḷa-kaḷā-kōvidam sach-charitra-
 46 pritam sāhitya-viḍyā-ni[dhi] bu-
 47 da(dha)-vibhūth-ōrvviruham satya-dharm-ō-
 48 pētam sva-grāmadōl=māḍidan-ati-ma-
 49 dadim hattu dōvālayaṁgaḷu³ || [5*]
 50 Atiśaya-Jaina-dharmma-samay-ōchita-
 51 Śāsanadōvi Bhārati-sati śasi(śi)-bimba-va[ktra]-

¹ Read *pogaḷe*.² In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with *virāgy-agrani*.³ About the *u* here and ll. 55, 68, and 69, which Dr. Fleet thinks to be a form of the *virāma*, see above.

- 52 daṣaṇa-chehhado **śuddha-suvarṇa**(ṇṇa)-kuṇḍha-sannuta-ta-
 53 nuvarṇa(ṇṇa)-pivara-[pa]yôdhari **Maila[ma Yā]-**
 54 [ka]māmbikā-su[ta]-tad-amātya-[Bē]ta-[brī]-
 55 day-ēśvari niśchaḷa-Lakshmi bhāvisalu[||][6*]

West Face.

- 56 Padadiṇḍ-ā-luḷit-ālakam barega[m=aṁ]g-ô-
 57 pāṇgamam pañcha-ratnadin=aṁg-ôchitam-āge
 58 nirmisi sura-srī-lh[ā]gya-saubbhāgya-
 59 samma[da]-samm[da]rīyaman=āydu tīvi
 60 padedam Karijāta-samjātan=i su[dati]-
 61 ratnaman=omdu Mailamanan=ār=ār=bluṇnisa-
 62 r=llōkado[||][7*] Nuta-rūpavati kaḷā[va]-
 63 ti rati-Rati Śrī-sati Ghatāntaki-sati Vā-
 64 nī-satiy=omdu=amātya-Bētana satiyam
 65 kshitiy-ollam=cydo nutiyisut=irku[īn ||][8*]
 66 Mudadiṇḍ=eno negalḍa [ka]m-āspado Mai-
 67 lama bhaktiyimdo māḷisi tanag=abhyuda-
 68 yakaram=āgiralu beḷḷada [mē]gaṇa
 69 **Kadalalōya-basadiyan=eseyalu[||][9*]**
 70 Adarkko nitya-pūjegam dhūpa-dipa-[ni]vōḷya-
 71 kkarū pūjārig=āhā[ra]¹-vastrādigaḷgam
 72 śrīmat-[t]¹ribhuvanamalla-mamḍalika-bhū[pā]-
 73 la-pntran-appa **Kākatīya-Polalarasana rā-**
 74 jyam=ntta[r]-ōttar-ā[bhi]vri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā-
 75 g=Ammakumḍeyal-ā-chamḍr-ār[kā]-tāram sa-
 76 luttum=iro śrīmach-**Ohālukya-Vikrama-va[r]sha-**
 77 **da nālvatt-erado(ḍa)noya Hēmaḷambi-[sam]-**
 78 **vatsara Paushya-bahula 15 Sōmavā-**
 79 **rad-amdin-Uttarāyaṇa-samkrānti-nimi-**
 80 ttam dhārā-pūrvvakam-āgi tan[na] vallabhan-appa
 81 Bētana-perggaḍo tanna pesarimḍam māḍi-
 82 sida kecy-ēriya keḷagan eradum
 83 hās-āge-ga[1*]lugala nadu(ḍu)vaṇa gardhde(rdde)[ya]
 84 mattar-eradum mattam=ā-kecyā pu-
 85 du(ḍu)vaṇa nēla doneya tēṁkal=ereya
 86 mattar=nnālukam karimbam ma[ttā]r-āḷu(ḷu)-
 87 mam koḷḷu nirisida[ī-sā[sa]na-gambha ||

South Face.

- 88 Mattam=i dharmmakko tellaṭiy-āge[||][*]
 89 A[shṭau] danti-sahasrāṇi daṣa-kō-
 90 tī cha vājinām-[1*] anantam pāda-sam-
 91 ghātam=ity-ētō **Mādha[va*]varṇma-**
 92 vaṁś-ōdbhavar-appa śrīman-mahā-
 93 maṇḍaḷēśvaran=**Ugravāḍi-**
 94 **ya Mēlarasam tann=ā[li]ko-**

¹ In the original the syllables *gāhāra* look like *gōhānta*.

- 95 y=Oruṅgalla Kūchikere-
 96 y=ēriya koḷag[o] kâlueya
 97 modala garddeya mattar=onl=â sa-
 98 mipadale karuṁbain matta-
 99 ru hattuman=itta || Nirutam=i-
 100 dan=alidavam sâsira-kavi[le]-
 101 yan-aji[da] pâpamain [po]rddu-
 102 gam=âdaradin rakshi[si*]daim sâ-
 103 sira-ye(ya)jñada palaman-eydi
 104 śubha[ma]in paḍegn[m*] || [10*] Sva-da-
 105 ttâm para-dattâm vâ yô harēta
 106 vasurādhara[m] [l*] śhaṣṭīr=vvaṣṣa-sahasr[â]-
 107 ŋi viśṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih || [11*]
 108 Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabbis=Sa-
 109 gar-âdibhiḥ [l*] yasya yasya ya-
 110 dâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phala[m] || [12*]
 111 Alli basadiya kasarū ge(ga)leva Bô-
 112 ya-[Pa]ddaṅgo pāga voṁdu ||

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) May the lotus-foot of the blessed Jinendra, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being praised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (*residing*) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his *dôsha*¹), which is the origin of the *ratna-traya*² (as the lotus is the birth-place of gems³) (*and*) which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (*guna*) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all Bhavyas !⁴

(Line 6 f.) Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladêva,—the asylum of the whole world, the glorious Prithvivallabha, Mahârâjadhiraṭja, Paramêśvara, Paramabhadraka, the front ornament of the Satyâśraya family, the jewel of the Châḷukyas,—was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars.

(L. 14 f.) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, the chief Kâkati Bêtarasa who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a mahâmaṇḍalêśvara, the lord of Anmakundâ—the best of towns, a great devotee of Mahêśvara (Śiva), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.⁵

(L. 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (*mahimitya*) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (*i.e.* Bêta), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V. 2.) the daṇḍâdhinâtha Vaija, minister of the glorious king Kâkati Bêta, worshipped by (all the people of) the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

¹ *Dôsha* is a medical term and means, according to Dr. Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death.' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this *dôsha*.

² See above, Vol. VIII. p. 134, note 3.

³ These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called *tavare-maṇi* (lotus-gems) in Kanarese.

⁴ *I.e.* the Jaina community; see Mr. Bico's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II., p. 59, paragraph 6.

⁵ The original appears to have *vinayi* in which case the phrase may be translated "the jewel among the well-behaved;" but as *vinaya-vibhakti* is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read *ya* instead of *yi*.

of supplicants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride! (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous.

(V. 3.) Who does not extol the minister of the *maṇḍalika* Kākātī Bēta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applauses of the world, the renowned king Kākātī Bēta to successfully visit the feet of the Chālukya emperor (*chakrin*), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world).

(V. 4.) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced Yākamabbo was born *pergaḍe* Bēta who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class.

(V. 5.) He (Bēta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kākātī-Prōḷa, who was counted as equal to Māndhātā and Rāma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (*i.e.* temples) in his own village.

(V. 6.) The wife of the minister Bēta, the son of [Yā]kamāmbikā, (was) Mailama, whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the *bimba* (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhārati, a Śāsana¹devī (*par excellence*) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakshmi (but) without (the latter's) fickleness.

(V. 7.) Who, who in this world does not extol Mailama saying: "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuncts from the feet right up to those tremulous curls, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,—(he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation)."

(V. 8.) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bēta saying: "She possesses praiseworthy beauty; she is full of lustre; (she) is a Rati in dalliance; (she) is the lady Śrī (*i.e.* Lakshmi), (she) is the lady Ghaṭāntakī;² (she) is the lady Vāṇī (*i.e.* Sarasvatī)."

(V. 9.) The thus-praised abode of Ramā (*i.e.* Lakshmi)—Mailama—having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent Kadalalāya-basadi (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L. 70.) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, *etc.*, of the temple priest,—

(L. 72.) while the reign of Kākātiya Poḷalarasa, son of the glorious king, the *Maṇḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla, was continuously prosperous and successful, at Ammakunde, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars—in the forty-second year of the prosperous Chālukya-Vikrama years, corresponding to the Hōmaḷambi-samvatsara; on account of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti

¹ The word *māntana* is not found in Dr. Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*. Perhaps it is a poetical form for *mānatana*.

² The Jaina saint Akalaṅka is said in the Mallishēṇa epitaph (above, Vol. III. p. 200) to have overcome, along with the Buddhas, the Buddhist goddess Tārā who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place. According to the *Rājadvait-katha* (Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II. p. 45) Akalaṅka was helped in his disputation against the Buddhas by the Jaina goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Mailama is apparently compared to the goddess Kūshmāṇḍinī who helped Akalaṅka to smash the pot in which the goddess Tārā had taken her abode.

(which happened) on Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Paushya (of that year)—

(L. 80.) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two *mattar* of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the *band* of the tank built in her name by her husband Bêtanapergaḍe, and four *mattar* of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (*done*) on the west side of the same tank and six *mattar* of uncultivated land,¹ (and) set up this inscribed pillar.

(L. 88 f.) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous *mahivanḍalāśvara* Mōlarasa of Ugravādi, who was born in the family of Mādha[vav]arma, (whose army consisted) of “eight thousand elephants, eight crores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) etc.,” gave one *mattar* of wet-land at the head of the canal below the *band* of Kūchikero (tank) which belonged to Oruṅgallu (included) within his rule, (and) ten *mattar* of miscellaneous land close to the same (land).

(V. 10.) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows; (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (*yajña*).

[Ll. 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses.]

(L. 111 f.) One *pāga*² (is assigned) to Bōya-Padda who removes the sweepings in that temple.

No. 36.—BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghât, a district in the Nāgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, ‘some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle.’ They were entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between $6\frac{1}{4}$ " and $6\frac{3}{4}$ " long by between $3\frac{3}{4}$ " and 4" high; two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and between 3" and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.³

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēna II., but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

¹ I have taken *karambam* to be synonymous with Tamil *karambu*, which, according to Dr. Winslow, means ‘hard and sterile ground.’

² This small coin, more popularly pronounced *hāga*, is equal to ‘one-fourth of a *hāga*.’

³ Compare the descriptions of the three sets of plates of Pravaraśēna II. in *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 235 and 243 and above, Vol. III., p. 258.

commences. The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines¹ of well-engraved writing. The size of the letters is between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Dudia plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II., published with a facsimile above, Vol. III. p. 260. They include the subscript sign of the rare *jh*, in *Ajjhita*², l. 31, the sign of the *jihvīmāliya*, in *sūnīh* *Kuntulī*, l. 30, and forms of the final *l*, in *saṃrāt*, l. 4, and of the final *t* (which does not show in the facsimile), in *vachand*, l. 35.³ The conjunct *nn* is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for *nn* (in *sannivēṣita*, l. 6, *utpaunasya*, l. 23, and elsewhere); *visarga* is denoted by two hook-shaped lines (e. g. in *sūnīh*, ll. 11 and 20); the signs for *d* and *ḍ* are well distinguished, e. g. in *-vīśakīd*, l. 1, 1, and *śhōḍaśy*, l. 2; and there are two forms of the letter *v*, e. g. in *-vīśakīd*, l. 1, 1, and *vachanī*, l. 35.—The language is somewhat ungrammatical Sanskrit, and the text is all in prose. In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 *akṣaras* has through carelessness been omitted by the writer. As regards orthography, the rules of *sandhi* are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants); the (long) *ā* is several times written where the vowel should be short, and (the short) *i* is throughout employed for both *i* and *ī*; the vowel *ri* is used instead of *ri* in *-pautriṇaḥ*, l. 16, and *-śriyaḥ*, l. 27, and instead of *ri* in *śri*, ll. 17 and 25. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in *kārunya*, l. 12, *maṇō*, l. 13, and *-āpusirīṇaḥ*, l. 20; the word *aṃsa* is written as *ansa* in line 6, and *vaṃsa* as *vaṇsa* in lines 8, 24, 27 and 33; *śh* is doubled after *r* in *varṣṣha*, l. 14, and *dh* before *y* in *-addhyakṣha*, l. 35. With *°patir-ahya*⁴ for *°paty-ahya*⁵ in line 28, where the *r* of *°patir-* looks like a *sandhi*-consonant, we may compare *-bbalam-aīśvarya-* for *-bbalaīśvarya-* in line 15 of the Dudia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 261, where *m* is used in a similar way.⁶

With two exceptions, the text down to the word *Pravarasēnasya* in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants⁴ of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II.; like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with Pravarasēna I., and enumerating after him his son's son Rudrasēna I., his son Prithivishēna I., his son Rudrasēna II., and his son (from Prabhāvatiguptā, the daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Dēvagupta) Pravarasēna II. Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with *Vēmbāra-vīśakīd*, 'from (his) residence Vēmbāra,' in the place of which the Chammak and Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II. have *Pravarapurī*, 'from Pravarapura.' Our grant therefore was to have been issued from Vēmbāra, a place which I have not been able to identify. The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasēna II. commence with *drishṭam*, or *drishṭam svasti*, or *drishṭam siddham*, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word *Vēmbāra*, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like *drishṭam*. The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant. Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Dudia plates, above, Vol. III. p. 259, I am convinced now that *drishṭam* (and the Prākṛit *dīṭham* of the Mayidavōlu and Hīraḥaḍḡalli plates⁵) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders.⁶ Such a remark

¹ In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked; it is really line 18, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18–34 are really lines 19–35.

² There is a final *m* in line 27 (line 26 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands.

³ Other passages where *m* looks distinctly like a *sandhi*-consonant are *tīna maṇḍa-* for *tīndṇḍa-* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 309, line 10, and *pradīṣayitavyd manyathd* for *pradīṣayitavyd anyathd* in *Gupta Inscr.* p. 257, line 13.

⁴ See above, p. 267, note 2.

⁵ Nos. 617 and 618 of my *Southern List*.

⁶ Compare the remarks of the late Prof. Bühler, above Vol. I, pp. 9 and 10, and of Prof. Hultzsch above, Vol. VI, p. 88. Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Oude, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol. I, p. 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription *mohalīza shud*, 'it has been seen.' Like *drishṭam*, *jñātam* is used in the body of an inscription in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, p. 92, l. 21 (*jñātam-mahāmantri-śrī-Mdhakṣa*).

could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our grant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the grant would have done.

After Pravarasēna II. our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the *Mahārāja* *Narēndrasēna*, and after him his son — born from the queen (*mahilavi*) *Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikā*,¹ a daughter of the lord of *Kuntala* — the *Mahārāja* *Prithivishēna* [II.], a devout worshipper of *Bhagavat* (*Vishṇu*). *Narēndrasēna*, 'from confidence' in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune; his commands were honoured by the lords of *Kōsala*, *Mēkala* and *Mālava*, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess. *Prithivishēna* II. is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family.' The name *Prithivishēnasya*, in line 35, is followed by *vachanāt*, 'at his command'; but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the *Vākātaka* stone inscription published in *Archaeol. Survey of W. India*, Vol. IV. p. 124 ff., the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of *Pravarasēna* II., are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of *Pravarasēna*'s son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well,' has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was *Dēvasēna*. As has been stated above, according to our grant *Pravarasēna*'s son *Narēndrasēna* took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of *Kuntala*, and was succeeded by his son *Prithivishēna* II. The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of *Kuntala* by apparently *Prithivishēna* I., and in verse 18 speaks of *Kuntala*, *Avanti*, *Kaliṅga*, *Kōsala*, *Trikūṭa*, *Lāṭa*, *Andhra* [as having been subjected by one of the later *Vākātakas*]. According to the present inscription *Narēndrasēna* had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of *Kōsala*, *Mēkala* and *Mālava*. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of *Mēkala* (according to the Topographical List of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river *Narmadā* is called *Mēkala-kanyā*, 'the daughter of *Mēkala*, and that that river springs from the hill *Amarakantak* (in Long. 81° 48' and Lat. 22° 40') in the ancient *Chēdi* country.³

Here and in the cognate plates the *Vākātaka* kings have the title *mahārāja* followed by the word *śrī* prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive *Vākātakānām*; e.g. *Vākātakānām mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya*. Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vākātakānām* were governed by the title *mahārāja*: 'the illustrious *Pravarasēna*, the great king of the *Vākātakas*,' or 'the *Mahārāja* of the *Vākātakas*, the illustrious *Pravarasēna*.' The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title *mahārāja*, but the whole phrase *mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēna*, and more especially the word *Pravarasēna*, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious *Pravarasēna* of the *Vākātakas*,' i.e. 'of the family of the *Vākātakas*.'⁴ I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive *Maitrakūṭyām* in the *Valabhi* plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed; *Vishṇukunḍinām* above, Vol. IV. p. 195, l. 2; and

¹ The name *Ajjhitaśat* we also find in the *Kāṭilāi* plates of the *Mahārāja* *Jayanātha*; *Gupta Inscr.* p. 118.

² The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.

³ Compare *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol. XVII, Plate I., and the verse cited by Dr. Bhandarkar above, Vol. IV., p. 280.

⁴ The same remark applies to the genitive *Bhāratīyādām* in line 10 of the inscription.

Kadambāśrīm in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 26, l. 5 and Vol. VII. p. 35, l. 4, and above, Vol. VI. p. 14, l. 4, and p. 18, l. 5.

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A.D.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 . . . ²Vēmbāra-vāsakād=agnishṭōm-āptōryām-ōkthya-
- 2 shōḍaśy-atirātra-vājapōya-brihaspatisava-sādyā-
- 3 skra-chaturāsvamōdha-yājinaḥ³ Viṣṇuvṛiddha-sagōtra-
- 4 sya saiorāt⁴ Vākātākānām-mahārāja-śrī-⁵Pravarasē-
- 5 nasya ⁶sūnōs=sūnōḥ atyanta-Svāmi-Mahā-
- 6 bhairava-bhaktasya⁷ ansa-⁸bhāra-sannivēṣita-⁹Śiva-
- 7 līng-ōdvahana-Śiva-superitushṭa-samutpādita-
- 8 rājavanśānām¹⁰=parākram-ādihigata-Bhāgiratthy-āmala-¹¹
- 9 jala-¹²mārddhnābhishiktānām=daśāśvamōdh-āva-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 bhṛitha-snātānām=Bhārasivānām-¹³mahārāja-śrī-¹⁴Rudrasē-
- 11 nasya sūnōḥ atyanta-māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-
- 12 kārunya(ṇya)-śauryya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhā-
- 13 tmya-dhimatva-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmāvijayitva-¹⁵maṇ[ō]-¹⁶
- 14 nairmmāly-ādir-¹⁷guṇa-samuditasya varshsha-śata-
- 15 m=abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sūdhana-santāna-putra-
- 16 pautṛi(tri)ṇaḥ Yndhishṭhira-vṛittōr-¹⁸Vvākātākānām-mahā-
- 17 rāja-śrī(śrī)-Prithivishēṇasya sūnō[ḥ*] bhagavata-
- 18 ś=Chakrapāṇē[ḥ*] prasād-ōpārjjita-śrī-¹⁹

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 samudayasya Vākātākānām-mahārāja-śrī-²⁰Rudra-
- 20 sēnasya sūnōḥ ²¹pūrvvarāj-ānuvṛitta-mā[r*]gg-ānu(na)sā-

¹ From the original plates.

² At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three *akṣaras*. One would have expected here the word *dṛiṣṭam*, with which the three grants of Pravarasēna II. begin.

³ This sign of *visarga* is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁴ The plates of Pravarasēna II. have *saṃrād* (?), *sakraṭ*, and *saṃrātāḥ*. Read *saṃrājāḥ* (or *saṃrājō*).

⁵ Read -*śrī*-.

⁶ The *akṣhara* *sū* is clear in the original.

⁷ Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a *visarga*.

⁸ Read *ansa*-.

⁹ In this word and everywhere below the conjunct *nn* is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for *nn*.

¹⁰ Read '*vanśānām*'-.

¹¹ Read -*Bhāgiratthy-āmala*-.

¹² Read -*mārddhābhī*-. compare *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237, l. 6.

¹³ Here the words *mahārāja-śrī-Bhavandga-dauhitrasya Gautamiputrasya putrasya Vākātākānām* of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted.

¹⁴ Read -*śrī*-.

¹⁵ Read -*dhimatva-pātrgatabhaktitva dharmmavijayitva*-.

¹⁶ Read -*maṇō*-.

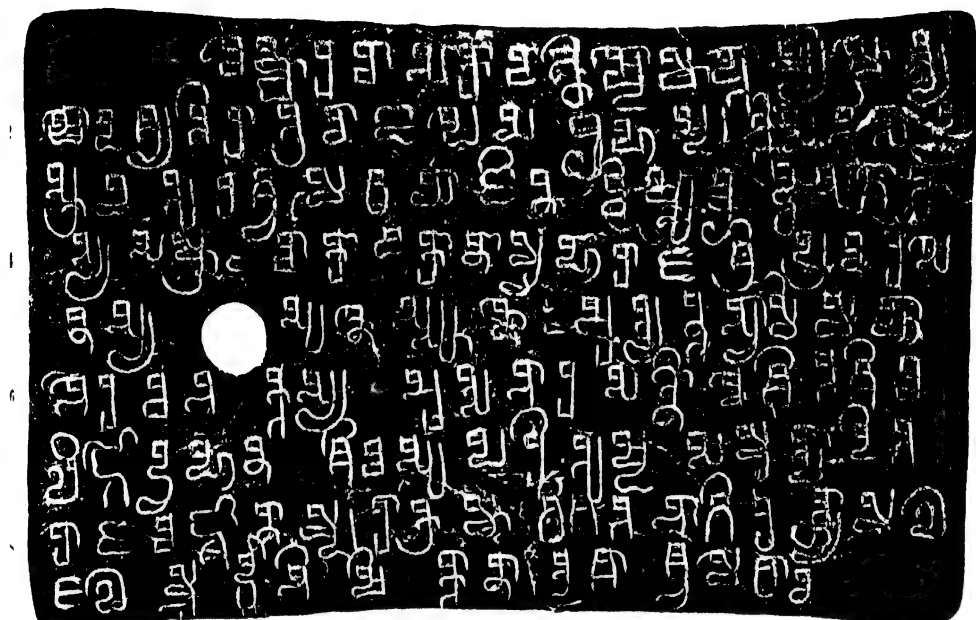
¹⁷ Read *nairmmāly-ādi*-.

¹⁸ Originally *eri*^o was engraved.

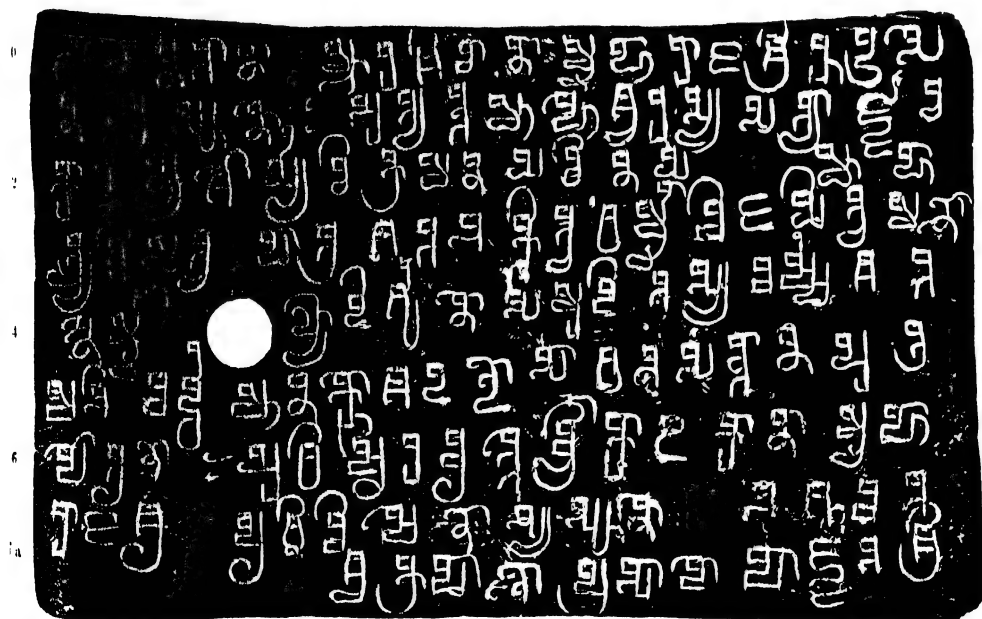
¹⁹ One would have expected *prasādd-ūpā*-.—Read -*śrī*-.

²⁰ Read -*śrī*-.

²¹ Of the three grants of Pravarasēna II., only the Siwani grant has the passage from here to *°dvishah*; see *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 246, lines 14 and 15.



ii a.



- 21 *riṣaḥ* *sunaya*-*bāla-parākram-ōmohhinna*-¹*sarvvad* *vi*-
 22 *śhaḥ* *mahārājādhirāja-sri*-²*Dévagupta-sutāyā*.
 23 *m-Prabhāvatiguptāyām-utpannasya Vākāṭa*-
 24 ³*kavaṇś-ālaṅkārahūtasya Śambhōḥ prasādād=dhra*(*dhri*)-
 25 ⁴*ta-kārttayugasya* ⁵*Vākāṭakānā[m*]*-*mahārāja*(*ja*)-*śri*(*śri*)-
 26 *Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ pūrvvādhigata-guṇa*-
 27 ⁶*vi*śvā[*sā ?*]*d=apahrīta-vaṇśasriyaḥ*⁷ *Kōśalā*-⁸

Third Plate.

- 28 *Mēkalā*⁹-*Mālav-ādhipatir-abhyarchchata*-¹⁰*śāsana**sya pra*-
 29 *tāpa-pralātarisana**sya*¹¹ *Vākāṭakānām-mahā*-
 30 *rāja-sri*-¹²*Narēndrasēnasya sūnōḥ-Kuntalādhipati*-
 31 *sutāyā[m*]*-*mahādēvyām-Ajjhita-bhaṭṭārikāyām-n*-
 32 *tpannasya tōjaḥ-kṣamā-sannihānabhuta*-¹³
 33 *syā*¹⁴ *dvimagna-vaṇśasy*¹⁵-*ōddharttuḥ Vākāṭakānā*-
 34 *m-paramabhāgavata-mahārāja-sri*¹⁶-*Prithivishē*-
 35 *ṇasya vacanāt*¹⁷ *asmatsantakā*¹⁸ *sarvv-āddhyakṣa*-

No. 37.—ORISSA PLATES OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEVA.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C.I.E.; GÖTTINGEN.

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr. C. T. Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 154 ff. In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Orissa, through Mr. C. L. Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr. Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between $6\frac{1}{16}$ " and $6\frac{1}{8}$ " long by between $3\frac{3}{8}$ " and $3\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about $\frac{5}{8}$ " distant from the middle of

¹ Read *-ōchchhinna*.

² Read *-sri*.

³ Read *-kavaṇś*.

⁴ Instead of this *ta*- the Chammak and Siwanī grants of Pravarasēna II. have *ti*-, which seems to me preferable.

⁵ Here some *akṣhara* (perhaps the initial *i*) was engraved, but has been erased.

⁶ The reading is doubtful. The first *akṣhara* of the line is *vi*, the superscript *i* of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original; and the second appears to be *śr*. The third *akṣhara* looks more like *yā* than *śā*, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final *m*, and has probably been struck out. The *da* and what follows is clear.

⁷ Read *-vaṇśasriyaḥ*.

⁸ Read *Kōśalā*.

⁹ Perhaps *Maikālā* has actually been engraved; read *Mākalā*.

¹⁰ Read *-paty-abhyarchchita*.

¹¹ Read *-pranāḍarīśanasya* (P).

¹² Read *-sri*.

¹³ Read *-bhūta*.

¹⁴ Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the *visarga*.

¹⁵ Read *ni*(*m*)*magna-vaṇśasy*.

¹⁶ Read *-sri*.

¹⁷ This final *i*, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plate. In *Gupta Inscr.* p. 237, l. 17, the text has *vachanāt* [*i**].

¹⁸ Read *-santakā*-, and compare above, Vol. III. p. 261, l. 13.

the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and about 3" in diameter, and on to it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between $1\frac{1}{8}$ " and $1\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

*śrī-Vidyādhara-
bhañjadēvasya*

in northern characters which are between $\frac{1}{8}$ " and $\frac{1}{4}$ " high.

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere¹ called the Gañjām variety of the northern alphabet; and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsār grant² of Nāṭribhañja, published in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. VI. p. 669 f. and Plate xxxiii., would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are:—

- L. 1. Svayam-ādishtō rājā dūtakō-tra [Mār]tam-jaḥ || Likhitañ-cha³
sāndhivi-
2. grahika-Arkka[dēvēna]⁴ || Lāñchhitam [rā]jñ-śrī-Māpikya-mahādē-
3. vyā || Utkirṇam ch-āksha[sā]li-Kumāra[dattēna] || samvat . . .
4. di⁵ . . . ||

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing; the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, e.g. on the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavarman, treated of above, Vol. VII. p. 101 f. Of the consonant signs the most characteristic are those for *h* (e.g. in *Hurasya Śishāhēra*, l. 4), *t* and *tt* (e.g. in *prakaṭa*, l. 9, and *-vighattitā*, l. 6), and *ṇ* (e.g. in *-vāṇa-prāṇa*, l. 1), of which the last, in combination with palatals, also serves for the palatal nasal (e.g. in *Bhañjāmala*⁶, l. 14, *-uktañ-cha*, l. 27, and *lāñchhitam*, l. 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *ksh*, *gg*, *gbh*,

¹ See above, Vol. VII., p. 101.

² The published text, which was furnished to Mr. Prinsep by Kamalākānta Vidyālakṣmī, is quite untrustworthy. According to Mr. Prinsep's lithograph of Lieutenant Kittos's copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam-ādishtō rājā dūtakō-tra bhāṭṭa-śrī-Stambhadvāḥ likhitañ-cha sāndhivigrahañ Kā[kka]kēna utkirṇa[m] ch-ākshatli-Durggadēva || lāñchhitam samvat (?) Māgha-śudi*

³ Read *likhitañ-cha*.

⁴ Read *grahik-Arkka*.

⁵ Read *samvat*; the three *akṣaras* by which this word is followed are illegible.

⁶ This *di* is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10; and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for *ōm*. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter-numerals also in the last line of the Bāmanghāt grant of Rāpabhañja, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* Vol. XI. Part I. p. 165 f., and in lines 35 and 36 of one of the Gañjām grants of Dandimahādēvi, above, Vol. VI. p. 139 and Plate.

⁷ The same sign for *h* (which is not given by our palaeographic Tables) we find in the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavarman, in the Gumsār plates of Nāṭribhañja, and on the second side of the plate of Dandimahādēvi, above, Vol. VI. p. 138. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of *h* we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.

dh and *mbh* (e.g. in *-vikshôbha-daksham*, l. 1, *°vargga*, l. 10, *-Digbhañjadêvasya*, l. 12, =*udbhî* at the end of line 4, and *-Stambhadêva*°, l. 36). There is a special sign for final *t*, in *-ânyat*, l. 18, *nyat*, at the commencement of line 19, *gâvat*, l. 21, and *°rôdhât* for *°rôdhât*, l. 22. Of initial vowels the text contains only *a* (for *â*), *i*, *u* and *ê*, in *achandri*°, l. 21, *iva*, ll. 5 and 6, *iti*, l. 33, *Upamanyu*°, l. 23, *urthirṇṇa*, l. 38, and *êtaḍ*°, l. 19. As regards medial vowels, *i* is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in *libbhañja*° at the commencement of line 13, and in *Bhañjimala*°, l. 14; and there are two signs¹ of the subscript *u*, one of which may be seen e.g. in *jayatu*, l. 1, and *bhuvana*°, l. 2, and the other in *-sura*°, l. 7, *-ripu*°, l. 10, *Vaṅjûlvakî*°, l. 8, and *-vrahubhir*°, l. 27, etc.; the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial *û*, for which there is no separate sign in these plates. Two forms of medial *î* may be seen e.g. in *Śishihîr=a(î)va yî*, l. 4, and *pra(prâ)lâyâchala*°, l. 5; and similarly two forms of medial *ô*, e.g. in *kirttayô vilâ*°, l. 35. The sign of *anusvâra* is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in *°padam yathârham*, l. 17. The signs of *virîma* and *avagraha* do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35; the rest of the text is in prose. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; *visarga* at the end of a word is ten times omitted; and single consonants are used instead of double ones in *chatusimî-* for *chatussimî-*, l. 19, =*anurôdhî chi* for =*anurôdhîch=cha*, l. 26, and five or six times in the words *datta* and *dattî* for *datta* and *dattî* (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23). There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of *i* and *î*, where *î* is used instead of *i* no less than nine times (e.g. in *nikasha*, l. 3, *ripu*, l. 10, *salila*, l. 21, etc.); and *û*, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for *u*. A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an *akshara*, as in *Vidyâdhabhañja*° for *Vidyâdharabhañja*°, l. 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal; and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhañjas,² the Mahârāja Vidyâdharabhañjadêva, also called king Dharmakalâśa(?), who was a son of Śilâbhañjadêva,³ grandson of Digbhañjadêva,⁴ and great-grandson of Raṇabhañjadêva; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from Vaṅjûlvaka.⁵ Like the Gumsûr grant of Nêṭṭribhañjadêva Kalyâṇakalâśa, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of Hara (Śiva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine Gaṅgâ. In lines 15-27 the king informs the *Sîmantas*, *Bhōgîns*⁶ and others, the [lords of] *vishayas*, and the people generally who dwell in the Ramalavva, *vishaya*, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of Tuṇḍurâva in that district,

¹ Which of the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached; thus, *k* and *u* always take the curve-shaped sign and *p* and *s* always the straight or hook-shaped sign. In line 17, where the curve-shaped *u* is attached to *p*, the *akshara* intended to be denoted is *pû* (of *pûjyati*), not *pu*; the same remark applies to the *u* of *nîrâdhuta*° (for *nîrâdhûta*°) in line 11. But in the case of *bhu* and *bhd*, *u* and *û* are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign.

² Compare e.g. *Gaṅḍmalakulatilaka*, above, Vol. III. p. 18, l. 12, and *Kadamud(mbâ)malakulatilaka*, *ibid.* p. 223, l. 22.

³ In line 5 of the Gañjam plates mentioned in Mr. Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 33, No. 218 (and of which Dr. Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt *Silâbhañjadêva*. Above, Vol. III. p. 353, l. 33, a place *Śilâbhañjapattî*, which was in *Ôdra-dêśa* (Orissa), is mentioned.

⁴ The name *Digbhañja* also occurs in the Bâmaghâtî plates of Raṇabhañja, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it.

⁵ The original has *vijaya-Vaṅjûlvakât*.

⁶ Compare e.g. above, Vol. VI. p. 298, l. 18 : *-sîmanta-bhōgika-vishayapati-*; *ibid.* p. 142, l. 25 (in one of Daḍḍimahâdêvi's grants) we have the term *brihadbhōgîna*.

rent-free,¹ to the *bhaffa* Dārūkhaṇḍī—a son of Śūridēva(?) and grandson of Gaunichandra—of the Upamanyu *gōtra* and Bahvricha *sākhā* (of the Rīgveda); and he enjoins future kings (*rājaka*) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27-35) quotes four imprecatory verses from the *dharmasūtras*.

The inscription (in lines 35-38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles *lāñchhitam*, *pravṛṣitam*, *likhitam*, and *utkṛṣṇam*. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt: the grant was written by the *sāndhivigrahika* (or minister of peace and war) Khambha, and engraved by the *akṣhaślin*² (or goldsmith) Kumārachandra. The term *pravṛṣitam* I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant; but since this word takes the place here of the phrase *svayam=ādishṭō rājā dātaka=tra* of the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṇḍja and of the earlier grant on these very plates³ (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with *lāñchhitam*, *likhitam* and *utkṛṣṇam*), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the *dātaka* and that the words *pravṛṣitam* *Kēśava* must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kēśava.' The passage commencing with *lāñchhitam* I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr. Fleet, above, Vol. VII. p. 227, *lāñchhana* denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, etc., and *lāñchhita* therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (*mudrayā mudṛitam*).⁴ We find the word in the Bugṇa plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol. III. p. 46, l. 50, *lāñchhitam* *Jayasīnghena*; in the Gañjām plates of Prithivivar-madēva, above, Vol. IV. p. 201, l. 35, *lāñchhitam* *śrī-mā(ma)hādēvyā*; in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, *lāñchhitam* [*rā*]jā-*śrī-Māpikya-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Māpikya-mahādēvi'; and it occurs also in the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṇḍja, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.⁵ In the present case our text appears to give us *lāñchhitam* *śrī-Trikalinga-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trikalīṅga-mahādēvi,'⁶ which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates; but these words are followed by *tējadhikēna*, which may be corrupt and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental *śribhaffa-Stambhadēva-mantrinā*, 'by the minister, the *bhaffa* Stambhadēva,'⁷ which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word *lāñchhitam* occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhaṇḍja family during the Middle Ages,⁸ and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

¹ In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are *sambandha* (in line 19, used in the sense of *sambaddha*), *saliladhāra-purāṣārṇa vidhinā*, and *akaratrēna* (for which by mistake *karatrēna* has been engraved). Compare e.g. above, Vol. III. p. 45, l. 35, and Vol. VII. p. 101.

² On this word, which in Sanskrit is generally spelt *akṣhaślin* (e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII. p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII. p. 145, l. 26), see now Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol. VII. p. 107, note 4.

³ See above, p. 272 and note 2.

⁴ According to Yājñavalkya I. 319, the *śasana* of a king should be *svamudrōpariokṣitam* (i.e. *sva-mudrayā Garudā-parihṛtā-rūpay-ūpari bahit-ohitam-anṣitam*). And above, Vol. III. p. 802, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faultless when it is *mudrā-suddha*, 'faultless as regards the seal,' etc.

⁵ See above, p. 272, note 2.

⁶ Similar names are *Chōla-mahādēvi* and *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*.

⁷ In the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṇḍja the *bhaffa*, the illustrious Stambhadēva, is mentioned as *dātaka*.

⁸ A traditional date in the Śaka year 754 (A.D. 832) is given for one of the Bhaṇḍja (Bhūnu) chiefs in Mr. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I., p. 3.

As regards the localities, the inscription mentions **Vaṅḡulvaka**, from where both this grant and the Gumsūr grant of Nētipbhāṅja were issued, the **Ramalavva** *vishaya* and in it the village of **Tuṇḡurāva**. I have not found the names of those places on the sheets of the *Indian Atlas* where I have looked for them.

TEXT.¹*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 1 Ōm² [||*] Jayatu Kusumavā(hā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbbha-dakṣhaṁ svaki-
- 2 *raṇaparivōshōrjityā-³jirnēndulēkham [||*] tribhuvanabhavan-ā-
- 3 ntar=dyōtabhāsvat-pradīpam⁴ kanakani(ni)kasha-gauram vibhru⁷ nētram
- 4 Harasya [||*] ⁵śēśāhēr=ava⁹ yō phapā[h*] pravilasanty-udbhā-
- 5 svarēndu-tvisha[h*] pra(prā)lēyāchala-śrīṅgakōṭṭa(fa)ya iva tva-
- 6 ṅanti ya(yō)=tyunnatā[h*] [||*] nṛttātōpa-vighaṭṭitā iva bhujā rā-
- 7 janti yō Sā[m]bhavās=tā sarvvāgha-vighātina[h*] surasa-
- 8 rit[t*]ōy-ōrmmayah pānt[u] vah [||*] Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Vaṅḡulvaka.¹⁰

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 d=asti¹¹ śri-vijaya-nīlayaḥ prakāṭagunagaṇa-gra-
- 10 sta-samastarī(ri)puvargga[h*]¹² ¹³[śrī-Dharmma?]kalaśa-nāmā rā-
- 11 jā nīrddhuta¹⁴-kalikalushakalmasha[h*] śrī-Raṇabhāṅjadēva.¹⁵
- 12 sya prapantṛa[h*] śrī-Digbhāṅjadēvasya¹⁶ naptā śrī-Śi-
- 13 lābhāṅjadēvasya sntaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mātāpi-
- 14 tṛi-pādānndhyātō Bhaṅjāmalakula¹⁷-tilakō mahārā-
- 15 ja-śrī-Vidyādha[ra*]bhāṅjadēvasya¹⁸ kuśalī Ramalavva.¹⁹

¹ From the original plates.² Denoted by a symbol.³ Metre : Mālinī.⁴ Originally *raṇapiri* was engraved, but the *i* of *pi* has been struck out.⁵ Read **shaurjitya*.—Compare *Raghuvamśa* v. 74 : *śakiraṇaparivēśhōbbhēda-sūnyāḥ pradīpāḥ*.⁶ Read *-pradīpāḥ*.⁷ Read *bahru* ; this word is synonymous with *piṅgala*, and Śiva is *piṅgalākṣha*. Compare also above, Vol. VI. p. 200, l. 1 of the text.—The Gumsūr grant has *chēru*. [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that *chēru* is correct and should be translated "brow-less."—S. K.]⁸ Metre : Śārdūlavikṛīḍita.⁹ Read *-iva*.¹⁰ These four *akṣharas* are quite clear in the original. Dr. Rājēndralāl's text has *Valjalvaka*. The Gumsūr grant appears to have *Vāḡulvaka*, which by Kamalākānta was misread *Vāchalikānta*.¹¹ Read *t* | *Asi* *trī*.¹² The *vīrarga* which I have added here and below before *trī* is not absolutely necessary.¹³ The words in these brackets are conjectural. As will be seen from the facsimile, four *akṣharas* were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered ; and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters. I consider it certain that the first *akṣhara* is intended to be *śrī* (for *trī*), and that the last contained the conjunct *mm*.—The corresponding passage of the Gumsūr grant is : *Asi jayōrē-nīlayaḥ prakāṭaguna-grasta-sarvaparipugavah trī-Kalyāṇakalāta-nāma rājā*.¹⁴ Read *nīrddhūta*.¹⁵ In the facsimile the first *akṣhara* (*ra*) of this name might be read *ra* (and was read so by Dr. Rājēndralāl), but in the original it is distinctly *ra*, and what looks like *v* is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate.¹⁶ This name is clear in the original ; and so is the next. Dr. Rājēndralāl read the two names *Divobhāṅja* and *Śilubhāṅja*.¹⁷ Dr. Rājēndralāl read *Bhāṅjāmalakula*.¹⁸ Read *śdhas-sa*.¹⁹ The first three *akṣharas* of this name are clear in the original ; the last might be read *edha*. Dr. Rājēndralāl read *Ramalabhāṅja*, but regarded the letters as doubtful.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 vishay-â yathânivâsi-sâmantâ-bhōgi-bhōgyâdī¹-vi-
 17 ahaya-janapadam yathârham mânayati pu(pû)jayati vō(bō)-
 18 dhayaty-âdisati ²ch=ânyat sarvvataḥ ³sivam=asmâkam-a-
 19 nyat⁴ êtat[v]ishaya-samvandhu-⁵Tuṇḍ[u]râvagrâma⁶ chatusimâ-
 20 paryantah⁷ grāmō-yam || mâtâpitrôr=âtmanâs=cha puy-â-
 21 bhivṛiddhayê ⁸achandrârka-samam kâlâm yâvat salī(li)ladhâ-
 22 rî-puraḥsarôḇa vidhinâ guṇ-ânurâdhât⁹ karatvêna¹⁰[bhōgya ?]
 23 Upamanyu-¹¹gôtrâya datâ-pravarâya¹² Ba(ba)hvṛicha-âyâkha-¹³

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 24 ya Gôrichandrah¹⁴ naptâ Śuridêvasya suta bhâtta-Dâru-
 25 khaṇḍi || nâmnâ pratipâditō=smâbhis=tad=êshâ datî=ddha-¹⁵
 26 rmina-gauravâd-asmâkam-anurôdhâ¹⁶ cha bhavishyad-râjakai[h*]
 27 pratipâlaniy-êty=¹⁷uktañ=cha dharmma-sâstrair-vvâhubhir=vva-
 28 sadhâ datâ¹⁸ râjubhi[h*] Sagar-âdibhir=yasya yasya yadâ
 29 bhu(bhû)mis tasya tasya tadâ phalam [[*] Sva-dattâm para-datâ¹⁹ vâ
 30 yô harêta vasundharâm [[*] sa vishṭhâyâ[m*] kṛimi²⁰ bhutvâ pi-

Third Plate ; Second Side

- 31 tṛibhi[h*] saha pachyatê [[*] Mâ bhu(bhû)d-aphala-sânkâ vaḥ para-dat-ê²¹
 32 ti pârthivâḥ [[*] sva-dânât=phalam-ântyam²² paradat-ânupâla-

¹ The akshara bhô of bhōgyâdî has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original. In my opinion, the word bhōgi before bhōgyâdî is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake; and for the following *vishaya-janapadam* I should have expected something like *vishayapattû-jânapadât=cha*.

² Read *cha*! *Anyat*.—The Gumsûr grant apparently has:—*âdisati cha sarvvataḥ sivam=asmâkam=anyat viditam=astu bhavatâm=êtatvishaya*.

³ Originally *sivam* was engraved, but the *i* of *vi* has been struck out.

⁴ This second *-anyat* is superfluous.

⁵ Read *-sambaddha-* (for *-sambaddha-*).

⁶ Read *grâmas=chatusimâ-*.

⁷ Read *paryantô*. The following *grāmō-yam* and the sign of punctuation are superfluous.

⁸ Read *âdhaya-achandrârka-samâ-kâlâm*; the following *yâvat* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *rôdhât*.

¹⁰ Instead of *karatvêna*, we require *akaravêna*, which (like *akartkṛitya*) occurs often in other inscriptions and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsûr grant (though Kamalākānta's text gives *dkaratvêna*). The following two *aksharas* are conjectural. In the Gumsûr grant *akaravêna* is possibly followed by *bhūjadbhiḥ* (for which the text has *bhāmjâdri*).

¹¹ Read *Upamanyu-*.

¹² As the word *dattâ* below is several times written *data*, this might stand for *dattî-* (or perhaps *datta-*) *pravarâya*; but I am unable to explain the expression. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI. p. 256, l. 43, we have *Upamanyava-sagôtrâya*; *Asiṭyana-savrahmachârin*; *bhâṭṭapravara-Vishkarâtamisṛâya*, where *bhâṭṭapravara* is equally obscure. The Upamanyavas had three *pravaras* — Vâsishṭha, Âbharadvasu and Indrapramada; compare M. Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 385.

¹³ Read *-sâkhâ-*.

¹⁴ *Gaurichandrasya naptâ Śuri(?)dêvasya sûtâya bhâṭṭa-Dârukhaṇḍî-nâmnâ*.

¹⁵ Read *dattî=ddha-*.

¹⁶ Read *âdhâcha-*.

¹⁷ Read *-êti*! *Uktañ=cha dharmma-sâstrair*; *Bahubhir*.—Metre of the verses up to the commencement of line 33: *Ślôka* (Anuṣṭubh).

¹⁸ Read *dattâ*.

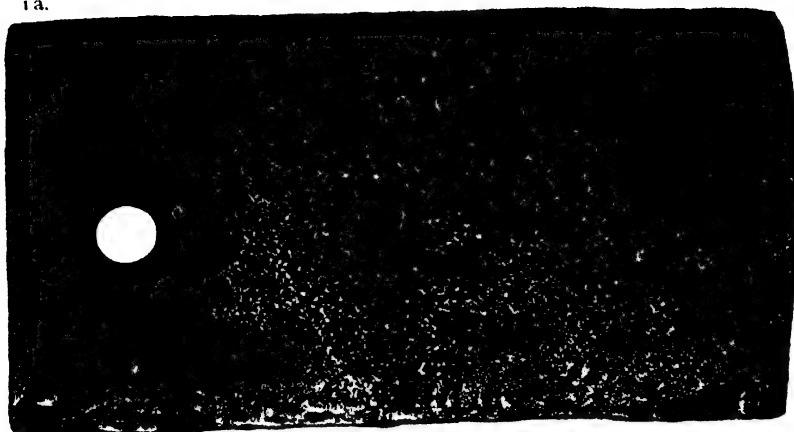
¹⁹ Read *-dattâm*.

²⁰ Read *kṛimir=bhûrtâ*.

²¹ Read *-datt=ê-*.

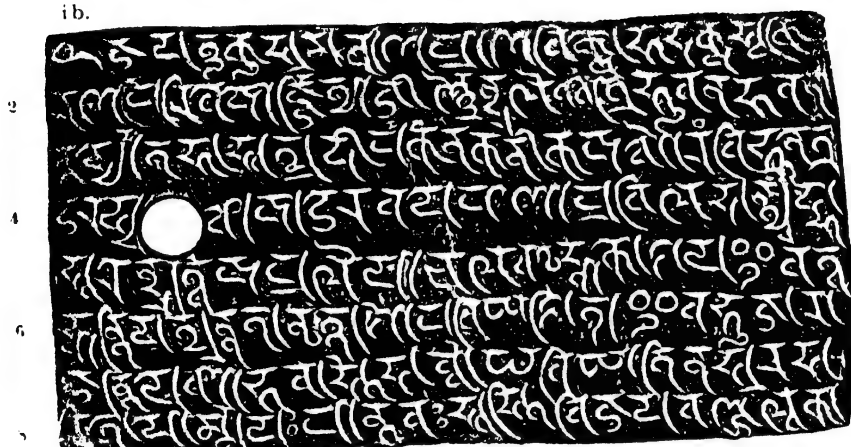
²² Read *-anantyam* *paradat*, as e.g. above, Vol. III., p. 45, l. 48; p. 343, l. 26; etc. Instead of *anantyam* other grants have *ânandya* (above, Vol. III., p. 348, l. 19, p. 353, l. 46), or *anantam* (Vol. III., p. 357, l. 50). or *atantam* (Vol. VIII., p. 142, l. 25).

ia.

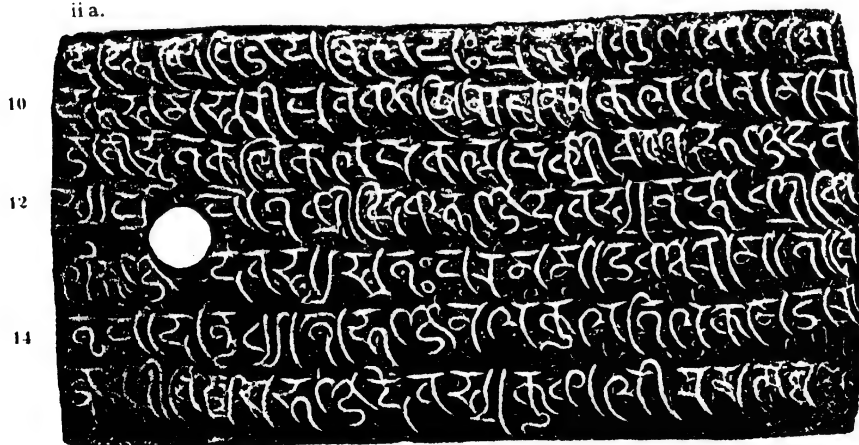


Colotype by Gebr. Pietner, Halle-Saale.

ib.



ii a.



E. Hultzsch.

ii b.

16

18

20

22

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ४ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ६ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ८ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १० ॥

iii a.

24

26

28

30

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १२ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १४ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १६ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १८ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥

iii b.

32

34

36

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २२ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २३ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २४ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २५ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २६ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २७ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २८ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २९ ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३० ॥

- 33 na(nā)[||*] Iti¹ kamaladalāmvu(mbu)vindu-lōlā[m*] śriyam=anuchi-
 34 ntya man[n]shya-jīvitam=cha² [||*] sakalam=f(i)dam=udāhṛitāñ=cha vudhvā³
 35 ṇa hi [pu]rushaiḥ para-kirttayō vilō[pyāḥ||*]Lāñchhitam śri-Tri[ka P]li-⁴
 36 ṅga-mā(ma)hādēvy[ā] tējaḍikēna⁵ śri-bhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva-mant[r]i(tri)ṇā⁶
 37 pravṛṣita[m*] Kēśavēna⁷ likhitam ⁸sāndhivigrihi-śri-Khambhō-
 38 na urtkirṇa⁹ ch=ākshasāli(li)-Kumāracharndōna¹⁰|| tha¹¹ [||]

No. 38.—GHATİYALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA; SAMVAT 918.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing *in situ* in Ghatiyāla, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jōdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called *Mitā-ki-sāl*, which contains an inscription edited by Prof. Kielhorn in the *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1895, p. 516. Further particulars in connection with those ruins will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No. I is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No. I contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2' 3½" high by 1' 6" broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the *Mitā-ki-sāl*. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l. 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is only once denoted by the sign for *v*, in *kuṭumrakam*, l. 8; consonants are doubled after *r*; *visarga* followed by *s* has been once changed to that letter in *dēvyās=autō*, l. 7; the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvāra* before *s* in *vanśa*, l. 1; *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*; and *visarga* has been omitted once before the following *sta* in *ayam=ustambhāta stambhō*, l. 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Vinīyaka (Gaṇapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory Pratihāra family which is brought down to Kakkuka, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the *Mitā-ki-sāl* and the epigraph of Bāuka found in the Jōdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuka obtained great renown in the countries of Travaṇi, Vaḷa and Māda, amongst (the people known as) Ārya, in Gurjjaratṛa, and in Parvata in the Lāṣa country. Most of these names are repeated in verse 16 in the other

¹ Metre: Pushpitāgrā.

² Read *-jīvitam cha*.

³ Read *buddhvō*.

⁴ Read *śrī-Trikālī*. A sign of the medial *i*, which was prefixed to the akṣara *tri*, has been struck out. In the place of *ka* (P) another letter was originally engraved.

⁵ With the exception of the *d* in brackets, the nine *akṣaras* at the beginning of the line are clear in the original.

⁶ The *ed* at the end of the line and the *ved* at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile, seem to me to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates.

⁷ The *akṣaras* *śaṣṭi* of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him.

⁸ Read *sāndhivigrahi-śrī* or *sāndhivigrahika-śrī*.

⁹ Read *urtkirṇam*.

¹⁰ Read *Chandṛēna*.

¹¹ For this mark, which is distinctly *tha*, compare e.g. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII., p. 140, note 45.

inscription of Kakkuka in the *Māta-kī-sāl*. Thus, Travant is the same as Tamaṇi there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Bāuka. Similarly, Valla is mentioned in both these inscriptions. Māda is given in the *Māta-kī-sāl* inscription in conjunction with Maru (*Maru-Māda*). Jēsalmēr is still called Māda, and Maru proper can only be the Shoo, Mallāṇi and Pāchpadrā districts of the Jōdhpur State. Ārya and Gurjaratrā are doubtless the Ajja and Gujjaratrā of the *Māta-kī-sāl* inscription. Ārya is unidentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, Cap. V, v. 42. Gurjaratrā, as has been shown by me elsewhere,¹ comprised the districts of Dīdwanā and Parbatsar of the Jōdhpur State. Lāṭa, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gujjarāt of the Bombay Presidency.² Parvata, which is apparently said to be in Lāṭa, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression *gahūna gōhaṇām girimā* in verse 17 of the *Māta-kī-sāl* record? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the *Pārvatīyas* of the *Bṛihat-saṃhitā*, Cap. XVII. v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at Rōhimsaka and the other at Maḍḍōdara. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the *Māta-kī-sāl* record, excepting that for Rōhimsaka we have there Rōhimsakūpa. Rōhimsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rōhimsakūpa or the Rōhimsakūpaka of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghaṭiyālā. Maḍḍōdara, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Maṇḍōr, five miles north of Jōdhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratihāra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratihāra inscription was discovered by me last season.³ The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the *Māta-kī-sāl* inscription. Then follows the date *Saṃvat 918 Chaitra-śudi 2 budhē Hasta-nakṣatrē*, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with *mahājana*, i.e. big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the *Māta-kī-sāl* record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a *subhāshita*. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrī-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1' 3" high by 1' 2½" broad. Excepting the opening words *Om siddhih*, it is in verse up to l. 9, and the rest in prose. The palaeography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vināyaka (Gaṇapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

¹ *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI., pp. 414-415.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

³ Another ancient name of Maṇḍōr is Māṇḍavyapura mentioned in verse 10 of the Jōdhpur inscription of the Pratihāra Bāuka. In the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p. 30, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jōdhpur, it must originally have been at Maṇḍōr, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first *pāda* of the verse just referred to, which is *Māṇḍavyapura-durgēśmin*. The word *śmin* shows that the stone originally was at Māṇḍavyapura, i.e. Maṇḍōr. Māṇḍavyapura, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Maṇḍōr remained so till the prince Jōdhā removed his capital from there to Jōdhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Maṇḍōr have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratihāra brother princes erected ramparts round Māṇḍavyapura fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratihāra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratihāras. In it the name of Kaka could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was — whether Kakkuka or Bāuka — is not certain. The name Māṇḍavyapura occurs even so late as V. E. 1319 in the Sūndhā hill inscription of Chāchigadēva (above, Vol. IX., p. 78, l. 86).

pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Gaṇapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of Rôhinsakûpaka (Ghatiyâlâ) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Âbhiras (Ahirs),¹ and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kakka, of the Pratihâra race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas (*prakriti*)² and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the *mahijana*, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the *Mitî-ki-sîl* epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a *haffa* and *mahijana* at Rohinsaka or Rohinsakûpa. Owing to its being infested by the Âbhiras, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahirs. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the *mahijana*, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra Sudi 2 which, though the farther details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No. I and the *Mitî-ki-sîl* epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a *Maga*, called Mâtîravi, and was engraved by the goldsmith Kṛishṇasvara, doubtless the same who incised the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bânka. It is followed up by the name of the *sûtradhâra* or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Mâtîravi is called a *Maga* is very interesting. On the original stone the letters *ma* and *gâ* are quite distinct, and, though *na* is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Mâtîravi being spoken of as a *Maga*. *Maga* is another name for the *Śākadvîpiya* Brâhmanas, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jôdhpur there is a class of Brâhmanas known as Śāvaks, most of whom are religious dependants of the Ôsvâl Śrāvaks. They call themselves Śākadvîpa Brâhmanas, and know that their story is told in the *Nâmagrantha* of the *Sûrya-purâṇa* and also in the *Bhaviṣya-purâṇa*. That the Śākadvîpiyas were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, viz. V. E. 918, when we can positively assert that Magas lived and were known by this very name in Râjputânâ at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No. I. Inscription No. IV consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of *subhishitas*, and have each one and the same last *pîṭha*, saying that six things are dear to Kakkuka. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

No. I.

TEXT.³

- 1 षो विनायकाय नमः ॥ आसीत्यतीहारवन्धगुरु-⁴
- 2 सहजः⁵ श्रीहरिचन्द्रः [1*] अनेन राज्ञीक्षत्रियभद्राया जा-
- 3 तः श्रीमान्मतः श्रीरजितः [1*] अस्माक्ष्मीनरभटः [1*] अ-

¹ For some remarks on Ahirs, see *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI. pp. 430-433; for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*.

Prakriti, which is the same as *payit* in verse 20 of the *Mitî-ki-sîl* inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kshatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the *vipra* (Brâhmana) and *vayik* (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

From the original stone.

⁴ Read "वन्ध".

⁵ Read "सहज".

- 4 तः श्रीनागभटः [1*] अतः श्रीतातः [1*] अतोपि श्रीयशोवर्धनः [1*]
 5 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्द्रकः [1*] अतश्च श्रीशैलुकः [1*] अस्माच्छ्री[भो]टः [1*] अतः
 6 श्रीभिक्कादित्यः [1*] अतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्कः [1*] अनेन
 7 राज्ञीश्रीदुर्लभदेव्यास्तुतो जातः श्रीकक्कः ॥
 8 सन्तः कुटुम्बकं¹ यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः ।
 9 विपुला चपलं² बुद्धिराग्रही गुणसंग्रहे ॥ [1*]
 10 न्यायभंगे भवेत्कीपो रागोपि जनपाल[ने] ।
 11 गुरुभ्यश्च भयं यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षणं ॥ [२*] येन
 12 प्राप्ता महाख्यातिस्त्रवण्यां वल्लमाडयोः । आर्ये-
 13 षु गुर्जरक्षायां लाटदेशे च पर्वते ॥ [३*] तेन मडोदरे स्त-
 14 भस्तथा रोहिन्सके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं नीतौ स्वपचा-
 15 विव जन्मदौ ॥ [४*] श्रीमत्कक्कवोरेण कुलदीपेन
 16 धीमता । अयमुस्तभित³ स्तभो यशस्तभ इवोन्नतः ॥ [५*] संव-
 17 त् ८१८ चैत्रशुदि २ बुधे हस्तनक्षत्रे । अत्र हट्टो महाजनस्य
 18 स्थापितः ॥ श्री [1*] यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्मध्यमं च वयः
 19 श्रिया । वृद्धभावश्च धर्मेण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ [६*]
 20 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्केन स्वयंकृतः⁴ ॥

No. II.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः [1*] दिवा रात्रौ च संध्यायां — — —
 2 — संकुले । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्वत्र स्तभधामा वि[ना]-
 3 यकः ॥ [१*] रोहिन्सकूपकग्रामः पूर्वमासीदना-
 4 श्रयः । असेव्यः "साधुलोकानां आभीरजनदाकरणः ॥ [२*]
 5 विचित्रवीथिसंपूर्णं हट्टं कृत्वा गृहाणि च । विप्रव-
 6 णिगप्रकृतीनां गृहं गत्वा प्रियेण च ॥ [३१] श्रीमत्कक्कस्य पुत्रेण
 7 सत्प्रतीहारजातिना । कक्केन स्थितिं दत्वा स्थापितोऽत्र महा-
 8 जनः ॥ [४*] महाजनस्य सदृशिः लाभः⁷ पूजा सुखं भुतिः । श्री-
 9 कक्कस्य कुन्दाभा कीर्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥ [५*] संवत् शते ८१८ चै-

¹ Read कुटुम्बकं² I do not understand the position of चपलं here.³ Read सुस्तभित.⁴ Read स्वयं कृतः; the *anusudra* of "yash" must have been inadvertently placed over "kpi".⁵ From the original stone.⁶ Read लोकानामाभीरः.⁷ Read सदृशिर्लाभः.

- 10 अमुदि २ [*] लिखितं मने[न] मातृविणा [*] उक्तीर्णं हेमकारिण
[क]ष्णे-
11 श्वरेण ॥ सूत्रधारोच्च नि..... विष्णु ॥

No. III.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री[मत्क]कुक्कवीरेण कुलदीपे[न] धीमता । अ-
2 यमुत्तश्चित स्तश्चो यश[*]स्त[श्च] इवीचतः ॥

No. IV.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री[*] वल्लकी काकलीगीतं शरच्चन्द्रस्य मासती ॥
2 विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी ककुक्कस्य 'पृयाणि षट् [॥१*]
3 न्यायमार्गी 'गुरोर्भक्ति[*] पुत्रे स्नेहः कृतज्ञता ॥
4 प्रिया वाग्नागरी वेषः ककुक्कस्य पृयाणि' षट् ॥ [२]

No. 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sarangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Rāj-Gōnds. The plates in question are in the possession of the Rāj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sarangarh. As they were locked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Alam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Papdit Alam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent, Munshi Akbar Khan, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Pandā Baijnath, B.A., Diwān of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1908. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Rāja Jawāhar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864.² Dr. Rājendra Lal Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

¹ From the original stone.² Read प्रियाणि.³ Read गुरोर्भक्तिः.⁴ Read प्रियाणि.⁵ See *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXV., p. 195 ff.

find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume.¹

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Sāraṅgarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal.

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr. Rājendra Lal's notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$, and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs. $5\frac{1}{2}$ drs. About 1" from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about $\frac{1}{8}''$. These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines² which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahā-Jayarāja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr. T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The language is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyāsa. As regards orthography, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr. Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar.³ As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The *upadhāniya* occurs in line 3 in *-pradaḥ-parama-*. The same sign, viz. 2 dots, has been used for *visarga* and a pause. Ordinarily *mātrās* for *u*, *ṛi* and *ḷi* alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for *ā* in *anumōditaḥ* is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other *ā*'s being represented by the top strokes for *ā* and *ē*; compare *vikkramōpanata-* of line 1.

The inscription was issued from the town of Śarabhapura and records the grant of a village named Chullaṇḍaraka situated in the *bhukti* or subdivision of Tuṇḍaraka by the Queen and the royal family of Rāja Mahā-Sudēva and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, viz. Bhāskaravāmi, Prabhākaravāmi, Barbbarīsvāmi, Bōtasvāmi, Dattasvāmi, Viṣṇusvāmi, Phalguvāmi, Svāmikīrtīsvāmi and Śānikaravāmi, all of the Kausika *gōtra*. One of these, Viṣṇusvāmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kausika *gōtra* and received a village in the Khariar *zamindārī* from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

¹ Gupta Inscriptions, p. 193, footnote 2.

² Eighteen lines of our inscription remain; the Khariar plates have 23 lines, the Āraṅ plates of Jayarāja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudēva 23, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets.

³ See above, pp. 170 and ff.

2 2
 4 4
 6 6

8 8
 10 10
 12 12

14 14
 16 16
 18 18

his date. Dr. Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura king might have been Rāshtrakūṭas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr. Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahā-Sudēva, and in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, has not yet been identified. I identify **Tuṇḍaraka** with the present Tāṇḍrā, about 6 miles south of Seorī Nārāyan on the Mahānadi and about 35 miles west of Sārangarh. It is now included in the Balōḍā Bazar tahsil of the Raipur district. The village **Chullaṇḍaraka** must have been somewhere close to Tāṇḍrā, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulāndur, a characteristic Chattisgarhi name, some similar ones which I remember being Machāndur, Palāndur, Kachāndur, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahā-Sudēva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Tāṇḍrā. It is called **Śrīsāhikā**,¹ which I take to be the present Sirsāhi, also included in the Balōḍā Bazar tahsil, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Tāṇḍrā. Mahā-Jayarāja of the Ārang plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, viz. **Pāmvā**,² which I identify with Pāmgarh,³ about 21 miles north of Tāṇḍrā and included in the Jānjgir tahsil of the Bilāspur district. Pāmvā and Śrīsāhikā are stated to be included in the *Pūrvārāṣṭra* or Eastern country, and we know from the Khariar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Khariar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahā-Sudēva included a large portion of Mahā-Kōsala, or roughly speaking Chattisgarh division.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁵ svasti [I*] Śarabhapurād-vikkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-pra-
- 2 sākāmbu-dhōṭa⁶-pādanyugalō ripu-vilāsini-simant-ōddharana-hētur-vvasu-
- 3 vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitri⁷-pād-ānuddhyatāś-śrī-Mahā-Sudē-
- 4 va-rājāḥ Tuṇḍaraka-bhuktiya-Chullaṇḍarakō prativāsi-kuṭumbinas-sa-
- 5 mājñāpayati [II*] Viditam-astu vō yath-āyam grāmaḥ tridaśapati-sudana-
- sukha-
- 6 pratishṭhākarō yāvad-ravi-śāśi-tārā-kirana-pratihata-ghōrāndhakāraṇa ja-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 gad-avatishṭhatō tāvad-upabhōgyas-sanidhis-sōpanidhir-achāṭasbhatapṛavōśya-
- 8 sarva-kara-visarjitāḥ rājya-mahādēvi⁸-rōjakulaiḥ mātāpitrōr-ātmanam⁹-cha pu-
- 9 ny-ābhivṛddhayō udakapūrvvaṇi.¹⁰ Kōśika-sagōtra-trisahasraavidya-Bhāskarasvāmi-
- 10 Prabhākarasvāmi-Barbarisvāmi-Bō(āsvāmi-Dattasvāmi-Vishvasvāmi-
- 11 Phalgvasvāmi-Svāmikirttisvāmi-Śaṅkarasvāminā[I*] tāmbraśāsanēn-ātispi-
- 12 śhṭō bhūtv-āsmābhir-anumōditāḥ [II*] Tō yūyam-ēvam-upalabhy-aishām ājñāśra-

¹ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 197.

² *Ibid*, p. 192.

³ The adjunct *garh* seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read *-dhautā-*. [It is possible that the sign read as *ō* here and in *kōśika*, l. 9, should be read as *au*. The two *mātrās* are separated by an interval, which is not the case where *ō* is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]

⁷ Read *-pitri-*.

⁸ Read *-rājakulaiḥ*.

⁹ Read *-ātmanas-*.

¹⁰ Read *Kauśika-*.

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 13 na-vidhēyā bhātva yathōchitam bhōga-bhōgam=upanayantas=sukha[in*]
 prativatsyatha [[*]]
 14 Bhavishyatas=cha bhūmipān=anudarśayati || ¹ Dānād=viśiṣṭam=anupālānaja[in*] pu-
 15 rāpānib² dharmamēshu niśchitadhiyaḥ=pravadanti dharmam || (I) tasmā[d*]
 divijāya. suvi-
 16 sadātha-kula-srūtāya dattām bhuvam bhavatu vō matir=ēva gōptum ||
 Tad=bhavadbhi-
 17 r=apy-ōshā dattir=anupālayitavyā [*] Vyāsa-gītāmś=ch-ātra ślōkān=udāhara-
 18 nti || ³ Agnēr=apatyam prathamam suvarṇam || (II) bhūr-vvaishnavī sūryyasutā⁴

TRANSLATION.⁵

Om! Hail! From Sarabhapura. The illustrious Mahā-Sudōva Rāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre from the crest jewels in the tiaras of the chiefs who have been subjugated by (his) prowess; who is the cause for the doing away with the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies; who is the giver of riches, of land and of cows; who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of his mother and father—issues a command to the householders living in Chullaṇḍaraka in the territorial sub-division (*bhukti*)⁶ of Tundāraka:—

Be it known to you that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (our) ensuring the happiness of the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods—which has been conveyed by a copper charter accompanied with (pouring) of water, by the Royal Consort⁷ and the Royal Family to Bhāskaravāmi, who knows the three thousand⁸ (verses?) Prabhākaravāmi, Barbhariavāmi, Bōṣavāmi, Dattasvāmi, Vishṇusvāmi, Phalgusvāmi, Svāmikīrtisvāmi,⁹ (and) Śaṅkaravāmi (all) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, together with its treasures and deposits, not to be entered by the district officer¹⁰ and soldiers; (and), free

¹ Metre Vasantatilaka.² Read *purāṇa*.³ Metre Indravajrā.⁴ The remaining portion of the verse is: —*cha gāvaḥ | dattās=trayaḥ=tena bhavanti lōkā yaḥ kūṇḍavānib gāṇ cha mahān cha dadyāt ||*⁵ I have freely adopted the language of other translators of similar inscriptions, especially of Drs. Konow and Fleet.⁶ *Bhukti* was an old territorial division, the exact meaning of which has not yet been ascertained. It occurs in other inscriptions (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 218, note 5) and sometimes becomes permanently attached to names such as Jājābhukti, the ancient name of Bundelkhand, which was corrupted into Jajhanti in Al Beruni's times (see above Vol. I., p. 218, and Sachau's *Al Beruni's India*, Vol. I., p. 203).⁷ Mr. Venkaya suggests to take Rājyamahādēvi as the name of the queen.⁸ The original is *trishasra-vidya*, which Dr. Rājendralāl has taken to be a part of the proper name Bhāskaravāmi, but I think it is an adjectival phrase eulogising his learning which extended to the knowledge of three thousand of—what is not stated. Probably he knew three thousand *ślōkas* of some very important and difficult work, considered as a great achievement in those times.⁹ [The proper form of the name is certainly *Kīrtisvāmin*, but the second part of the preceding name has been repeated by mistake. —S. K.]¹⁰ The word is *chāṭa*, usually translated 'irregular troops,' which translation I adopted in my Betul and Nagholi plates. Dr. Vogel, some time ago, kindly drew my attention to this point giving a more plausible explanation of the word. He wrote to me:—¹¹ 'On my first visit to the ancient Hill State of Chamba (Panjab) I learnt that the head of a pargana there has the title of *chāṭ*, which is evidently derived from Sanskrit *chāṭa*. The *chāṭ* collects the villagers who have to do work (forced labour) on behalf of the State; he arranges for food carriers and supplies in case the Rāja or some traveller visits his district. I have little doubt that the *chāṭa* of the copper plates is the same as the *chāṭ* of the Chamba State. In the Chamba copper plates published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (1902-03) I have therefore rendered the word by 'district officer.' It was clearly a

from all taxes,—has been sanctioned by us, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself. Being aware of this you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment.

And he enjoins upon future kings.—The ancients whose minds are fixed upon religion say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from making a grant); therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brāhmaṇ of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.

And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyāsa:—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to the God Vishnu and (cows are) the daughters of the sun; (therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow and land).¹

No. 40.—PATIAKELLA GRANT OF MAHARAJA SIVARAJA
[GUPTA] SAMVAT 283.

By R. D. BANERJEE.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was discovered several years ago by a peasant in a cornfield in the zamindāri of Patīakellā in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It is the property of an Ōriyā Brāhmaṇ, who, I hear, regularly worships it. The Rāja of Patīakellā made it over to Bābu Nagēndra Nātha Vasu, the Honorary Archaeological Surveyor to the Mayābhārūja Estate. Nagēndra Bābu made it over to me some six or seven months ago for decipherment.

The inscription is engraved on a single plate of copper, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}''$ by $2\frac{3}{4}''$. To the left there is an oval projection, $1\frac{1}{2}''$ long, to which a lump of brass or bell metal is attached. On the top of this lump there is an oval cavity, showing traces of the seal. But no letters or symbols are discernible at present. Both sides of the plate are inscribed. Altogether there are eighteen lines of writing in this grant. The writing was fairly well-executed, but its preservation is not very good. One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date was given twice. First of all we read in the second line *tryadhikāśittya-ttara* . . . and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line *Samvat 200* . . . Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Konow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Muṇḍēśvari inscription of Udayasēna, from the Shāhābād district. The Muṇḍēśvari inscription is dated in the [Harsha] year 30 (635 A.D.).² The peculiarities of the characters of our grant are as follows:—

- (a) Among the ligatures the only noticeable feature is to be found in the *ā* mark, which is expressed in two different ways while attached to the same letter *na*. Cf.

privilege of importance that the head of the district was not allowed to interfere with the granted land; in other words, he was not allowed to collect labourers or to demand supplies, etc., on behalf of the State."¹

¹ These words which must have been engraved in the third plate have been supplied to make sense.

² The Muṇḍēśvari inscription has been found in two pieces. The second portion was presented to the Indian Museum so far back as 1891. The first portion containing the date was found among the debris around the temple and sent to the Indian Museum in 1904. For the Muṇḍēśvari temple, see *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (1895), p. 370. Dr. Bloch has referred to this inscription twice. See *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902-03*, p. 20, and *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1902-03*, pp. 42-43. The inscription will be published below, pp. 289 and ff.

puṇyābhivṛddhayaḍ in 1. 8 with *vrīhadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-ēva*, 1. 7. The *ē* mark is unusual in *-pūrvakāṇ-ā-* in 1. 9.

- (b) It is interesting to note that this Cuttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription than does the Gañjām grant of Śāsāṅka,¹ while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269.² Thus the *ya* in the Bōdh Gayā inscription and the Gañjām plate is bipartite, while in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, i.e. tripartite. Similarly the lingual *sha* in our grant and the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bōdh Gayā and Gañjām inscriptions. This form of *sha* is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.³
- (c) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental *sa* and *ma*, as is also the case in the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases; cf. the *dhr* in *-hāradhigama-* (1. 5) with that in *-dīdhiti-* in 1. 3, and *vrīhadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-* in 1. 7.
- (d) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription in so far as the lingual *na* in the latter is exactly similar to the *na* of the early Gupta type, while the *na* in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.
- (e) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gōlmādhīṭol inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harsha year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harsha years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gōlmādhīṭol inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Mandasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman.⁴ The Patan inscription of the year 34⁵ exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gañjām grant of Śāsāṅka than our grant or the Gōlmādhīṭol inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harsha year 39⁶ and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Madhuban and Banaskhēra grants of Harshavardhana.
- (f) The letters *da* and *ta* resemble each other very closely. Thus, *vrīhadbhōgikādhikarāṇy-*, 1. 7, looks like *vrīhaṭbhōgikādhikarāṇy-*.
- (g) There is little difference between *va* and *cha*. Thus, *-chala-taraṅga-*, 1. 1, looks like *-vala-taraṅga-*, while *Śivarājah*, 1. 5, looks like *Śicharājah*.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as *-maṁgura-*, 1. 1, *-vaṁsa-* and *-āṣṭty-*, 1. 2, *gīhattā*, 1. 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivarāja to a number of Brāhmins during the reign of his suzerain Śagguayayana of southern Tōsalā. Śagguayayana is styled *Paramamāhēśvara-Paramabhūṭāraka-Paramadēvatādhidaivata*, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

¹ Above, Vol. VI., p. 143.

² Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 72, pl. VII.

³ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 150, pl. XXII.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 169, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 74.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 77, pl. X.

⁶ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274, pl. XLIA.





STEN KONOW

W. GRIGGS, COLLOTYPED.

SCALE 0.57

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donees such as Vishṇuvāmi, Rēvativāmi, Gopālasvāmi, etc., show a Vaiṣṇava taint. The document was issued from Vōrttanōka, which was the Imperial capital (l. 4) as well as the residence of the foundatory chief (l. 8). The grant consisted in the village Tanḍralvalu. It was given to several Brāhmanas belonging to separate *gōtras* and *charaṇas*. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was incised after the Bōdh Gyaṇ inscription and before the Gañjām grant, the Nepul inscription of the year 316, and the Muṇḍēśvari inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the Māṇa race, *Māṇa-vāsa-rājya-kālē*. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century inscriptions only, viz. the Nawādā inscription of the Śaka year 1059,¹ which has been recently purchased by the Archaeological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Dadhpauli rock inscription.²

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Patiaḱellā grant. Neither the *vishaya* nor the *bhukti* or the *maṇḍala* has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find *asminu-ēva vishayō*, which probably indicates that the name of the *vishaya* was also Vōrttanōka.³ I now edit the inscription from the original plate:—⁴

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Om⁵ svasti [I*] salila-midhi-vēlā-vala[yita-cha]la-taraṇg-ābharāṇa-ruchira-maṇḍara
- 2 pattanavatyā[m] vasumatyā[m] pravarttanāna-Māṇa-vāsa-rāja-kālē tryadhik-āsittya-
utta[ra] . . .
- 3 Maudgal-āmala-kulō gagana-tala-sitadidhiti-nivātō sita-charitō Paramamāhēśvara-
śrī-Śaggyayyanō⁶
- 4 śāsati dakṣiṇa-Tōsalyā[m] Vōrttanōkāt-paramadēvat-ādihidaivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭā-
raka-charaṇa-kamal-āmala-kṣhau-
- 5 nī⁷-hār-ādihigama-pratibhata(h)-kāliyug-āgata-durita-nichayaḥ(yō) mahārāja-
Sivarājah kuśali asminu-ēva
- 6 vishayō samupagat-ābhavishyat-sāmanta-rāja-rājasthānīy-ōparika-kumārāmātya-
tadāyuktaka-mahāmahattara-
- 7 vṛihadbhōgikādhikaraṇāny-ēva rājapādōpajivī yaṭhārha[m] śrāvayati mānayati cha
viditam-a[stu] bhavatāmi ya[th-a]-
- 8 ttra vishayō sambaddha-Tanḍralvalu⁸-grāma(mō) Vōrttanōk-⁹[āvavāsa-
gā(?)]hattō-smābhiḥ mātāpitrōr-ātmanas-cha puṇy-ā-
- 9 bhivṛiddhayō salila-dhārā-pūrvvakēṇ-āchandr-ārka-sama-kāliya-ākṣhayanivī(nivī)-
dharmaṇa¹⁰ nānā-gētra-

¹ Above, Vol. II., p. 833.

² Above, Vol. II., p. 346.

³ [The locality cannot be far from Tōsalī, which we know from Aśoka's Dhauli edicts, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhauli. It seems more likely to explain *asminu-ēva vishayō* as *Tōsalī-vishayō* than as *Vōrttanōkavishayō*.—S. K.]

⁴ [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S. K.]

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ [I am unable to see *Śaggyayyanō*, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading; I think I see *Śambhāya-ṣṣṭ-nu*.—S. K.]

⁷ [I read *-āmala-trāṇi*.—S. K.]

⁸ [I see *Tanḍilvaluja-grāma*.—S. K.]

⁹ [I read *Vōrttanōkē ch-ādvāsa* . . . but cannot make out the rest.—S. K.]

¹⁰ Read *-kālāma-ākṣhaya*. Compare above, Vol. VI., p. 189; Vol. VII., p. 101, note 1.

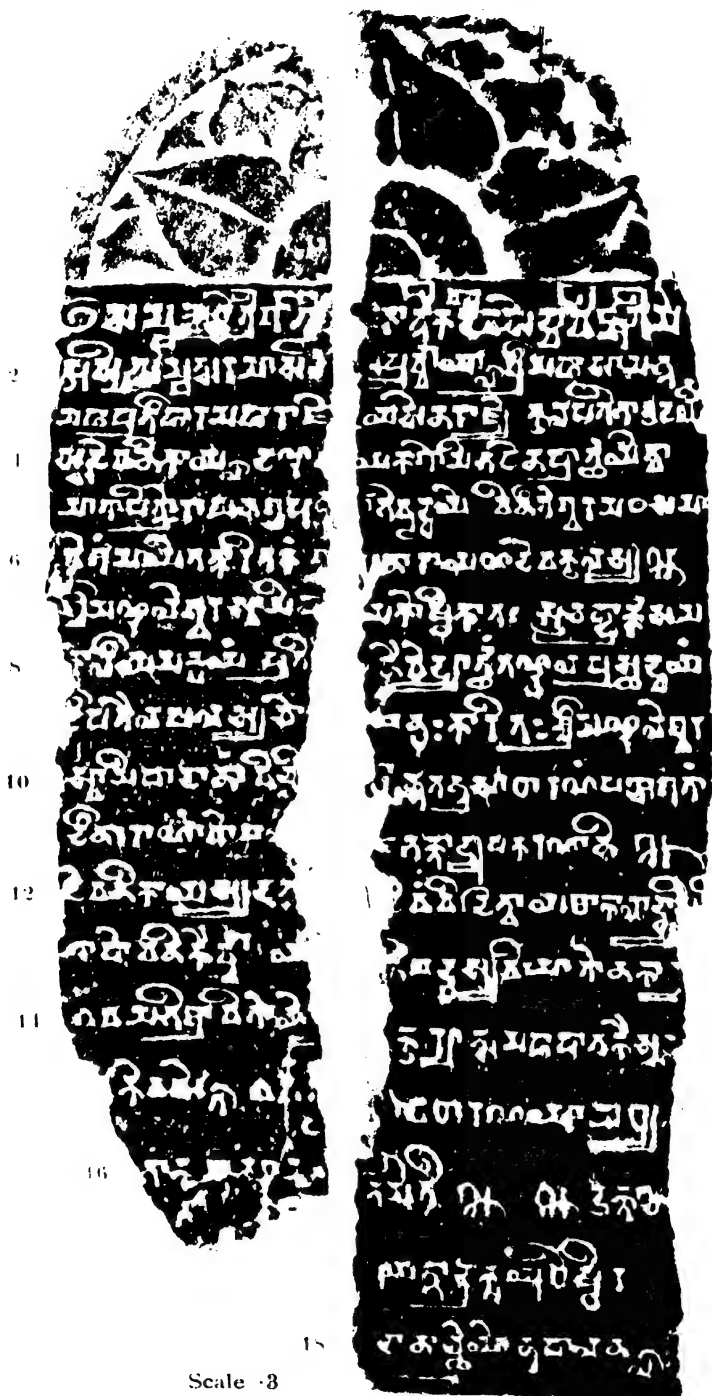
Second Side.

- 10 charaṇc̥bhya Anuruddhasvāmi-Gōmidēvasvāmi-Śūrasvāmi-Vōppasvāmi-Pitṛisvāmi-
 11 Haruṇgasvāmi-Chandrasvāmi-Bhadrāsavāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Pushyasvāmi-. . . karasvāmi-Rōhiṇi-
 svāmi-
 12 Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi-Mahāsēpasvāmi-Vishṇusvāmi-Yadusvāmi-Mātraḍasvāmi-Nāgasvāmi-
 Bhōgasvāmi-
 13 Ana[nta P]jāvāmi-Prabhākaraśvāmi-Nāva . . . rasvāmi-Dīpisvāmi-Jam[vu]svāmi-Gōmisvāmi-
 Valasvāmi-
 14 Jyēshṭhasvāmi-Adarsanadēva-Dhaṇadēva-Kumārasvāmi-Jyēshṭhasvāmi-Rēvatisvāmi-
 Prāya(?)svāmi-
 15 Pushyasvāmi-Chhēdisvāmi-Vappasvāmi-Śraśasvāmi-Gōpālasvāmi-Gōmisvāmi-ēbhyaśa-
 tāura-
 16 -pa[ti]-kritya sampradattaḥ [I*] Pūrvvarājakṛitō dharmm[ō]=nupālaniyaiti(ya it)
 matvā bhavadbhīḥ[I*] Dharmmaśāstrēshv=api śruyatō [I*]
 17 Va(ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ [I*] yasya yasya yadā
 bhūmis=tasya tasya [tadā phalam] [II*] [Shashṭim] varsha-
 18 sahasrāṇi svarggō tishṭhātī bhūmidah [I*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny-
 ēva narakē vasēt [II*] Samvat¹ 200

TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Māna family on the earth, full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and the radiant *maiguri* fishes as its In the spotless family of Mudgala, when the great worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Śagguyayyana, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern Tōsalī, Mahirāja Śivarāja, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from the lotus-like foot of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the earth, being in good health, from Vōrttanōka honors all present and future feudatory chiefs, Rājashāliniyas, Uparikas, officers of the hoir-apparent, *Tadāyuktakas*, great nobles, tax-collectors and other dependants of the king in this *vishaya* in due form and proclaims:—"Be it known to you that the village Tandṛalvalu, belonging to this *vishaya*, from (the residential house at?) Vōrttanōka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly, as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvāmi, Gōmidēvasvāmi, Śūrasvāmi, Vōppasvāmi, Pitṛisvāmi, Haruṇgasvāmi, Chandrasvāmi, Bhadrāsavāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, . . . karasvāmi, Rōhiṇisvāmi, Vu(Bu)ddhasvāmi, Mahāsēpasvāmi, Vishṇusvāmi, Yadusvāmi, Mātraḍasvāmi, Nāgasvāmi, Bhōgasvāmi, Ana(ṇṭa)-svāmi, Prabhākaraśvāmi, Nāvarasvāmi, Dīpisvāmi, Jam(vu)svāmi, Gōmisvāmi, Valasvāmi, Jyēshṭhasvāmi, Adarsanadēva, Dhaṇadēva, Kumārasvāmi, Jyēshṭhasvāmi, Rēvatisvāmi, Prāyasvāmi, Pushyasvāmi, Chhēdisvāmi, Vappasvāmi, Śraśasvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, Gōmisvāmi, belonging to various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*. A law laid down by former kings should be observed, thinking so (you should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the ordinary benedictory verses follow). Samvat 200.

¹ Read *Samvat*.



No. 41.— MUNDESVARI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASENA.
THE [HARSHA] YEAR 30.

By R. D. BANERJI.

This inscription was discovered among the debris which had accumulated around the temple of Mundēsvari in the Bhābua subdivision of the Shāhābād district.¹ It seems that sometime after the incision of the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates. The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukhārji so far back as 1891-92. The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902.² Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr. Bloch. The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904. The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum.

The stone measures 2' 8" by 1' 1" and contains eighteen lines of well-executed writing. In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether. With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription.³ The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of *ba* for *va* in *sambatsara*, and the use of *ñ* instead of *m* before *ś*. Letters with a superscribed *rēpha* have been doubled. Final forms of *m* are to be found in ll. 2, 4 and 18, and of *t* in l. 15. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll. 14 and 18. Note also the form *kāritakam* in l. 6.

The inscription records a grant of two *prasthas* of rice and a *pala* of oil to the god *Maṇḍalīśvara* by a *kulapati*⁴ named *Bhāgudalana*. It is dated in the year 30 in the reign of the *Mahāśimanta*, *Mahāpratibhira*, *Mahārāja Udayasēna*, who is not known from other sources. Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal,⁵ the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana. The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by sawing the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps. Some of those can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm̐⁶ Samba(mva)tsarē triṃśati[tamē] Kārttika-divasē dvāviṃśatimē
- 2 asmin=samba(mva)tsara-māsa-[diva]sa-pūrvvāyām śrī-Mahāśimanta-
- 3 Mahāpratibhira-Mahārāj-[Ōda]yasēna-rājyē kulapati-Bhāgudalana-⁷
- 4 s=sa dēvanikāyam daṇḍa[nā]yaka-Gōmibhaṭṭēna prārthayitvā
- 5 mātāpitṛrō-ātmanas=cha pu[nyā]bhivṛddhayō Vinitēśvara-maṭhasamā-
- 6 vēśam maṭham=ōtat=kāritakam [śrī-]Nārāyaṇa-dēvakulasya

¹ *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp. 370—371
Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902-03), pp. 42-43.

² *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle*, 1902, p. 20.

³ See above, p. 285 f.

A teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils at his own cost is termed a *kulapati*. See *Vāchaspatyī-tīkṣṇam*.

Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, pp. 72-73.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

The final *na* of this word has been added above the line.

- 7 śrī-Maṇḍalōśvara-svāmi-[pādā]ya kōshthikātaḥ ā-chandr-ārka-sama-
 8 kāliyam-akshayaṁ prati[dinam] naivēdyārttham taṇḍula-prastha-dvayaṁ
 9 dipa-taila-palasya ch=ō[pani]bandhaḥ kārītaḥ śrī-Maṇḍalōśvara-
 10 svāmi-pādānām viechhi[tti-vi]śrānta-tantra-sādhāraṇaṁ pañchāśatām
 11 dīnārāṇām gōba . . . ja-bhaktādy-upakaraṇāni¹
 12 dēvanikāyasya datta[m²=ētaḍ=ō]vaṁ viditvā yuthākāl-ādhyā[sibhi]-
 13 r-āpōvanikair³=vvā ya[thāni]baddhasya vighātō na kā[rya]
 14 ēvam=abhiśrāvītō yō[=nyathā]kuryāt=sa mahāpātakaḥ=sa[ha]
 15 [nara]kē vasēt ēvam . . . vadhāraṇayā madhya . . .
 16 bhāka . . . tam-iti || Ukta[ñ= cha]
 17 yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira
 18 dānāch=ohhrēyō=nupālanaṁ.

TRANSLATION.

Hail. In the year 30, on the twenty-second day of Kārttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the *Mahāpratihāra*, the *Mahārāja* [Uda]yaseṇa, the *kulapati* Bhāgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (? Brāhmaṇas) through the *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōmibhaṭa built this *maṭha* of the *dēvakula* of Nārāyaṇa, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Vinītōśvara. For the lord Maṇḍalōśvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingly, to provide two *prasthas* of rice for the votive offering and a *pala* of oil for the lamp from the treasury. Fifty *dīnāras* current up to the frontiers of the Lord Maṇḍalōśvara- with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters(?) and who arrive at the proper time⁴ should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins O! Yudhishṭhira, preserve with care preservation is preferable to gifts.

No. 42.—INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET.

By T. BLOCH, Ph.D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Rākhal Dās Banerji in April, 1908, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr. Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3' 1" high, 11½" wide, and 4½" thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurā style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahet

¹ The sign at the end of this line has been added in order to fill up the vacant space.

² [I would read *dattāmy=środ.*—S. K.]

³ [I read *āpōvanikair.*—S. K.]

⁴ [I would translate: those who come and worship from time to time or the ascetics of the *śāpōvana.*—S. K.]

Buddhist inscription from Set Mahet.



Scale .35

From an impression supplied by Dr. J. P. Vogel.



From a photograph.

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

Mahêt, which has been edited by me, above, Vol. VIII. pp. 180-181. This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word *dāṇḍas=cha* in line 2 of the Sahêt Mahêt image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bôdhisattva" (l. c. p. 180). Secondly,—and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,—we now know for certain that the Sahêt Mahêt statue was found by Cunningham *in situ*, or, in other words, that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrāvastī.¹ For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr. Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr. Hoey during his excavations at Sahêt Mahêt in 1885. The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahêt Mahêt, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahêt Mahêt with Śrāvastī, turned around this point: did Cunningham find the Bôdhisattva image at Sahêt Mahêt in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us *prima facie*, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bôdhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters *vapu* in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as *dēvaputrasya*, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka. However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the *Trépitaka Bala*, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurâ inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka.²

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel.

TEXT.

1.[dô]
2. vapu[trasya]
3.[v]ihâr[i]-
4. [sya] [bhikshu]-
5. sya [Balasya trépiṭa]kasya
6. dānam Bôdhi[sa]tvô chh[a]tram³ dāṇḍas=cha
7. Śāvastiyô [Bhagavatô cham]ka[m]ô Kōsamba-
8. [kuṭiyô āchâ]r[yy]â[nam Sarvvâ]s[t]ivâdina[m]
9. [pa]r[i]gra[hô].

No. 43.—TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.

BY STEN KONOW.

During the excavations in Sarnâth in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick *stûpas* to the west of the main shrine exca-

¹ Dr. Vogel informs me that Papdit Dayâ Râm Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gôvindhachandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1908, pp. 371 and ff.

² See above, Vol. VIII., p. 182.

³ It is doubtful, if the word was written *châdtram*, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is *dāṇḍas=cha*, and not *dāṇḍas=cha*, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue.

vated by Mr. Oertel in 1905. On the inner cavity of the fragment a Brâhmî inscription was engraved in four lines, the fourth running along the rim. The inscription, which is complete, covers the whole inner surface of the fragment, and the umbrella had therefore probably been broken when it was engraved.

The fragment is 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ " long and 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, and the umbrella to which it belongs must have had a diameter of nearly six feet. The letters are deeply cut, and their height varies from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The characters are Brâhmî of the second or third century A.D. The forms of *ma* and *sa* are ancient, and the same is the case with *ya*. The shape of individual letters is not, however, constant. Thus the *na* of *imîni*, l. 1, differs from the *na* in *gîmîni*, l. 4; the *du* in *dukkha* in lines 2, 3 and 4 has different shapes; the *dha* of *nirôdhô*, l. 3, is angular, while it has been rounded in l. 4, etc. The form of the compound *kkha* is of some interest, the *kha* being open at the bottom. In *bhikkhavê*, l. 1, however, the bottom line has apparently been added by mistake under the following *vê*. The two *kkhas* in l. 2 differ from each other, and, on the whole, the form of this ligature is not the same in any two places.

The language is the Pâli of Buddhist literature, but with several misspellings, and other mistakes. Thus in l. 2, we find *dikkhavê* instead of *bhikkhavê*, and *arîyasachcham*, l. 3 *ariyayachcham*, and in l. 4 *arisachcham*, all instead of *ariyasachcham*. These slips, taken together with the uncertainty in the formation of the individual letters, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the inscription was cut by an engraver who did not understand the original. The occasional introduction of the Sanskrit *samûhi* in *-samudaya ariyaya(sa)chcham*, l. 3, points in the same direction.

The inscription contains a short enumeration of the four *ariyasachchas*, the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and our inscription is accordingly very appropriate in the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." In this connection it is of interest to note that the great majority of the statues unearthed in Sârnaïth represent the Buddha in the *Dharmachakramudrâ*, delivering his first sermon. The enumeration of the four noble truths or axioms is of the same conventional kind which is so common in Pâli literature, and though I have not found the exact quotation, I do not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Canon. Our inscription, therefore, furnishes a valuable *epigraphical* proof for the existence of a Pâli Canon in the second or third century A.D. It is also of interest as the first old Pâli inscription found in North India. I here take the word Pâli to mean the language of the Southern Canon, the only use of the word which I consider as justified.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Chatt[â]re-imâni bhikkhavô ar[i*]yasachchâni
- 2 katamâni chhattâri dukkha[m] di(bhi)kkhavô arî(ri)yasachcha[m]
- 3 dukkhasamudaya² ariyaya(sa)chcham dukkhanirôdhô³ ariyasachcham
- 4 dukkhanirôdha-gâminî cha⁴ paṭipadâ ar[ya*]sachcham

TRANSLATION.

Four, ye monks, are the noble axioms. And which are these four? The axiom (about) suffering, ye monks; the axiom (about) the cause of suffering; the axiom (about) the suppression of suffering; and the axiom (about) the path leading to suppression of suffering.

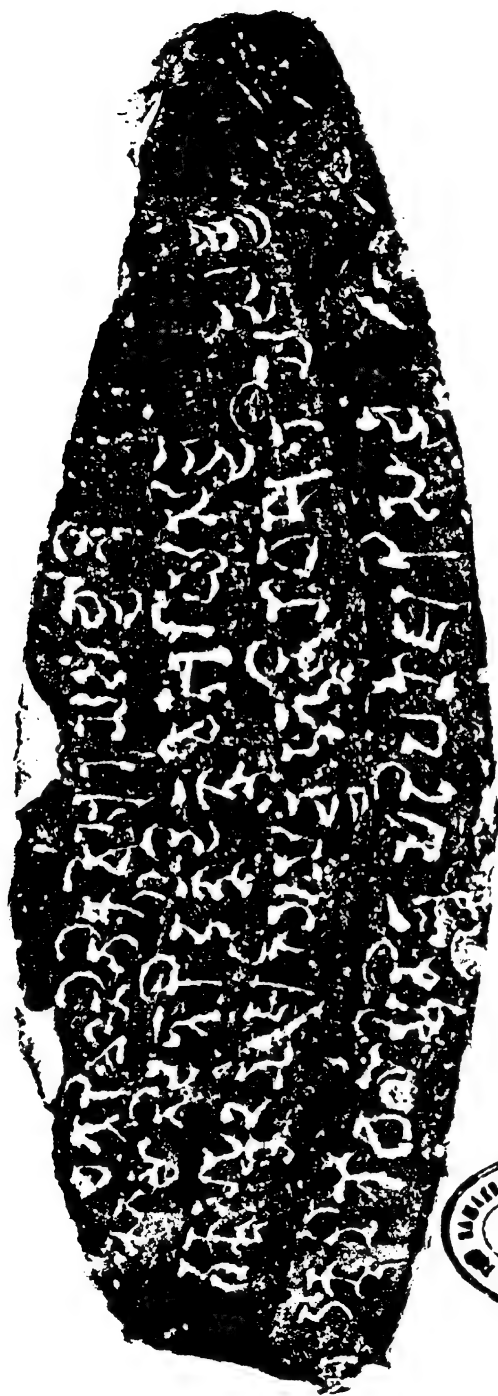
¹ From the original stone.

² The stone perhaps has *nirôdha*.

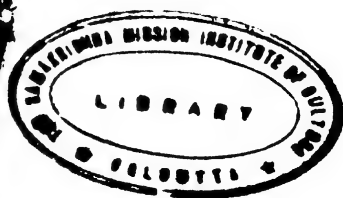
³ Read *-samudaya*.

⁴ The actual reading seems to be *câcha*.

Sarnath stone umbrella inscription.



Scale · 5



Sarnath Buddhist inscription.



Sten Kono.

Scale 1/6

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner.

Another inscription written in Pāli was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life. I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office. The writing covers a space of 12" × 9", and the height of the individual letters is $\frac{1}{2}$ "-1".

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A.D. The tripartite *ya* is almost identical with the *ya* of the Allahābād *praśasti*, while the *sa* has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography.

The language is mixed Pāli, the forms *-prabhavā* in line 1, and *-śramanā*, l. 6, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula *yā dhammā*, etc.

TEXT.

- 1 Yē dhammā hētu-prabhavā
- 2 tēsam hētnin tathāga-
- 3 tō avōcha tēsam cha
- 4 yō nirōdhō ē-
- 5 vām vādi mahā-
- 6 śramanō.

No. 44.—SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA. SAMVAT 806.

By HIRA TAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

At the request of Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Zamindāri Settlement Officer, Bilāspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamindār at Lāphā, named Dahirāj Singh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet. He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note. He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratanpur as one of the gate-keepers of the Ratanpur Fort and also as a guard of the Rānī's palace. He used to live in the Bhēdimūḍāpārā, one of the quarters of Ratanpur town. This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a *mūḍfi*, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lāphā Fort. The present Zamindāri contains only 75 villages and the Zamindār informed me that before Mr. Chisholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it.

The plate is rectangular, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}" \times 4\frac{1}{2}"$, having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers $7\frac{1}{2}" \times 3\frac{1}{2}"$, leaving out the *Śrī* at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word *śrī* at the top together with *śrī* 5 at the commencement and *śubham-aśtu* and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 *anushṭubh śloka*s which are numbered, except the last. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures.

The style of writing is Ōṛiyā, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the *mātrās* or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Ōṛiyā writing. The letters *ja*, *da* and *va* have been invariably written in the Ōṛiyā form. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. Thus in verse 2 we find *sūrasūmanta-* instead of *śūrasūmanta-*.

The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lāmphā (Lāphā) fort to a noble named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihaya king Prithvī-dēva, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in Samvat 806. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the *Kauraviya*"¹ which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kaur tribe, to which the donee belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ōṛiyā letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamindār that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamindār thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindi and Ōṛiyā alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattisgarh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *bha* and *śa*, but in all instances where these letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihaya inscription with a *śrī* at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word *śrī Kṛṣṇachandra*, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being *śrī-Rāma*, *śrī-Guṇḍā*, etc. In all Haihaya inscriptions, the invocation is *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, i.e. I bow down to Siva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihaya inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihaya invocation owing to the story of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Kṛṣṇa was so well pleased with Mayūradhvaja, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record *vijaya-lékha* or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ōṛiyā type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of *vijaya* or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A *Rāju* does not go, he conquers *vijaya karuchhanti*, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as *vijaya-lékha*. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, viz. *śrī* 5. This reminds one of a Hindi letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 6 *śris* should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the *Paṭrahitāishini* to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 806 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattisgarh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jājalladēva² I. who was fifth in descent from Kalīngarāja, the first Haihaya, who is said to have conquered Dakṣiṇakōśala. Taking then the date of Kalīngarāja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattisgarh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kulachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., i.e. almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihaya rule. Prithvirāja was fourth in descent from Kalīngarāja and was the father of Jājalladēva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 60 years between

¹ [Perhaps *Kauraviya* is intended.—S. K.]

श्रीकृष्णचन्द्र

श्रीसुत्रकमुद्राचतुनस्रा

विजयसखि

श्री॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महानागोविन्दाय नमः ॥ शिवे कर्ता ॥ पद्योन्मोदो म
 न्मोदो गिरिगोप्युद्रासिपदभुजः ॥ १ ॥ नन्दे हृदयं ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्म
 न्मोदो वितः ॥ मन्मोदो वितः ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्मोदो वितः ॥ २ ॥
 मुद्राचतुनस्रा ॥ यन्महामन्मोदो ॥ ३ ॥ नन्दे हृदयं ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्म
 मोदो ॥ ४ ॥ नन्दे हृदयं ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्मोदो वितः ॥ ५ ॥
 नन्दे हृदयं ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्मोदो वितः ॥ ६ ॥
 नन्दे हृदयं ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्मोदो वितः ॥ ७ ॥
 नन्दे हृदयं ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्मोदो वितः ॥ ८ ॥
 नन्दे हृदयं ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्मोदो वितः ॥ ९ ॥
 नन्दे हृदयं ॥ अनाजिनो वितास्त्रिशो मन्मोदो वितः ॥ १० ॥

father and son, if we suppose that both records were written in the first year of their reigns. This is again improbable. These kings moreover had not then gone to Ratanpur.

On the whole, I come to the conclusion for reasons stated above that this grant to Luṅgā is a *luṅgā*¹ affair and was perpetrated somewhere between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur, whom I do not desire to name out of respect for his Sanskrit learning. I suppose 'chill penury' induced him to undertake a work which he would not have otherwise done. The record does not show any adequate cause for the grant being made, and it is noteworthy that exactly double the number of villages of those which the Zamindārī contained before Mr. Chisholm's settlement were recorded as granted by the Haihaya Rāja. It may be noted that when this record was written the change of the tribal name of the donee or his descendants from Kavar to Tavar had not been mooted or at least had not been seriously taken up, otherwise we should not have had the phrase *Kauraviya-prasanna*² in verse 3. There is a family genealogy of the Lāphā Zamindār, written in the year 1927 or 1870 A.D., which shows that the tribal name had then been changed to Tavar.

TEXT.³

Śrī.

Śrī Kṛṣṇachandra

vijayalēkhā

śrī-lēkhaka-mudrā chaturasrā.

- 1 Śrī 5 || Svasti śrīmau-mahārājādhirājaḥ kṣhiti-nvōkarāt⁴ || (1) Prithvidēvō ma-
 2 hōddarśi-maulyudbhāsi-padāmvu(bu)jaḥ || 1 || Haihayāmnarāja⁵-savitā sūra-sāmanta-
 3 sōvitāḥ ||(1) mahōdbhāṣa-bhaṭākīrṇa-sainyō vairigaṇaprahā || 2 || Dily-āgata-
 4 susūrya⁶ Luṅg-ākhyāya mahātmanō ||(1) dadō vṛitim⁷ vamsāparām
 Kauraviya-prasanna-
 5 dhīḥ || 3 || Lāphā-durgam-ayi(pi) grāma-vimsōttarasātōnmitām ||(1) samvatsarē
 6 ras-ābhr-āṣṭ-ātītē Māgh-āsīt-ādikē || 4 || yō bhaviṣyamiti bhūpālāḥ pā-
 7 lanīyā sad-ēti taiḥ ||(1) maddattā likhitā tāmra-patrē Mādhavasūri-
 8 pā || Śubham-aśtu⁸ || Māghē vadi || 1 || Sammansarē⁹ 806.

TRANSLATION.

Śrī.

The illustrious Kṛṣṇachandra.

The Victorious writ.

The illustrious writer's regular seal.

Śrī 5. Hail.

(Verse 1.) The illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Prithvidēva*, the king of many countries (is) very intelligent. (His) lotus feet are shining with the diadems (of kings prostrating before him).

(V. 2.) (He is as it were) the sun amongst the descendants of the Haihayas and is served by his brave feudatories. His army is full of very extraordinary soldiers. He is the destroyer of his enemies.

¹ The word in Hindi means "mischievous."² Read *kṣhiti-anēkarāt*.³ Read *sūra-sāmanta*.⁴ Read *vṛitim*.⁵ Read *aśtu*.⁶ From the original plate.⁷ Read *Haihayāmnarāja*.⁸ Read *susūrya*.⁹ Read *Samvatsarē*.

(V. 3-4.) His mind being pleased with the Kauraviyas¹ (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lamphā fort, for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Māgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (6) sky (0) and eight (8).

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper plate by Mādhava Sūri. Let good fortune attend. The first day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 808.

NO. 45.—ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA. KALACHURI SAMVAT 347.

By K. B. PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA.

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Ābhōṇa, a village in the Kalavana tāluka of the Nāsik district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr. N. C. Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 7". The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavṇī plates of Buddharāja edited by Dr. Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol. VI, pp. 291 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and benedictive verses in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śaṅkaragana, the son of Krishṇarāja, of the family of the Kaṭachohūris. It records an order of Śaṅkaragana, issued from his camp at Ujjayini, to the effect that he granted a hundred *nivartanas* of land in the village of Vallisikā situated in the district of Bhōgavardhana to a Brāhmaṇa named Ālmaṇasvāmin, of the Gaṇṭama gṛāma, belonging to the Taittiriya śākhā, who was a resident of Kallāvana, at the request of Gōggā. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbols, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of the year 347,² which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Kaṭachohūri Śaṅkaragana is identical with the father of Buddharāja, who issued the Sarsavṇī grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavṇī plates, which refer to Buddharāja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana in the Nāsik district. Vallisikā and Bhōgavardhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression *a-chiṭa-bhaṭa-prāvṛṣyam*, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered "not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers." I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śaṅkarāchārya uses it,³—

tasmāt tārkiḥa-chiṭa-bhaṭa-rāj-āpravṛṣyam abhayaṁ durgam idam alpabudhī-agamyam śāstra-guru-prasāda-rahitais cha. Anandajñāna gives the following explanation,—
advaitē virōdh-āntar-ābhāṣe-pi tārkiḥa-maya-virōdhō-st-īty-āśaṅky-āha tasmād
iti | pramāṇa-virōdh-ābhāṣe tach-chhabd-ārthaḥ | āryamaryādāṁ bhūti-

¹ Or, if we read *Kauraviya*, "he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Luṅgā."

² [In the photo-lithograph 247 has been wrongly printed instead of 347.—S. K.]

³ *Bṛihadāranyakōpaniṣadbhāṣya*, 11th ed., Anandasrama edition, pp. 311 and ff.

[The page contains dense handwritten text in Indic script, likely Tamil or Grantha, arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines.]

nās chāṭā rivakshyantē | bhāṭas tu śrakaṁ mithyā-bhāṣiṇas tishkām sarvśhaīm
rājānas tārkikās tair apravēṣyam anākramanīyam idam brahmaikūtram iti
yāvat.

TEXT.

First Plate ; Second Side.

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्ति[॥*] विजयस्कन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगगनतलविमल-
विपुलि
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभासिते महासत्त्वापाश्रयदुर्लभे गाभीर्यवति
स्थित्य-
- 3 नृपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटञ्चूरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्दि-
कयेव कीर्त्या
- 4 भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिममाश्रयपरङ्गलङ्घदोषरहितकुलकुमुद-
- 5 वनलक्ष्मीविवोधनचन्द्रमा इव श्रीकृष्णराजो यस्यश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकलै-
राभिगामिकै-
- 6 रितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्मभ्यन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदात्मन्याहितशक्तिमिद्विर्धनं च
रुचिरवं-
- 7 शशीभिना नियतमखलितदानप्रसरेण प्रथितबलगरिम्णा वनवारणयूथपेनवावि-
- 8 शङ्खं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नचा-
णाय विग्रहः परा-
- 9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिञ्जितं विनयाय विभवाञ्जनं प्रदानाय प्रदानं धर्माय
धर्मैः श्रेयोवा-
- 10 मये तस्य पुत्रः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथयतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादितयशा धनदवरुणेंद्रा-
न्तक-
- 11 समप्रतापः स्वबाहुबलोपातोर्जितराजश्रीः परतावा(पा)तिशयोपनतसमग्रसामन्त-
- 12 मण्डलः परस्परपीडितधर्मात्यं कामनिषेवो प्रणतिमात्रमुपरितोषगम्भीरोन्नत-
- 13 हृदयस्त्वय्यप्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्राणनावामधर्माक्रियश्चिरोत्सन्ना-
- 14 नां नृपतिवंशानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छ्रितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनाभ्य-
क्षपणसमभिल-
- 15 धितमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्तादिदेशस्वामी मातापितृ-
- 16 पादानुध्यातः परममाङ्गेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषय-
- 17 पतिराष्ट्रशामभञ्जतराधिकारिकादीन्समाप्तापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

Second Plate; First Side.

- 18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्गतवर्त्तिसिकाग्रामे उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना(नेन)
 19 भूमेर्निवर्त्तनशतम् सर्वदादानसंग्राह्यं सर्वदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहीणं भूमि-
 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्कीर्णवर्त्तितस्थितिसमकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-
 भोग्यं
 21 कल्लावनवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसन्नह्यचारी आह्वयस्वामिने बलिचक्रवैश्य-
 देवा-
 22 ग्निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्पणाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृडये गोमा-
 विज्ञापनया
 23 उदकातिमर्गणातिमृष्टं यतोऽस्मदंश्चैरन्यैर्वागामिभृपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-
 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचञ्चलं जीवलोकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस-
 25 थ गुणानाकलय्य 'भोगसामान्यभृप्रदानफलेऽसुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय
 यशश्चिचीर्षुभि-
 26 रयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य'Xपालयितव्यश्च [1*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमति-
 राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-
 27 मानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तस्यादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥*]
 28 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ विख्याट-
 29 वोष्पतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
 हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व-
 30 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
 फलम् ॥ पूर्वदत्तां
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालन-
 मपिच ॥ यानीह
 32 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेर्हानानि धर्मात्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्वर्तुमास्त्यप्रति-
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः
 33 पुनराददीत ॥ संवत्सरशतत्रये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरके आवणशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां
 महापिलु-
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं लिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतवाट्चलि-
 नेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ आवण शु १० ५

TRANSLATION.¹

Line 1. *Om! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at Ūjjayinī. In the lineage of the Kaṭachohūris, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious Krishnarāja, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men; who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva; who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the bounty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses; who was resorted to by all virtues which attract² men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode; who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty; who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers; who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests; whose sword was used to protect the helpless; whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies; whose learning aimed at modesty; who acquired wealth to make gifts; who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss.*

(L. 10.) His son, the glorious Śaṅkaragana, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents; who had no rival in the world; whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of Kubēra, Varuṇa, Indra and Yama; who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm; to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed; who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another; whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission; who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned; who uprooted those that were too proud; who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,—issues this order to all kings, feudatories, *bhūjikas*, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others:—

Be it known to you. For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of Gōgā,³ with pouring out of water, a hundred *nīcartanas* of land,—by a *nīcartana* measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of Vallisika situated in the province of Bhōgavarddhana, together with all receipts, free from all *dītya*, forced labour, and *prātibhālikā*, according to the maxim of *bhānichchidra*, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies,⁴ to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to Āhmapasvāmin, a resident of Kallāvana belonging to the Gautama *gōtra*, and a student of the Taittirīya *śikṣā*, for the maintenance of *balī*, *charu*, *viśvadrōṇa*, *agnihōtra* and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the waters of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

¹ [Compare the translation of the Sarsaval plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol. VI. pp. 299 and ff.—S. K.]

Kīmandaktya nīlīsāra, chap. IV. verses 6-8.

² Gōgā was probably the name of the queen of Śaṅkaragana.

⁴ See the introductory remarks.

riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this our gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyâsa, the arranger of the Vêdas:—[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses.]

(L. 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvana, this edict, the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupatī* Pāsupata, was written by the *Mahāśāntihicigrahādhikarapādhikṛita* Vācchalin. Sam 300 40 7 Śrāvana su 10 5.

No. 46.—ARIGOM SARADA INSCRIPTION.

LAUKIKA SAMVAT 73.

By STEEN KONOW.

Ārigōm is a village in the Nāgām pargana, 74° 45' long., 33° 56' lat., about 15 miles south-west of Śrinagar, as the crow flies. Dr. Stein, in his note on the *Rājatarangini* I. 340, identifies Ārigōm with Hāḍigṛāma, where Gopāditya is said to have established an *agrahāra*, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Paṇḍit Kāśī Rām in 1891. Hāḍigṛāma is further mentioned by Kāthana (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Dāmara Prithvīhara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasīma in A.D. 1128, “Hāḍigṛāma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sajji, whose valour was mighty” (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the incursion of king Lōthana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1903, Paṇḍit Mukund Rām, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brāhman in Ārigōm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Masjid Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brāhman for some corn. The Brāhman kept the stone for some time and did *pūjā* to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahārāja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his *gṛāhī* and covered it up with cow-dung. Paṇḍit Mukund Rām further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and bricks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20" each way, and being 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śāradā letters.

The writing covers a space of 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 3", and the height of the letters averages $\frac{3}{4}$ ". They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śāradā, and they are very well cut. *Ja* has the older form as in the Baijñāth *prasaṣti*. The final form of *m* occurs in line 3. The diphthong *ē* has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in *bhagavatē*, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in *tē*, l. 2. Similarly *ṣ* is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for *ḍ*. Compare

[illegible]

۱۹۷۶

Āryāvalokitēśvara, l. 1, and *Lōkanātha*, l. 2. A third method occurs in *lōka* at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for *ta*. Of initial vowels only *a* occurs in *āryā*, l. 1. Among ligatures I may note *kya*, l. 1, *kkra*, l. 3, *kra*, l. 4; *ṅga*, l. 2; *dya*, l. 3; *rya*, l. 1; and perhaps *thwa*, l. 3. The numeral symbols for 7, 3 and 5 occur in line 5.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of *Avalokitēśvara* in l. 1, and the date in l. 5, the whole is in verse. There are altogether two verses. The first is apparently a *śloka*. The second *pāda*, however, contains three syllables too much, but these *aksharas* are probably simply a repetition of part of *pāda* 1. The second verse is a *sārdūlavikriṣṭa*. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* built of *pakka* bricks, by *Rāmadēva*, the son of *Kulladēva*, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been built by a *vaṭṭya*, whose name I read *Ulhā*, and which had been burnt down by king *Siṃha*. This *Siṃha* must be identical with *Jayasīṃha* (from A.D. 1128), in whose reign *Hādigrāma* was burnt down by *Sujji*.¹ It then becomes highly probable that the *vaṭṭya* *Ulhā* is identical with *Ulhā*, the son of *Sahadēva*, who was a supporter of *Sujji*.² *Sahadēva* is described as a *Rājaputra*,³ which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son *Ulhā*'s being a *vaṭṭya*. The constructor of the brick *vihāra* was *Rāmadēva*, whom I cannot identify. His father *Kulladēva* was perhaps in charge of the old wooden *vihāra*, if I am right in interpreting *taḍ-rata* (l. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, *viz.*, *Avalokitēśvara*."

The word *vihāra* is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of *Lōkanātha*." The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of *Lōkanātha* here alluded to. *Lōkanātha* is, of course, identical with *Avalokitēśvara*, who is invoked in lines 1-2. Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest. We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from *pakka* bricks.

The old *vihāra* is stated to have been built in the vicinity of *Gaṅgēśvara*. This is now called *Gaṅgēśvara*, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out. The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date. The old name was at least remembered about 10 years ago. This is proved by a *janmapatra*, which *Paṇḍit Mukund Rām* found in *Ārigom*, and which was written by *Paṇḍit Gaṅgēśa Khasrao* in *Laukika Samvat* 4939, *i.e.* A.D. 1862-63. It speaks of a person as *Gaṅgēśvara-pādamūlē Ārigrāmē vāstavya* residing in *Ārigom* at the feet of *Gaṅgēśvara*. *Gaṅgēśvara* was originally probably a *Śiva* temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations.

The inscription is dated *Samvat* 73, *Mārga śuti* 5. This date must be subsequent to the burning of *Ārigom* during the reign of *Jayasīṃha*. Now *Jayasīṃha*'s father was murdered in the *Laukika* year 4203, and the burning of *Ārigom* took place in the first part of his reign. It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as 4273 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśīrsha*, corresponding to Sunday, the 18th November 1197.

TEXT.

1 ...⁴ नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय ॥ ३[त्रै]लोक्यालोकभूताय लोका-
[लो]-

¹ *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, VIII. 1586.

² *Ibidem*. vv. 2066, 2092, 2097.

³ *Ibidem*. v. 198.

⁴ I cannot restore the beginning. The *akshara* preceding नमो looks like त्रै. *Paṇḍit Mukund Rām* suggests to read त्रै.

⁵ Metre : *Ślōka*. There is something wrong in the second *pāda*.

- 2 [ल].[स]भवच्छिदे [१*] जगदानन्दचन्द्राय लोकनाथाय ते नमः ॥[१*]
 'प्रागङ्गेश्वरसि[न्]-
 3 धौ [सुम]तिमान्वैद्योऽह्नुदेवाभिधक्षक्रे दारुमयं विहारममलं श्रीलोकनाथास्य-
 दम [१*] तस्मि[न्]-
 4 हृन्प्रेण कालवशतो दग्धेय पक्वेष्टिकायेष्टं तद्रतकुसुदेवतनयोमुं रामदेवो
 [व्यधात् ॥] [२*]
 5 सं ७३ मार्ग शुति ५

TRANSLATION.

Line 1. Salutation to the exalted noble Avalokitôśvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world.

(V. 2). Formerly the *raida* Ullhādēva² by name made a spotless *vihāra* of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gaṅgêśvara (temple). After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king *Siṃha*, Rāmadēva, the son of Kullādēva, who was devoted to him (Avalokitôśvara), made youler (*vihāra*) excellent with burnt bricks.

Line 5. Samvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Marga (śirsha).

No. 47.—CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVA.

SAMVAT 1148.

BY SIEN KONOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandravati, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and 3" in diameter. On the ring slides a bell-shaped seal, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuḍa, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend *śrīvāṇak*-(*śrīmān*-*Chandradev*), and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that *va* is used both for *va* and for *ba*, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one; thus, *asita-*

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² It is possible that the name should be read Ullhādēva.

for *asīta*, 1. 1, -*vaṁsa*- for -*vaṁśa*-, 1. 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to *Śrī* common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that *Yaśovigraha* had the son *Mahāchandra*, whose son again was *Chandradēva*, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king *Chandradēva* issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the *Vaḍagavā*-village in the *Vavana-pattalā*, and also to the *Rājas*, *Ījñās*, *Yuvarājas*, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gymnæciums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthānas* and *gōkulas*:

“Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of *madhūka* and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, has to-day, on the . . . day of the bright fortnight of *Kārttika*, *Samvat* 1148, been given by us for as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with *gikarna*¹ and *kuśa*-grass, to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Varaṇśvayasaṛman* (-*śvaraśarman*), the son of *Varāhasvāmi*, the grandson of *Anarudha*, of the *Vasishṭha gōtra*, and whose only *prarara* is *Vasishṭha*, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having to-day bathed here in the neighbourhood of *Sauri* (*Śauri*)-*Narāyaṇa*, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,² after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped *Vāsudēva*, the saviour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar.”

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for *Chandradēva*, the other copper plate of his time being dated in *Samvat* 1154.³ It will be seen that the portion of it containing the *tithi* and the week day is illegible. Mr. Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

“Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody in his endeavour to make a correction in the date. It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, *saṅkrānti*, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that *Śauri-Narāyaṇa* was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion presumably was the ordinary *Kārttika-snāna*, and that the date originally entered on the plate was *pañcadasyaṁ gaurā*, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into *ekādasyaṁ ravan*. The *ē* of the latter just overlaps the *pañ* of the former; the *kā* of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the *cha* and to cover the space occupied by *da* of the former; while the space occupied by *syāṁ* of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large *da* of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word *pañcadasyaṁ*, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, *ē*, *kā* and *da*, and there being no more space available for the final syllable *syāṁ*, it was omitted. Similarly, the *ra* of

¹ Compare Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XV. p. 10, Note 57.

² See *ibidem*, note 56.

³ *Ind. Ant.* XVIII. pp. 9 and ff.

rajan overlaps the *gu* of *guran* and *ran* of the latter has been deformed into something like *can* of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the *pañchadaśī*, on the occasion of a *lunar eclipse* which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A.D.), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradēva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding *Prabōdhini Ekādaśī* (Sunday, the 3rd of November, 1090 A.D.) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Vishnu—the deity worshipped by Chandradēva—rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no *a priori* reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahārāja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been cut on a new plate in a day's time. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brāhman to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brāhmaṇas, e.g. Sarjuparis and Kanaujias, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brāhman who received the munificent gift from Chandradēva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr. Chhote Lal further identifies *Vaḍagavā* with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandravatī, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradēva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the *ṭhakkura* Mahānanda.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Ōm² svasti || ³akum̐th-ōtkaṇṭha-Vaikum̐th-a-kaṇṭha-piṭha-luṭhat-karah | surinrambhuh
suratārambhō sa Śriyah śrēyasō-sta vah || ⁴āsīd-āsī(sī) tadyn-
- 2 ti-varisa(sa)-jāta-[ksh̐mā]pāla-mālāsu divan̐ gatāsu | sākshād-Vivasvān=iva
bhūridhāmnā nāmnā Yasōvigraha ity=ndarāh || ⁵tat-sutō=bhūt(n)=Mahāchandra-
- 3 ś=cha[m̐*]dradhāma-nibham̐ nijam̐ | yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pārō vyāpāritam̐ yasah ||
⁶tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aikarasikah krānta-dvishan-maindālā(mandālō)
⁷viddhast-ōddhata-
- 4 dhira-yōdha-timirah̐ śrī-Chandradēvō nripah | yēn=ōdāratarā-pratāpa-sa(sa)mit
āsēsha-prajōpadravam̐ śrimad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam=asam̐ dōrvikra-
- 5 mēṇ=ārjitam̐ || ⁸tīrthāni Kāsi-Kusik(-sik)-Ōttarakōśal(sal)-Ēndra(h)sthānīyakam̐
paripūlayat-ābhigamyah(ya) | hēm=ātmatulyam=anisam̐(sam̐) dadatā dvijōbhyo
- 6 yēn=āinkitā vasumatī śatasa(sa)s=tulābhīḥ || sa cha paramabhattāraka-mahārāja-
dhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-nijabhujōpā[r*]jita-śrī-Ka-
- 7 nyakuvj(bj)-ādhipatyā-śrī-Chandradēvō vijayī ||⁹ Vāvana-pattalāyām̐ Vaḍagava-
grāmō nivā[sinō nikhila]-jana-padān-upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvārā-

¹ From the original plate.

² Metre: Indravajrā.

Read *vidhrast*.

This sign of interpunction is superfluous.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁵ Metre: Vasantatilaka.

⁶ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

[illegible]

- 8 ja-mamtri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênûpati-bhâmâgârik-âkshapaṭalika-bhishaka(ahag)-naimi-
[tîk-ântahpu]rika-dûta-karituragapattanâkarasthângô[ku]-
- 9 lâdhikâripurushân=âjñâpayâ(ya)ty=âdisati cha yathâ viditam-astu bhavatâm
yathôpa[rilikhi]ta-grâma[h*] sa-jala-sthalah sa-lôha-lavaṇ-âkaraḥ sa-ma-
- 10 [t*]sy-âkaraḥ sa-gartt-ôsharaḥ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vâtikâ-(triṇa-yûti-gôchara-
paryantah s-ôrdh[**v**]-âdhas=chatur-âghâta-visu(su)ddhah sva-simâ-paryantah
[samvat]
- 11 1148 Kârttika su di ady-ôha Sau(Sau)ri-nârâyana- samipê
snâtvâ vidhivan=maritra-dêva-pu(mu)ni-manuja-bhûta-pitrigunâms=tarppayitvâ ti-
- 12 mira-patâla-pâṭana-pa[tu-ma]hasâms(sam=)[usha-rôchi]shain samabhyarehya tribbu-
vana-latrâtur-Vâsandêvasya pûjâin vidhâya prachura-pâyasena havishâ
havirbhujâm [hu]tvâ
- 13 mâtâpitrôr=âtmana[s-cha] puppya-pra(ya)[sô-bhividdhayô] ¹² Vasishthagotrâya ¹²
Vasishth-aika-pravarâya ¹² Anarudha-pautrâya Var[â*]hasvâmi-putrâya ¹²
Varupêsvaya(êvara)-
- 14 sa(sa)rmmanê vrâ(bhrâ)hmapâya gôkarsa(rpa)-kuśalatâ-pûta-karatat-ôdakên-âsmâbhih
âchamidrârkam yâvav(ch=chh)âsauikṛitya pradattah | matvâ yathâdiyamâna-
bhâgabho-
- 15 gâkara-pravanikara-turushkadandâ-kumaragadiâṇaka-prabhṛiti-samastâ [n*] = n i y a t â s
niyat-âdâyân=âjñâ(m)-vidhêyî-bhûya dâsyatha
- 16 iti || bhavanti ch=âtra paurâṇikâ[h*] ślôkâh || || ³bhûmim yath pratigrihâtî
yâs=cha bhûmim prayaochhati | ubhau tau punyakarmâṇau ni-
- 17 yatau svargna(rgga)-gâminau || sa(sa)mikham bhadrâsanam chechhatram⁴ varâsvâ
(êvâ) varavârâṇah | bhûmi-dânasya chihnâni phalam=⁵a(ô)tat-Purâmdara ||
shash(h)im varsha-sahasrâ-
- 18 ni svarggô vasati bhûmidah [l*] âchchhêtâ ch=ânumantâ cha tân[y=*]êva
narakim(kê) vasôt || svadattâm paradattâm vâ yô harôd(tu)=vasumdharam |
sa vishthâyâm krimir-bhûtvâ
- 19 pitribhiḥ saha majjati || vârihînêshv=aranyêshu sushka-kô(ara-vâsinah | krishpa-
sarppâs=ra(cha) jâymâtê dôva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hâriṇah || na vishain vi[sha]m=
ity=â-
- 20 hu[r*] vra(bra)hma-svâin visham=achyata(tê) | visham=êkâkinam hanti(r=)
vra(bra)hmasvâin puvrapautriâkam(putrapautrikam) || ⁶rgâm=akâm svarsêtu-
êkam bhûmêr=apy-êkam=âṅgulam | harâin(haran) narakam=âpnôti yâvad=â-
- 21 bhûta-sa[m*]plavain || tadâgânâm sahasrâpi ⁷asvam[ô]dhasatâni cha | gavâm
kâ(kô)ti-pradânana(nêna) bhûmi-hartâ na sayati(sudhyati) || va(ba)hubhir=
vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Cha(Sa)ga-
- 22 râdibhi[h] || (i) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || ⁸yân=
iha dattâni purâ narô[n*]drai[r*] dânâni ⁹varmâpiyasaskarâpi [l*] ni-
[rmâlyavâmta-prati]-
- 23 mâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar-âdadhîta || || ¹⁰Likhitam=idam
tâmmrapâka[m*] thakkura-êri- Mahapâmda ||

¹ The engraver originally wrote *tribhuvana*, but corrected it.

² These signs of interpunctuation are superfluous.

³ Metro of this and the following verses : Anushtubh.

⁴ The ê-stroke has been put over the pu of *Purâmdara*.

⁵ Read *gâm=êkâm svarnam=êkam cha*.

⁷ Read *asvamêdhasatâni*.

⁸ Read *dharmaṛthayatas*.

⁶ Read *chhatram*.

⁹ Metro : Indravajrâ.

¹⁰ Read *likhitam*.

No. 48.—BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH.

SAMVAT 1646.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Barhānpûr in the Nimâr district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site.¹ It was the chief seat of the Fârûqî kings. They ruled over Khândêsh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khân. Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A.D., when it was displaced by the Mughals. One of these Fârûqî kings built the Jum'a Masjid, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque. This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation *Śrī śrīṣṭīkartrī namaḥ* in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose.

The letters are Nāgarī and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved. Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of *avagraha* has been omitted throughout. Over the *na* of *-khāna-* (l. 3) we find the Arabic sign of *tashdīd* or double consonant.

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1646 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virôdhi. The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pausa, the exact moment in *ghaṭī*s and the *nakṣatra*, *lagna*, *yôga*, *karana*, etc., being added most precisely.² The date in the Hijra era is given as 997 in Arabic above the inscription. Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 5th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Fârûqî kings. In Burhānpûr much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islam) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there. As an instance may be cited the preachings of the *Pirzadas*, who are Muhammadans and who say that God will now become incarnate as *Nishkalañki*.³ The Fârûqis undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjid discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahâdur Khân, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asirgarh fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he felt convinced that he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort. A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khândêsh in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever. This inscription is in Persian and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minâr.

¹ It was here that the famous Mumtâz Mahall (Arjunumand Band Bégam) breathed her last.

² For details see translation at the end.

³ I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Maulvis of Burhānpûr, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fires of 1897 and 1906 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 lakhs besides loss of life.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fârâqis given in it. According to it the first king was **Râja Malik**, whose son was **Ghazni (Khân)**. His son was **Kaisar Khân**, whose son was **Hasan**, from whom was born **Âdil Shâh**, whose son was **Mubârahk**. **Âdil Shâh**, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubârahk. This genealogy differs from those given by Firishta and Abul Fazl. According to the former **Âdil Shâh** was the 6th descendant from Malik Râja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand :—

Sanskrit inscription.	Briggs' <i>Firishta</i> , Vol. IV., p. 280.	Jarrett's <i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> , Vol. II., p. 226.
Râja Malik.	Malik Râja.	Malik Râji.
Gazni (Khân).	Nasir Khân.	Ghizni Khân, title Nasir Khân.
Kaisar Khân.		Miran Shâh <i>alias</i> Âdil Shâh.
		Mubârik Shâh Chaukhandî.
Hasan (Khân).	Hasan Khân.	Âdil Shâh Aynâ <i>alias</i> Ahsan Khân.
Âdil Shâh.	Âdil Khân.	Âdil Shâh.
Mubârahk.	Mubârik.	Mubârik Shâh.
Âdil Shâh.	Râja Ali Khân.	Râja Ali Khân, title Âdil Shâh.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* states that "Bahâdur Khân (who was the son of Râja Ali Khân) was 9th in descent from Malik Râji." This has led Colonel Jarrett,¹ as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khân, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khân, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khân belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Ain-i-Akbari* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Miran Shâh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Râja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct ascendant of the last Âdil Shâh or Râja Ali Khân. The crown first went in Miran Shâh's line up to Âdil Shâh Aynâ, who was succeeded by his brother Dâwûd Khân, and the latter by his son Ghazni Khân, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fazl does not mention Ghazni Khân at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghazni Khân left no son,² and hence the crown went to Râja Ali Khân's grandfather Âdil Shâh or Âdil Khân. The three kings Miran Shâh, Mubârahk Shâh and Âdil Shâh Aynâ were not thus direct ascendants of Râja Ali Khân. The *Ain-i-Akbari* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firishta's list. Briggs³ takes Hasan to be the son of Nasir Khân, relying on Firishta's assertion that "Âdil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasir Khân." If Hasan were the son of Nasir Khân, he would be the brother of Miran Shâh, who was crowned king after his father's death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Miran's nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three

¹ See his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., p. 226, footnote.

² Briggs' *Firishta*, Vol. IV., p. 303.

³ *Loc. cit.*

generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Ādil Khān (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived.¹ It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Nasir Khān and Hasan Khān, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kaisar Khān, son of Nasir and father of Hasan Khān. In the inscription Kaisar Khān is merely called a *vīra* or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of *kahitiśa* was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Firishta records² that when he visited Burhānpūr in A.H. 1013 (A.D. 1604), he asked Mirzā Ali Isfahānī if any history existed of the Fārūqī family. The Mirzā replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy³ of the family down to Malik Rāja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Malik Rāja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record, in one of the greatest works the king built. It is, therefore, more reliable than Firishta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity.⁴ A revised genealogy of the Fārūqī kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 ॥ श्री सृष्टिकर्त्रे 'नमः । अत्यन्तं व्यापकं नित्यं गुणातीतं चिदात्मकं
[1*] अत्यन्तव्यक्तं कारणं वन्दे व्यक्ताव्यक्तं तमोम्बरं' ॥१॥ यावच्चन्द्रा-
र्कतारा-
- 2 दि क्षितिः स्याद्वरांगणै(णे) [1*] तावत्फारुकिवंशोसौ चिरं नन्दतु
भूतले ॥२॥ वंशेय तस्मिन्किल फारुकीन्द्रो वभूव राजा मलिकाभि-
धानः [1*] तस्याभवत्सुनु-
- 3 रुदारचेताः कुलावतंसो गजनीनरेशः⁶ ॥३॥ तस्मादभूत्केसरखानवीरः पुत्र-
स्तदीयो हसनक्षितिधः [1*] तस्मादभूदेदलशाहभूपः पुत्रोभवत्तस्य
सुबारखेन्द्रः ॥४॥

¹ The average for a generation in the line of which Ghazni Khān was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Rāja Ali Khān it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Miran Muhammad in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Husain Khān, Rāja Ali Khān would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother's throne.

² It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

³ Firishta gives this as follows:—

Malik Rāja, the son of Khān Jahān, the son of Ali Khān, the son of Uthmān Khān, the son of Simion Shāh, the son of Ashab Shāh, the son of Armlan Shāh, the son of Ibrāhīm Shāh of Balkh, the son of Adam Shāh, the son of Ahmad Shāh, the son of Mahmūd Shāh, the son of Muhammad Shāh, the son of Āzim Shāh, the son of Ashghur, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imām Nasir Abdulla, the son of Omar-ul-Faruq entitled Khalifā or representative of the last of the prophets.

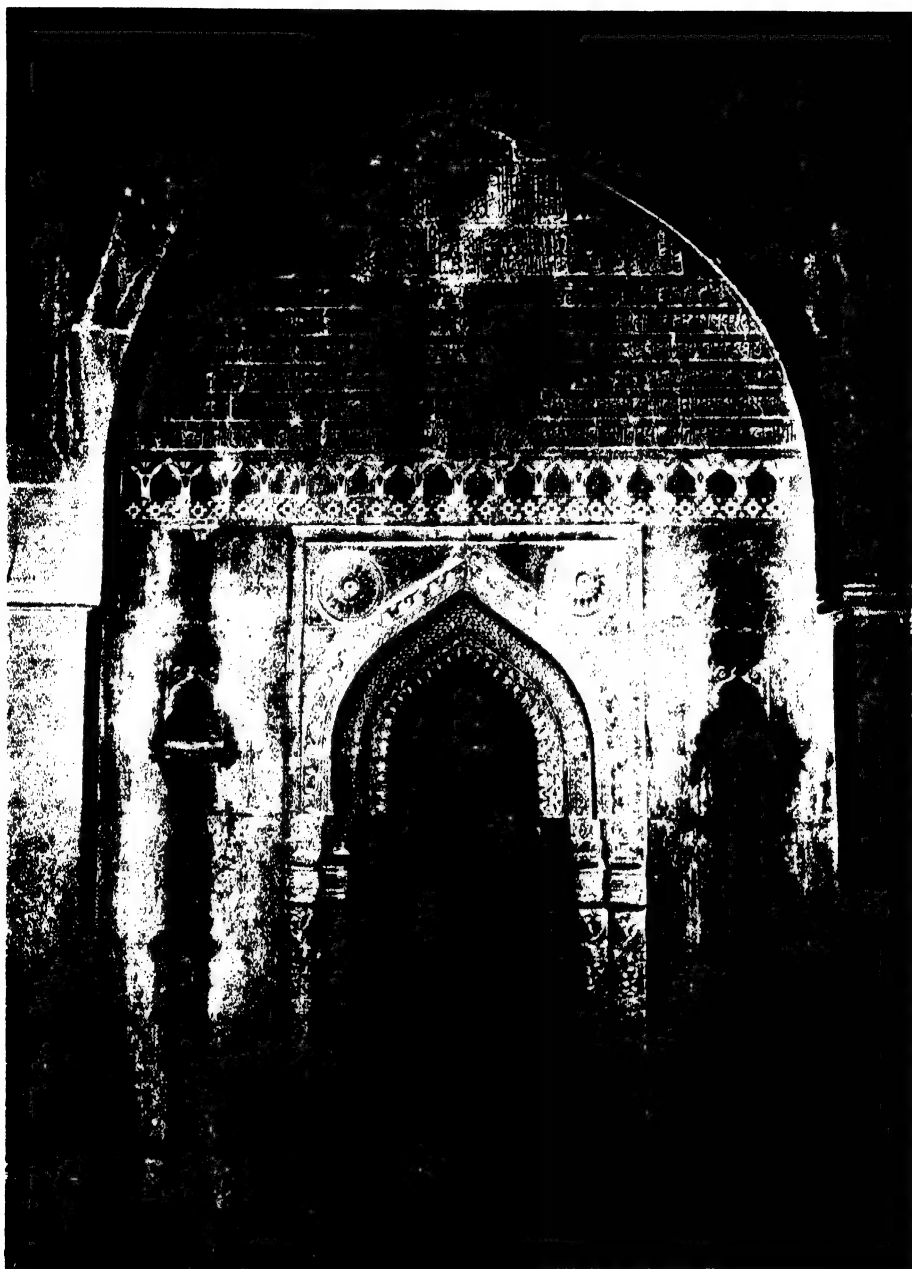
⁴ If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 3 as deciphered by Munsif Ināmullah Khān, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows:— 'Ādil Shāh bin Mubārak Shāh bin 'Ādil Shāh bin Hasan Khān bin Qaisar Khān bin Ghazni Khān bin Malik Khān al-Fārūqī al-'Ādil.

⁵ From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. B. Balakrishna Bhāte, Headmaster, Middle School, Burhānpur, and a photograph.

⁶ Read 'कर्त्रे नमः'

⁷ This and the next verse are in the Anushtubh metre.

⁸ This and the next are in the Upajāti metre.



१ तत्सूनुः चित्तिपालमौलिमुकुटव्याघ्रपादांबुजः सत्कीर्त्तिर्विलसन्नतापवशगा-
मिन् चित्तीशखरः]।*] यस्याहर्निशमानतिगुणगणातीते परे ब्रह्मणि
श्रीमानेदलभूपति-

५ विजयंते^१ भूपालचूडामणिः^२ ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६४६ वर्षे शाक्रे^३
१५११ विरोधिसंवत्सरे पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० घटी २३ सहैका-
दश्यां तिथौ सोमे [क]त्तिकाघटी ३३ राह^४ रोहि-

६ एषां शुभ घटी ४२ योगे वणिजकरणेस्मिन् दिने रात्रिगतघटी
११ समये कन्यालग्न श्रीसुवारखशाहसुतश्री^५ ७ एदलशाहराज्ञी
मसीतिरियं निर्मिता स्वधर्मपालनार्थ ॥

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world.

(Verse 1). I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2). As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this *Fārūkī* family live happily on the face of the earth.

(V. 3). In that family there was first the lord of *Fārūkīs* by name *Rājā Malik*, whose son was king *Ghazni*⁵ (*Khân*) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V. 4). From him was (born) the hero *Kaisar Khân* whose son was *Hasan* (*Khân*), the lord of the earth. From him was born king *Ādil Shāh*, whose son was lord *Mubārakh*.

(V. 5). Victorious is his son, the illustrious king *Ādil*, the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities.

(Ll. 5—6). Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king *Śrī*⁶ *Ādil Shāh*, son of the illustrious *Mubārakh Shāh*, for fostering his own religion, in the *Samvat* year 1646, *Saka* 1511, in the *Virōdhi samvatsara*, in the month of *Pausa*, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th *tithi* (lasting for) 23 *ghaṭīs*, followed by the eleventh *tithi*, on Monday, in the *Kṛittikā* (*nakshatra* lasting for) 33 *ghaṭīs* with (i.e. followed by) *Rōhiṇī* in the *Subha yōga* lasting up to *ghaṭī* 42, in the *Vaṇija karaṇa*, at the time when 11 *ghaṭīs* of the night on this day had passed and in the *Kanyā lagna*.

¹ Read विजयते.

² Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

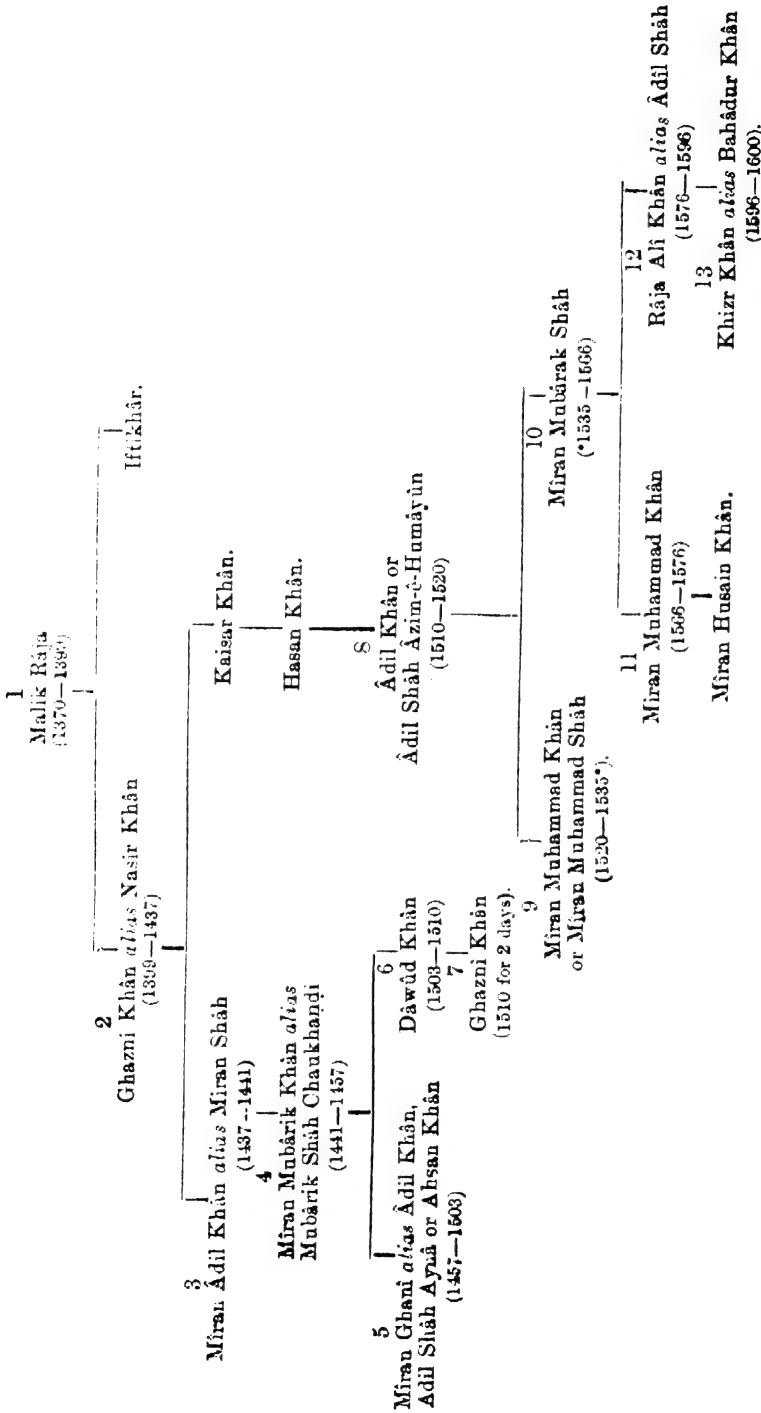
³ Read शके.

⁴ Read राह.

⁵ This king is well-known by the name of *Nasir Khân*, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne. General Cunningham erroneously took *Ghazni narsah* to mean King of Ghazni (see his *Reports*, Vol. IX., p. 117), not being aware that *Ghazni* was a personal name. Firsihta omitted this name, but *Abul Fazl* has mentioned it (see *Jarrett's Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., p. 226).

⁶ The number of *śrīs* written for *Rājās* is usually 108, but here a single figure stands for the highest number, as 6 are written for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or a son.

Genealogy of the Farûqi Kings of Khândesh.



N.B.—Figures on the top of names indicate the order of succession, and those within brackets the periods of their rule.

* This date is doubtful, Firâzka being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV., p. 142, which gives the date of his death as A.H. 943, whereas on p. 312 A.H. 942 is given. As Bahâdur Shâh of Onjart died on 14th Feb. 1537 (i.e. p. 141) Miran Muhammad Shâh, who succeeded him also in Gujrat, was evidently living in 1537, and Mubarak could not have become king before that date.

No. 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVI.
THE SAKA YEAR 1033.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the "splendidly picturesque" Indrāvati, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting.¹ It "traverses the most untrodden regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gōṇḍ races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct; a people who still erect rude stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders." And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nāgavaṃśi kings of that little known state. Nārāyanpāl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which "people of various countries resorted," and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nārāyaṇa, "the basket of the gems of knowledge" which no doubt the residents duly picked up. The Indrāvati was to Bastar what the Narmadā has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrāvati written in Nāgarī characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nāgavaṃśi kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrāvati, had fixed that river as the ethnic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nārāyanpāl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rai Bahādur Pandā Baijnāth, B.A., who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr. Venkoba Rao of the Madras Archaeological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nārāyaṇa, 2' high. Above the ground the slab measures 7' 4" × 2' 3", and the writing covers a space 5' 9" × 2' 2", including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top *Śrī mahā*. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with *Sevati sahasra-phandamāni* and ending with *maṅgala mahā-śrī*, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva liṅga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere² explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I. (New Edition, 1907), page 44.

² Above, pp. 164 and 175.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nāgarī. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line *Sri-mahā*, they are as big as $2\frac{1}{2}$ ", the average size in the first four lines is $1\frac{1}{8}$ ". The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1" in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of $1\frac{1}{4}$ " throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " and in (b) and (c) midway between these two

As regards orthography, *b* is not distinguished from *v* and there is a confusion in the use of *s* and *ś*; for instance, we have on the one hand *Kāśyapa* (ll. 3, 13), *saranāgata* (ll. 6, 10, 16), *sāsana* (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d)), *Saka-* (l. 19), *-satana* (l. 34), *asamēdha-* (l. 34), *sudhyati* (l. 35); on the other hand we have *svarggatē* (l. 17) and *sahaśra* (ll. 1 and 34). The *anusvāra* is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed *rīpha* have been invariably doubled. The letters *ksha*, *dha*, *ra*, and, in most places, *bha* appear in their antiquated form, and the top *mātrā* for *ē*, *ō* and *au* is sometimes placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in *-dhanta-* (l. 8), *pavitra-kṛtāttamāṅgi* . . . , *pārthivēndra-* (ll. 8-9), *-sanjanyu-* (l. 10), *-sauvinēy-ā-* (l. 11), etc. In *Sāmēśvaradēva* (l. 17) *mē* has the top stroke, while *dē* has the vertical stroke preceding *da*. In line 23 in *-sthityubadhī-* the *mātrā* of *u* is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as we at present attach it to the letter *ra* alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village *Nārāyaṇapura* to the god *Nārāyaṇa* and some land near the *Kharjuri* tank to the god *Lōkōśvara*, and it is dated in the *Śaka* year 1033 on Wednesday, the full moon day of the *Kārttika* month in the *Khara* *saṁvatsara*, corresponding to the 18th October 1111 A.D. The donor was *Guṇḍa Mahādēvi*, the chief queen of the *Mahārāja Dhārāvarsha*, the mother of *Sōmēśvaradēva* and the grandmother of *Kanharadēva*, who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be *Nāgavamśi* of the *Kāśyapa* *gotra* and to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the *Sinda* family of *Yelburga*. The *birdas* of the two are strikingly similar. The *Sindas* also claim to be *Nāgavamśisūbhava*, born of the race of the *Nāga* (cobra), and the lords of *Bhōgāvati*, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discoveries hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, viz. south-west and north-east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at least a replica of it somewhere in the *Nizām's* dominions in a position intermediate between those two points. The *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to confirm this, for *Rāma's* route to *Laṅkā* lay between the two and passed through *Bhōgāvati*.

As Dr. Fleet¹ says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the *Sinda* family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (*lāṅchhanas*) and banners (*dhvajas*, *patākas* or *kētanas*). The *vyāghra-lāṅchhana* (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.² The *Bāgalkōṭ* branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phani-kēтана*, or banner of hooded serpents. The *Bastar* branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a *savatsa-vyāghra-lāṅchhana*, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In *Bastar* there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of *Bhramarakōṭya-ma-*

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 572.

² *Mysor: Inscriptions*, p. 60, and above, Vol. III., p. 231.

dala,¹ whose *lāṅkhana* was *dhann-ryāghra* (bow and tiger) and whose *dhvaja* was *kalat-kabali*, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halavar² branch of the Banvāsi tract had the *vyāghra-mṛiga-lāṅkhana*, or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *nīladhvaja*, or blue banner. To judge from their titles *Paramēśvara Paramahattārika Mahirāja*, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given *grāma-nīlaya-nīḍa-sarva-vāthā-parihāriṇa*, which apparently means "free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations." This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to *nīḍa*, Mr. Baden-Powell³ says, "All over the south of India we have traces of the *nīḍa*, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known anciently as the Tondaimaṇḍalam, we find first a number of *kuttam*—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief; each of those primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into *nīḍa* and each *nīḍa* contained a number of villages (called *nattam*, i.e. the village site). The chief of the *nīḍa* was called *nātham*.⁴ In Malabār we have evidence of how these *nīḍa* divisions were governed by the *nīḍa-kuttam* or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of *tara*, of the ruling class, in each *nīḍa*." It appears from our inscription that this *nīḍa* system was prevalent in Bastar and the word *nīlaya* apparently stands for *tara*, the original local term for "the family aggregate" of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humbler abodes for servants and artizans." *Tara* is said to mean street or hamlet. The *grāma* or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of clan areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that Nārāyanapura is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll. 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number⁵ for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the *nīḍa-kuttam* or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the *pregaḍā* or minister, the *karapa-kuttam* or Secretary of the assembly, the *bhaṇḍāri* or treasurer, the *sātha* or priest, and four *nīyakas*, who, as has been already shown, were chiefs of *nīḍas*. One of these *nīyakas* is styled *bhaṭṭanīyaka*, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary *nīyakas*. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, viz. the Nārāyanapura village, which is certainly the present Nārāyanpāl, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank Kharjuribandha, which was apparently named after the *kharjūri* or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years⁶ only.

¹ See above, pp. 174 and ff.

² *The Indian Village Community*, p. 231.

³ Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III., p. 148.

⁴ See above, p. 168 ¹⁰.

⁵ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Part II., p. 577.

⁶ Also *nīyaka*; see *ibid.*, p. 167.

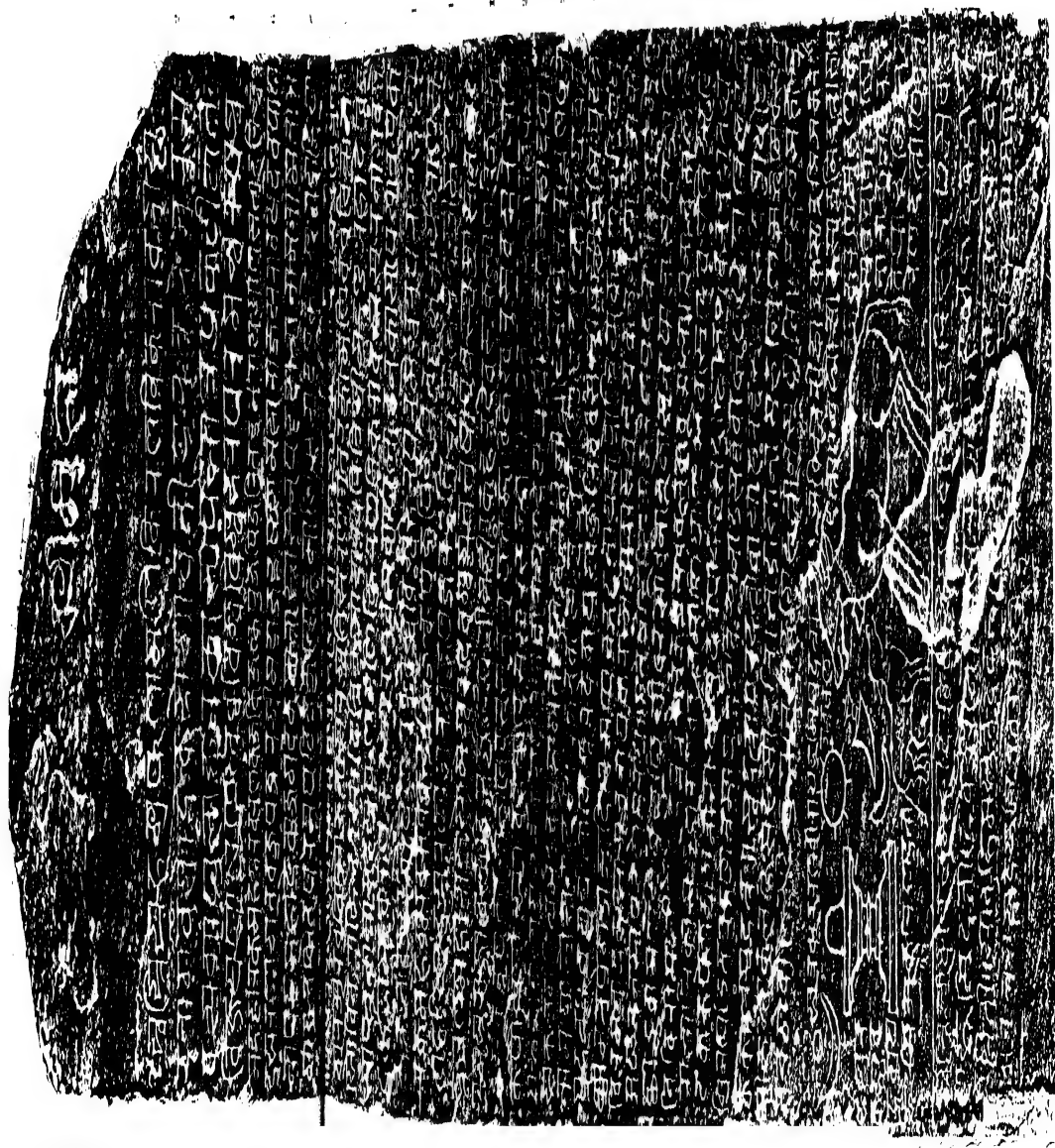
⁷ Dr. Watt in his *Economic Dictionary*, Vol. VI., Part I., p. 211, says "The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be at once counted by enumerating the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year's notch. I have counted more than 40 notches on a tree, but one rarely sees them so old as that."

TEXT.

Śrī mahā.

- 1 Om¹ Svasti sahasra(sra)-phanāmani-kirana-nikar-āvabhā[su]-
 2 ra-Nāgavams-ōdbhava-Bhōgāvati-puravar-ēvara-sa-
 3 vatsa-vyāghra-lānchhana-Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtra-prakati-kṛta-
 4 vijaya-ghōṣhaṇa-lavdha(bdha)-viśva-viśvaṁbhara-paramēśvara-para-
 5 mahatāraṇa-Mahēśvara-charaṇa-kañja-kiñjalka-puñja-piñjarita-bhramarāyamāna-
 6 dra-sa(sa)raṇ-āgata-vajra-parājara-śrīmad-rājabhūṣhaṇa-mahārāja-Dhāravarshadēva-
 7 pād[ā]-
 8 nāma paṭṭamahādēvi jagad-ēka-mātā sā(śā)sana-paṭṭa-dārā nāma nāmātā(tō)
 9 Gauh-
 10 gā-jala-[dhan]ta-parama-pavitra-kṛt-ōttamāṅgi-Dhāravarsha-mahēśvar-ārdhāṅgi-pā-
 11 [rāhi]vōndra-kul-āṅganā Pārvvatī-bhāsura chāru-Bhā[gira]thī parama-pativratā
 12 chāra(ra)-Arundhuti(Arundhatī) saujanya-Sarāsva(sva)ti-sa(sa)raṇ-āgata-raksha-
 13 maṇi va(ba)m̐dhu-chintāmaṇi
 14 sauvindē-ābhina[v]ja-Sāvitrī kṣham-ōdāra-dharitri śrīmad-G[u]ṇḍa-mahādēvi ā-
 15 sām putra-nāmnā sahasra-phan[ā]-mavi-kirana-nikar-āva[bhā]sura-Nāgavams-ō²-
 16 dbhava-Bhōgāvati-pura[var-ēva]ra-savatsa-vyāghra-lān[chha]ṇa-Kā[sya](śya)pa-
 17 gōtra-praka-
 18 ti-kṛta-[vija]ṇa-ghōṣhaṇa-[lavdha](bdha)-viśva-v[i]śvaṁbhara-paramēśvara parama-
 19 bhātā-
 20 rak-Mahēśvara-charaṇa-kañja-kiñjalka-puñja-piñjarita-bhramarāyamāṇa-sa-
 21 tya-Harīṣchandra-sa(sa)raṇ-āgata-vajra-pa[m̐]jara-prati[gaṇḍa]-bhairava-śrīmad-rāja-
 22 bhūṣhaṇa-mahārāja-Sōmēśvaradēva(vē) śva(sva)r-ggatō tēshām putrasya
 23 āsām nap[ṭh]j
 24 samasta-rājāvali-vi[rājyama]ṇu-[śr]īmad-vīra-Kanharadēvasya kalyāṇa-vijaya-rā-
 25 jyō Saka-nripa-kāl-ūtītō dasa-sata-trayat[ri]mś-ūdhike³ Kharsa-samvatsarē
 26 Kārtti-
 27 ka-paurṇamāsyām vuddha(budha)-vā[rē] saṁsāra-samudr-ō[t*]tāraṇa-taramdāya
 28 jñ[ā*]na-ratna-kurāṇḍā-
 29 ya svargg-ārggal-ōdghāṭana-karāya śrīma[n-N]ārāyaṇa-dēvāya śrīmad-Guṇḍa-
 30 mahād[ē]vyā
 31 sukaham-a[n]jityam-adhravam-asā(sā)śvutam dīpishvā svargg-ārggal-ōdghāṭana-
 32 ārthō Nārāyaṇapurō
 33 nāma grāmō nānā-dēsiya-jaṇ-[ā]kirṇas-charāndr-ārka-sthity-udadhi-kālam yāvut
 34 pradattā tathā śrī-Lokēśvaradēvāya Kharjuriva(ba)m̐dha-samipasthā bhūṣaṇ
 35 pradattā
 36 Śrīmat-preguḍā Ādityamapanna⁴ bhātānāyaka Prōptiyō⁵ karana
 37 [Ku]driyama-
 38 Virama nāyaka Sōmana nāyaka Rāmanākāsana nāyaka M[ā]rṇā bhāradvā
 39 Aitana sādhu Vakōmaraya || tēshām bhū[m̐h] akarēṇa pradattā || [Sa]-
 40 mura-śrēṣṭhi⁷

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Perhaps -danda-.³ Read Saka-nripa-kāl-ūtītō dasa-satē trayastri³.⁴ Perhaps Adityamavirama.⁵ Perhaps⁶ Perhaps Kūṭiyamavirama.⁷ Perhaps Kāḍgarameṭṭi.



- 28 Chhā[drū] vāmaṇa¹ śrōshṭhi Ghughi Śrīdhara sādhu Nānū kōsa[jā] Pālā[su]
Pādmāsī-
- 29 nivrā māli Gōi[uh]daprata² tail[i]ka [Ja]sadhavala vāvū(bābū) Milāpi
nāvōjāṇu[du]
- 30 pālā[ghi]kā sa[mṛi]dāraṇa Dhavala m[ā]piyā[sthi] śrī-V[ā]sadēva ōtair=[griha-ve]-
31 ṭaka-r[ū]pēṇa śrīman-Nārāyaṇa-dēva-pādōshu sadā sth[ā]tavyam karām cha
dātavyam
- 32 śrī(i)mat-pamḍita-Purushōttamāya grāma-nilaya-nāḍa-sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārēṇa
chamdr-ā-
- 33 rka-kālām pradatta || Svadattām parādatām vā yō harēd(rōta)=vasuindharā[m]
[!]* sa vishṭhāyam kṛi-
- 34 mī(mir) [bhū]tvā kulajai[h] saha sīdati | Taḍāgānām sahasrē(srē)ṇa as(as)-
vamēdha-sata(śatē)-
- 35 na cha [!]* gō(ga)vām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(su)dhyaṭi ||
Maṅgala mahā śrī
- 36 (a) Sūtradhāra Raṇavirāya bhūmi pradattā
- 37 (a) akarēṇa.
- 36 (b) Adhikāri Chhādrūkasya bhūmi akarēṇa
- 37 (b) dattā || Brahma[ujā]kasya bhūmi dattā sāsa(sāsa)-
- 38 (b) nam akarēṇa Ma[ha]ṇḍaka-
- 39 (b) sya tathā [Kanharnasāi]
- 40 (b) Nāgāk[u]lā[mdhva]ra ō-
- 41 (b) tōshām bhūmi aka-
- 42 (b) rēṇa dattā pri(pri)thunā
- 39 (c) Bhāṭṭāra-
- 40 (c) ka Bhāva-
- 41 (c) [dē]vāya
- 42 (c) bhūmi akarēṇa datā
- 43 (d) Svasti śrī-Dhāraṇa-mahādēvi-[vāryā] sarvva-vā(bā)[dhā]-parihārēṇa aka[rē]-
44 (d) ṇa bhūmi dattā dēva-śrī-Nārāyaṇasy-ārthō Mahāṇaka Dēvadāsa
- 45 (d) [Jaggatī] || Sādhu Himasutta dō[ḍaṇḍitā ?] Lakhmaṇa Chaudhari
- 46 (d) [śrī]-Dhāraṇa-mahādē bhūmi [dātara ara śrī dō sāsaṇa dattā³]
bhūmi dattā | akarēṇa

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—6). Hail. The *patta-mahādēvi* of the *Mahārāja Dhāravarshadēva*, who was born of the *Nāgavamsa*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels ; who was the lord of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of towns ; whose crest was a tiger with a calf ; who was of the *Kāśyapa gōtra* ; who had made his shout of victory (universally) known ; who had acquired the whole earth ; the *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* ; who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of *Mahēśvara* ; who was a *Harīschandra* in truthfulness ; who was an adamantine cago (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious ornament among kings ;

(Ll. 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen consort (chief consort) ; whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the Ganges ; who was (as it were) half the body of *Dhāravarsha* (just as *Pārvatī* is half the body

¹ Perhaps *Chhādū brāhmaṇa*.

² Probably *Gōvindapūtra* [or *Gōvindaputra*.—S. K.]

³ This perhaps stands for *dattā akarēṇa śrī-tāsaṇa-dēvyā dattā*.

of) **Mahēśvara**; a noble lady of royal birth; resplendent (like) **Pārvatī**; beautiful (like) the Ganges; who was exceedingly devoted to her husband; a lovely **Arundhatī**, a **Sarasvatī** of goodness; an amulet for those who sought her protection; a magical gem to her relatives; a new **Sāvitṛī** of good breeding; capable of liberal support like the earth (was) **Guṇḍa-mahādēvi**.

(LI. 12—17). After the **Mahārāja Sōmēśvaradēva**, who was known as her son; who was born of the **Nāgavaiṣṇa**, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels; who was the lord of **Bhōgāvati**, the best of towns; whose crest was a tiger with a calf; who was of the **Kāśyapa gōtra**; who had made his shout of victory universally known; who had acquired the whole earth; the **Paramēśvara**, **Paramabhāṭṭāraka**; who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of **Mahēśvara**; who was a **Harīschandra** in truthfulness; who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection; who was terrible to the refractory (or, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(LI. 17—24) had gone to heaven; in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero **Kanharadēva**, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the **Śāka king** had expired, in the **Khara saivatsara**, on the day of full moon of **Kārttika**, on a Wednesday, the village of **Nārāyaṇapura**, full of people come from various countries, was given by the illustrious **Guṇḍa-mahādēvi** for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god **Nārāyaṇa**, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven's (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven's (door). Likewise the land near the **Kharjuribandha**-tank was given to the glorious god **Lōkēśvara**.

(LI. 25—33). The illustrious minister **Ādityama Penna**, the **bhāṭṭanāyaka** **Prōṇṭiyō**, the **karāṇa** **Kudriyama Virama**¹, the **nāyaka** **Sōmana**, the **nāyaka** **Rāmanākāsana**, the **nāyaka** **Mārayā**, the **bhāṇḍāri** **Aitana**, the **sāllu** **Vakōmārya**. The land of these was given revenue free. The **śrēṣṭhīn** **Samara**, the **brāhmaṇa** **Chhādrū**, the **śrēṣṭhīn** **Ghughi**, the **sāllu** **Śrīdhara**, the **kāsajī** (cocoon producer) **Nānū**, the **māli** **Pālāsu Padmāsivirā**, the oilman **Gōvinda-pātra**, the **bibā** **Jasadhavala**, **Milāpi** the glorious **Vāsudēva**: these should always remain at the feet of the glorious **Nārāyaṇa** as **grihastakas**, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious **pandit** **Purnahōtama**. The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the **nāyaka**, and the **nāḍa**, for so long a time as moon and sun endure. (Here follow two imprecatory verses.)

(LI. 35). (Let) great happiness (attend). Hail.

(LI. 36^a—37^a). Land is given to the **sūtradhāra** **Raṇavira**, free from taxes.

(LI. 36^b—42^b). The land of the **adhikārin** **Chhādrūka** is given, free from taxes. (Also) that of **Brahmāujhāka** as a grant, free from taxes. The land of **Mahapḍaka**, **Kanharasāi**, and **Nāgukulamdhvara** is given, free from taxes.

(LI. 39^c—42^c). To **bhāṭṭāraka** **Bhāvadēva** land is given free from taxes.

(LI. 43^d—46^d). Hail. The illustrious **Dhārāṇa-Mahādēvi** gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious **Nārāyaṇa** free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) **Muhanaka**, **Dēvadāsa**, **Jaggatī**, the **sāllu** **Himasutta** . . . , **Lakhmaṇa**, **Chaudhari**. The land was given by the illustrious **Dhārāṇa-Mahādēvi** free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes.

¹ We should perhaps read *karāṇa-kutṭiyama Virama*, Virama, the writer of the *kutṭam*. Compare Baden-Powell, *Indian Village Community*, p. 167.

No. 50.—TIMMAPURAM PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA I. VISHAMASIDDHI.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

This short inscription is on **three copper-plates** which were "discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukura Ramasvami while digging a hole in his vacant house-site in the village of **Timmapuram** in the Sarvasiddhi-tāluka" and were sent by the Collector of the Vizagapatam district to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who describes them as follows:—

"The plates measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches and are strung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are $2\frac{1}{4}$ and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular **seal** which measures between $1\frac{3}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [𑀮𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀓]𑀮𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀓 in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate."

The **alphabet and orthography** do not call for any special remarks. The final *t* occurs in line 1,¹ the *upadhmāniya* in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter *la* in l. 11. The **language** is Sanskrit prose. The panegyric portion (ll. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prakṛit word: *chattilisa* (l. 12) = Sanskrit *chatvāriṃśat*, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by **Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja** surnamed **Vishamasiddhi**,² who was the younger brother of **Satyāśraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja**, the son of **Kirtivarman**, the grandson of **Raṇavikrama**, and the great-grandson of **Raṇarāga** of the Cha[lu]kya family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with **Vishṇuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi**, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of **Satyāśraya**, i.e. the Western Chalukya king **Pulakēśin II.**, and the son of **Kirtivarman (I.)**, is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions; and his grandfather **Raṇavikrama**, i.e. **Pulakēśin I.**, is mentioned also in his *Sātara* plates.³ The reference to his great-grandfather **Raṇarāga** is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both **Vishṇuvardhana I.** and his elder brother receive the title *Mahārāja*; but the second is stated to have 'subdued the circle of the whole earth' (l. 5 f.), while the former claims only to have 'humbled the circle of all the vassals' (l. 6 f.). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, **Vishṇuvardhana I.** was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king **Pulakēśin II.** He professed to be a worshipper of **Bhagavat** (l. 10), i.e. **Vishṇu**, and resided at **Piṣṭapura** (l. 1.), the modern **Piṭhāpuram** in the Gōdāvari district. In the *Aihoḷe* inscription⁴ the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign **Pulakēśin II.**

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty **Brāhmaṇas** of the Chhandōga school. The object of the grant was some land at **Kumūlūra**—a village which I am unable to identify—in the **Paṭaki-vishaya**.

¹ See note 6 on p. 318.

² This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Vizagapatam district; see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV. p. 322 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX. p. 309.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI. p. 11, verse 27.

The same district seems to be referred to in the Chîpurupalle plates of Vishnupardhana I., where the name has been read doubtfully as 'Pâki-vishaya';¹ but, if the facsimile² can be trusted, the engraver has written in reality *Plâki-vishayê*, which may be meant for *Palâki-vishayê*.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

स्वस्ति⁴ ॥

- 1 श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरवासकात्⁵ स्वभुजविजितदनुतनयम(१)हासेनेन म(६)हा-
- 2 सेनेनाभिवर्द्धितानात्स्वभुवनमातृभिर्मातृभिरभिरक्षितानां⁷ मानव्यस[गो]-
- 3 चाणां [हा]रितिपुत्राणां⁸ चक्षानामव्यसुद्धमयितुमसकदनु[भू]-
- 4 "रणरागस्य रणरागस्य¹⁰ नसासङ्घविक्रमस्य रणविक्रमस्य पौ[त्रो]
- 5 विपुलकीर्त्तिः कीर्त्तिर्वर्मणः प्रियसुतः शक्तिचयवशिकृतसकलमहीम-¹¹
- 6 ण्डलस्य सत्य[१*]श्रयवत्सभमहाराजस्य प्रियानुजः स्वासिधार[१]नामित[स]-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 7 मस्तसामस्तमण्डलः स्वरूपगुणयीवनश्रीया¹² दूरमतिश[यित]-
- 8 मकरध्वजः स्थलजलादिदुर्गविषमेष्वपि लब्धसिद्धित्वाद्विषमसिद्धिर[त्थि]-
- 9 जन(ः)[नि]त्यप्रसूतकामधेनुः लोकातिशयविक्रमतया नरलोक[वि]-
- 10 [क्र]म[ः]¹³ परमभागवतः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुवर[१*]तः श्रीविष्णु-
वर्ध[न]-
- 11 म(१)हाराजः (॥) पञ्चविषये (१¹⁴) कुमूलूरनामग्रामे पूर्वदिशि¹⁵ क्षेत्रे च-
- 12 [त्वा]रि सहस्रनिवर्त्तनानि¹⁶ क्तेदं कृत्वा (१) [पोटुनूळ]व[१*]स्तव्यमय(१)¹⁷
चत्त[१]लीस

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. p. 16, text line 13.

² Dr. Barnell's *South-Ind. Pal.*, 2nd ed., Plate xxvii.

³ From two sets of ink-impressions received from Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

⁴ This word is entered on the left margin of plate i. opposite the beginning of line 4. The sign of punctuation after it runs into the following *akshara* तः; it resembles in shape the symbol called in Tamil *Pillaiyâr-tuñi*.

⁵ The *t* of श्री⁶ is obliterated.

⁶ The final *t* of वासकात् is entered at the top of the next *akshara* स्व. Another final *t* is entered at the top of the *r* of the preceding word पुर⁷; perhaps the writer wanted us to read पुरात्.

⁷ The three *aksharas* मातृभिर् are engraved over रभिर, which was evidently done because they had been originally omitted through an oversight of the engraver.

⁸ Read चक्षुः⁹.

⁹ See note 4 above.

¹⁰ The न is engraved over म; compare note 7 above.

¹¹ Read वशी¹².

¹² Read प्रिया.

¹³ The क्र seems to be engraved over a म; compare notes 7 and 10 above. Instead of विक्रम; I suspect विविक्रम; to be intended by the scribe.

¹⁴ This mark of punctuation runs into the next *akshara* कु.

¹⁵ Read दिशि.

¹⁶ Read निवर्त्तनसङ्ख्या.

¹⁷ Read वासव्ययशरिंशते ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नागानीचैभ्यः कन्दोमसब्रह्मचारिभ्यो यमनियमपरीभ्यः षट्कर्त्तव्यैर्भ्यो बदपारमैभ्यो दत्तवान् ॥

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11a.

ColloTYPE by Gebr. Plettner.

Full-Size.

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya.

E. Hultzsch.

Second Plate; Second Side.

13 ब्राह्मणः नानागण इन्द्रीगसब्रह्मचारिणं यमनियमपारगाय षट्[र्क्ष]-

14 निरताय(१) वेदपारगाय दत्तः [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! (Line 1.) From (*his*) residence in the prosperous **Pishṭapura**,—the great-grandson¹ of **Raṇarāga**, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the **Cha[lu]kyas**, who were **Īrāritiputras**, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the **Mānavyas**, who were protected by the **Mātris**, the mothers of the three worlds, (*and*) who were rendered prosperous by **Mahāsēna**,² who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of **Dann**; ³

(L. 4.)—the grandson of **Raṇavikrama**, whose valour was insuperable; the dear son of **Kirtivarman**, whose renown was extensive; (*and*) the dear younger brother of **Saty[a]śraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja**, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (*regul*) powers;

(L. 6.)—the devout worshipper of **Bhagavat**, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—**Śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-Maharaja**, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed **Cupid**,⁴ who (*was surnamed*) **Vishamasiddhi** because he had obtained success (*siddhi*) in impassable straits (*vishama*) on land, on sea, *etc.*, who was a cow of plenty (*kāmadhēnu*) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (*and*) who was the **Tri]vikrama** (**Vishṇu**) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (*that of all*) mankind;

(L. 11.)—has granted four thousand *nivartanas*⁵ in the fields on the eastern side of the village named **Kumūlūra** in the **Paḷaki** district (*vishaya*), having portioned (*them*) off, to forty **Brāhmaṇas** of various *gōtras*, residing in [**Poṭunūṅka**], belonging to the school of the **Chhandōgas** observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (*and*) familiar with the **Vāda**.

No. 51.—SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF KUMARADEVI.

By STEN KONOW.

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sarnāth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the **Dhamēkh stūpa**, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, viz. $21'' \times 15\frac{1}{2}''$, and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}''$.

The characters are Nāgarī, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral *ṣa* in *-bhaṭṭaḥ* and *kāṇḍapaṭikaḥ* in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. *V* is used for *b* throughout, and *na* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *sudhāñśōḥ*, line 11. There are some few miswritings such as *dharmā-* for *dharmā-*, l. 6; *prakṣhātō* for *prakhyātō*, l. 8; *vishmayakarō* for *vismaya-* and *-ashmādrisaiḥ* for *-asmādrisaiḥ*, l. 13; *-nānābhīrāma-* for *-nētr-*, l. 15; *nri-* for *tri-*, l. 22; *mahibhājāḥ* for *mahibhujāḥ*, l. 19, etc. The forms *Kumaradevī*,

¹ For other instances in which *napṭri* has this meaning, see above, Vol. IV. p. 329 and note 2.

² *I.e.* the god of war.

³ *I.e.* the *Dānavas* or demons.

⁴ Literally, 'the bearer of the *makara*-banner.'

⁵ This would give 100 *nivartanas* for each of the 40 donees.

ll. 11 and 22, and *vihāro* in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metro. *Kumara* instead of *kumāra* is common in Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit, and a form *Kumaravāla* for the usual *Kumārāpāla* occurs in Hemachandra's *Dśīnāmamālā*, l. 104, 88.¹ And *vihāra* instead of *vihāra* is justified by Pāṇini VI, 3. 122.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation to *Vasudhārā* in l. 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse. There are altogether twenty-six verses. Of these thirteen (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the Śārdūlavikṛīṭa, five (Nos. 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the Mālinī, four (Nos. 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the Vasantatilakā; three (Nos. 8, 9 and 26) in the Anuṣṭubh, and one (No. 2) in the Sruṅgharā metro.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* by **Kumaradēvi**, one of the queens of **Gōvindachandra** of **Kannauj**. The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear. We are first told, in verse 21, that a *vihāra* was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess *Vasudhārā*. The following verses are not quite clear. **Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya** has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one. **Jambukī** drew up a copper-plate, in which she represented to **Kumaradēvi** that the *Dharmachakra-Jina* originally set up by **Dharmāsoka** required to be repaired or set up again. This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the *Dharmachakra-Jina* and further details about its maintenance and repairs. **Kumaradēvi**, who was apparently a stranger to the country round **Benares**, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *pattalikās*."² Moreover, she restored the *Jina* or set up a new one and placed it in the *vihāra* built for *Vasudhārā*, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the *Śrīdharmachakra-Jina*, which is said to have existed in **Dharmāsoka's** time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihāra* built by the orders of **Queen Kumaradēvi** for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakūṭi*. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, i.e. the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts. After an invocation of *Vasudhārā* (v. 1) and the moon (v. 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of **Piṭhī** or **Piṭhika**. We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called **Vallabharāja**, the lord of broad **Piṭhikā** (v. 3). The following verse introduces the lord of **Piṭhī** **Dēvarakṣita**, without saying anything about his relationship to **Vallabharāja**. He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the **Chhikkōra-vamśa**, and we are told that he even surpassed **Gajapati** in splendour. **Dēvarakṣita** is again referred to as the lord of **Piṭhī** in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv. 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (*tasmd-āsa*, etc.) as an explanation of his relationship to **Vallabharāja**, who would then be his father.

The second part of the inscription, vv. 7-13, contains the information that **Dēvarakṣita** was defeated by **Mahāna**, the maternal uncle of the **Gauḍa** king, who thus firmly established the throne of **Rāmapāla**, and subsequently bestowed his daughter **Śaṅkaradēvi** on the **Piṭhī** lord. Their daughter was **Kumaradēvi**, in whose praise the present inscription was written.

The third part, vv. 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the **Gahaḍavāla** family, to which **Kumaradēvi's** husband **Gōvindachandra** belonged. It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us further back than to his grandfather. We are first introduced to **Chandra**, the **Chandradēva** of **Gōvindachandra's** inscriptions. His son

¹ See **Pischel**, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 81.

² *Pattalikā* is the feminine form of *pattalaka*, which occurs in the **Buguda** plates of **Mādhavarman**, above, Vol. III, p. 44, l. 83, in connexion with *vaiśeṣika*.

was Madanachandra, elsewhere known as Madanapāla, who again was the father of Gōvinda-chandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka-soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradēvi, and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *prastāvi*, was composed by the poet *śrī-Kunda*, and engraved by *Vāmana*.

Gōvindachandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turushkas, i.e. the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in Gōvindachandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nāltigin arrived at the town, but only stayed there for a day,¹ and there is no indication of a permanent settlement. We know, on the other hand, that Mussalman settlers remained in the country about the Jamma from the days of Mahmud and down to the end of the 12th century.² It seems probable that Gōvindachandra took some action against such settlers, and the term *turushkadāṇḍa*, which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature of this action. The word *turushkadāṇḍa* has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic reeds" and "Muhammadan amercements."³ The information furnished by our inscription seems to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot, however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gōvindachandra, Kumaradēvi, the granddaughter of Mahāpa. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, viz. Nayanakēlī-dēvi,⁴ Gōsuladēvi⁵ and Dālhaṇadēvi.⁶ While Gōvindachandra was himself an orthodox Hindū, his fourth wife Kumaradēvi was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vāsantadēvi, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Ashṭasāhasrikā* in the Nepal Darbar Library (No. 381 of the third collection). The colophon runs:—*śrī-śrī-Kāyākubj-ābhipaty-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājya-trayābhipati-śrīmad-Gōvindachandra-devasya pratāpavaśataḥ rājñī-śrī-pravara-Mahāyāna-yāgyinīyāḥ paramōpāsikī-rājñī-Vāsantadēvyā dēyadharmō-gaṇ . . .* It is possible that Vāsantadēvi and Kumaradēvi are one and the same person, one of the meanings of *vāsanta* being "youth" = *kumāra*. It is, however, more probable that they are two different persons.

Some information about Mahāpa, the father of Kumaradēvi's mother, and about the lord of Pithi, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyākara Nandi's *Rāmacharita*, which work has been brought to light by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri.⁷ We are there told that Mahāpa was the maternal uncle of the Gaṇḍa king Rāmapāla. Vighrapāla, the father of Rāmapāla, made a successful war against the Chōḍi king Karna of Dāhāla, of whom we possess an inscription dated Kalachuri Samvat 493=A.D. 1042.⁸ Karna's reign probably extended over a long period.⁹ We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vighrapāla took place. We have an inscription of the time of Vighrapāla's grandfather Mahipāla, dated A.D. 1026,¹⁰ and Mahipāla's son Nayapāla reigned at least 15 years.¹¹ Vighrapāla's accession cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Rāmapāla, who was preceded on the throne by two brothers Mahipāla II. and Śūrapāla, was a contemporary of

¹ See H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II. 1869, pp. 112 and ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 250 and ff.

³ See Führer, *Journal Bengal Society*, Vol. LVI. Pt. I. p. 113.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 108.

⁵ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, Nos. 127 and 131.

⁶ See Führer, loc. cit. p. 115, l. 19.

⁷ *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.

⁸ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 407.

⁹ See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II. pp. 302 and ff.

¹⁰ Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 59.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 642.

Śaṅkaradēvi, the mother of Gōvindachandra's queen Kumaradēvi. It therefore seems probable that Vīrabhāpāla's accession should be placed about A.D. 1050, and Rāmapāla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahāna, Śaṅkaradēvi's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The *Rāmācharita*, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Rāshtrakūṭa, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. It therefore becomes probable that Vīrabhāpāla married a Rāshtrakūṭa princess in addition to the daughter of the Chōḍi king Karna who was, according to the *Rāmācharita*, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahāna was Rāmapāla's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Bhīma. Among the feudatories of the Pāla king in that war, the *Rāmācharita* mentions Viraguṇa, the *rāja* of Piṭhī who is described as the lord of the south. Dēvarakshita of Piṭhī is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dēvarakshita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Piṭhī ruler Viraguṇa had originally stood on Rāmapāla's side, while Dēvarakshita later on rose against him. He hailed from Piṭhī or Piṭhikā, which according to the *Rāmācharita* was situated in the south. Now *piṭhī* or *piṭhikā* is synonymous with *pīṭha*, and it is therefore possible that Piṭhī is identical with Piṭhāpuram.¹ We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Piṭhāpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikōśa II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princes of the Piṭhāpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayāditya III., whose coronation took place A.D. 1158.² It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Piṭhāpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewell has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bēta, who reigned in A.D. 925, and Vijayāditya III., who was crowned in A.D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Piṭhāpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vēṅgi province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kulōttuṅga Chōḍadēva, who first was ruler in Vēṅgi but who in A.D. 1070 was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom. Vēṅgi was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayāditya VII. then by his sons Rājārāja (1077-78) and Vira Chōḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Viraguṇa of the *Rāmāpāla-charita*. Dēvarakshita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vēṅgi. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gāṅgas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The *Kalingattu Paranī* describes an expedition undertaken by Kulōttuṅga I. against this king, and Dēvarakshita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhikkōra family, to which Dēvarakshita belonged.

The marriage of Dēvarakshita's daughter to king Gōvindachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chōḷas and the Gāhaḍavālas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para. 58 and ff. An incomplete Gāhaḍavāla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kulōttuṅgaḍēva of A.D. 1110-11, in Gaṅgaikondachōḷapuram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gōvindachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gāhaḍavālas with the Chōḷa kings farther back to the expedition of Rājendra Chōḷa towards the kings on the banks of the Ganges, mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Rājendra Chōḷa was Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti, and the lord of Daṇḍabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the *Rāmāpāla-charita*, assisted Rāmapāla in his war against Bhīma.

¹ Compare the forms Piṭhāpura and Piṭhāpuri, above, Vol. IV. p. 37, 357. Note 4.

² See Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV. p. 223.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 329 ff.

The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows:—

Vallabharāja of Pithi	Maharaja, of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.	Chandra, of the Gahaḍavāla family.
↓	↓	↓
Dēvarakṣita, married	Śaṅkaradēvi.	Madanachandra.
	↓	↓
	Kumardēvi, married	Gōvindachandra.

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by Kunda, who describes himself as a lion to the *tīrthika*-elephants, a Rōhana mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight *bhāṣas*, and an intimate friend of the king of Vaṅga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the *Saṅkīrtanaśrī*,¹ nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the *śilpī* Vāmana.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री² नमो भगवत्यै आर्यवसुधारायै ॥ 'समवतु वसुधारा धर्मपीयूषधारा-
प्रशमितवहुविश्वोद्दामदुःखोद्धारः । धनकनकसमृद्धिं भूर्भुवः यः⁴ किरन्ती
तद-
- 2 स्त्रिलज्जनदेन्यान्याजयन्ती जगन्ति ॥ [१*] 'नैवेत्कण्ठितानां चरणमुपनयन्धा-
रुचन्द्रोपलानाम्भानग्रन्थिभिन्दन् सह कुमुदवनीमुद्रया मानिनीनाम् ।
दग्धन्दधेश्वरेणा[सृ]-
- 3 तनिकरकरैर्जीवयन् कामदेवं कामोयं कौमुदीनां स जयति जगदालोकदीप-
प्रदीपः ॥ [२*] 'वशे तस्य नमस्यपौरुषजुषि प्रस्फारकीर्त्तिर्निषि द्राक्
शौचेन सु[राप]-
- 4 गामदमुषि प्रत्यर्थिलक्ष्मीरुषि । वीरो वल्लभराजनामविदितो मान्यः स
भूमीभुजां जेतासीत्युपीठिकापतिरतिप्रौढप्रतापोदयः ॥ [३*] 'छिन्नोरवंशकु-
मुदोदयपूरुष-
- 5 चन्द्रः श्रीदेवरक्षित इति प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् । पीठोपतिर्गजपतेरपि राज्य-
लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्म्या जिगाय जगदेकमनोहरश्रीः ॥ [४*] 'तस्मादास पयोनि-
धेरिव विभु-
- 6 हार्वाण्यलक्ष्मीविभुर्नैवानन्दसमुद्रवर्हणविभुः कीर्त्तियुतिश्रीविभुः । सौजन्यैकनिधिः
स्फुरद्गुणनिधिर्गार्थ्यवारात्रिधिर्हर्षाद्वैतनिधिः⁹ स च[ण्ड]म-
- 7 निधिः शस्त्रैकविद्यानिधिः ॥ [५*] 'दीनानामभिवार्ष्णिकैकफलदः प्रत्यक्ष-
कल्पद्रुमो दृष्यहैरिगिरीन्द्रभेदनविधौ दुर्वारवज्रश्च यः । कामान[१*]मद-

¹ Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, pp. 134 and ff. ² Expressed by a symbol

³ Metre: Mālinī.

⁴ Read स्वः.

⁵ Metre: Śṛṅgharā.

⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁷ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁹ Read धर्माद्वैतः.

¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 8 नन्वरोपशमने सिद्धौषधीपङ्क्तो वाङ्मयस्य वभूव भूतलभुजामन्तसमत्कारिणः
॥ [६*] ¹गौडेद्वैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः क्षत्रैकचूडामणिः ²प्रघातो
- 9 महणाङ्गपः क्षितिभुजाम्नाभ्योभवन्मातुलः । त(तं) जित्वा युधि देवरक्षि-
तमधात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानो-
दयाम् ॥ [७*] ³कन्या महण-
- 10 देवस्य तस्य कन्येव भूभृतः । सा पीठीपतिना तेन तेनेवोढा स्वयम्भू(भु)वा
॥ [८*] ⁴ख्याता शङ्करदेवीति तारेव करुणाशया । व्यजेष्ट कल्पवृक्षाण-
लता दानीद्यमेन या ॥ [९*] ⁵प-
- 11 जनि कुमरदेवो हन्त देवोव ताभ्यां शरदमलसुधाङ्गोधारलेखिव रम्या ।
दुरितजलधिमध्याङ्गोक्तमुहूर्त्तुकामा स्वयमिष्ट करुणार्त्ता तारिणीवावतीर्णा ॥
[१०*]
- 12 ⁶यामेधाः प्रविधाय शिल्परचनाचातुर्यदर्प्य व्याधायहस्त्रेण जितस्तुषारकिरणी
ङ्गीणः स खस्योभवत् । रात्रावुद्गममातनीति मलिनी जातः कलङ्को ततस्त-
- 13 स्याः सुद(सुन्द)रिमा स ⁷विष्णयकरो वाच्यः ⁸किमस्मादृशैः ॥ [११*] ⁹चित्त-
क्षेत्रलदृक्कुरङ्गमवधूवन्धस्फुरद्वागुराम् विभ्राणा तनुसम्पदम्पुविलसत्कान्त्याभिकान्त-
त्रियया ¹⁰
- 14 खेलत्क्षीरसमुद्रसान्द्रलङ्घरीलावण्यलक्ष्मीमुषं मोषं शैलसुतामदस्य दधती सौभाग्य-
गर्वेण सा ॥ [१२*] ¹¹धर्माद्वैतमतिर्गुणाद्वितरतिः प्रारब्धपुण्याच्चित्ति-
- 15 दानोदारधृतिर्मतङ्गजगतिर्नैत्रा(त्रा)भिरामाकृतिः । शास्तृन्यस्तनतिजनोदितनुतिः
¹²कारुण्यकेलिस्थितिनित्यश्रीवसतिः कृताघविहतिः स्फायद्गुणाङ्ग-
तिः ॥ [१३*] ¹³जगति गङ्गडवाले चक्षव(वं)शे प्रसिद्धेजनि नरपतिचन्द्रचन्द्र(मा)-
नामा नरेन्द्रः । यदसहजनृपाणाङ्गामिनीवाप्यवाहैः(हैः) श्रितितरभिदमासोद्या-
मुन(नं) तू(नू)नमभः ॥ [१४*] ¹⁴नू-
- 17 पतिमदनचन्द्रचण्डभूपालचूडामणिरजनि स तस्माद्विभ्रदेकातपत्र[म*] । धरणि-
तलमनल्पप्रौढतेडो(जो)नलश्रीः श्रियमपि च मघोनः स्वश्रियाधो दधानः
॥ [१५*] ¹⁵वाराण-
- 18 सीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको ¹⁶दुष्टान्तरुष्कसुभटादवितुं हरेण । उक्तो हरिस्त
पुनरत्र वभूव तस्मान्नोविन्दचन्द्र इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥ [१६*] ¹⁷वत्साः
कामदुष्टां कणा-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.⁷ Read 'विष्णय'.¹⁰ The sign of interpunctuation has been engraved in the beginning of next line.¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁴ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Read प्रख्यातो.⁵ Metre: Mālinī.⁸ Read 'मस्मादृशैः'.¹² Read 'नतिर्ज'. 'स्थितिर्ज'.¹³ Metre: Vasantatilakā.³ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁵ Metre: Mālinī.¹⁶ Read दुष्टाणु.

[illegible]

- 19 नपि पयःपुरस्य ¹पातु न ते चित्रं प्रागल्भ्यं याचकमनःसन्तोषनित्यव्यात् ।
त्यागैर्यस्य ²महीभूजः प्रमुदिते तद्याचकानाञ्चये स्वच्छन्दहितनित्यनिर्भरपयः-
- 20 पानीत्ववैरासते ॥ [१७*] ³यद्विद्वेषिमहीभुजां पुरवरे प्रभृष्टहारावलीर्ष्याधास्तन्मृग-
पाशवन्धमनसा गच्छन्ति नैव भ्रमात् । व्याधाः सस्तुसुवर्षकुण्डलमहि-
भ्रान्त्या
- 21 तदव्यायतेर्दण्डैर्द्रागपसारयन्ति च भयप्रोक्तमिहस्तज्ञः ॥ [१८*] ⁴यस्योत्सववि-
रोधिभूपतिपुरप्रासादपृष्ठोपरि प्रत्यग्रस्फुरदुग्रशष्पकवलव्यालीलवाजि-
- 22 व्रजः । आदित्यस्त्वभवत्स मन्यररथस्यन्दोपि मन्दोभवत् घासयासविरूढलोभहरिणः
रचन् पतन्तन्ततः ॥ [१९*] ⁵अहह कुमरदेवी तेन र[१*]ज्ञा प्रसिद्धा नि-
(त्रि)जगति
- 23 परिगीता श्रीरिवेहाच्युतेन । प्रविलसदधरोधे तस्य रात्रोङ्गनानां नियतममृत-
रश्मिलेखिका तारकासु ॥ [२०*] ⁶वीहारो नवखण्डमण्डलमहीहारः कृतोय-
न्त्या
- 24 तारिण्या वसुधारया ननु वपुर्विभ्राणयालंकृतः । यं दृष्ट्वा प्रविचित्रशिल्परच-
नाचातुर्यसीमात्रयं गोर्वाणैः सुदृश[ञ्च] विस्मयमगाद्वाग्विश्वकर्मापि सः । (॥)
[२१*] ⁷श्रीधर्मचक्रजि-
- 25 नशासनसन्निवृष्टं सा जम्बुकी ⁸सकलपत्तलिवाग्रभूता । तत्ताम्रशासनवर(रं)
प्रविधाय तस्यै दत्त्वा तया शशिरवी भुवि यावदास्ताम् ॥ [२२*]
⁹धर्माशोकनराधिपस्य समये श्रीध-
- 26 म(र्म)चक्रो जिनो यादृक् तन्नयरक्षितः पुनरयश्चक्रे ततोप्यद्भुतम् । वीहारः
स्थविरस्य तस्य च तया यन्नादयङ्कारितस्तस्मिन्नेव समर्पितश्च वसतादा-
चन्द्रचण्डव्युति ॥ [२३*] ¹⁰तत्कीर्तिम्य-
- 27 रिपालयिष्यति जनो यः कश्चिदुर्वीतले सा तस्याङ्घ्रियुगप्रणामपरमा यूयं जिनाः
साक्षिणः । तस्याः कश्चिदनिश्चितो यदि यशोव्यालीपकारी खलः तं
पापीयसमा-
- 28 शु शासति पुनस्ते लोकपालाः क्रुधा ॥ [२४*] ¹¹एकस्तीर्थिकवादिवारणघटा-
सङ्कटकण्ठीरवः साहित्यो[ज*]ज्वलरत्नरोहणगिरियो ज्ञाष्टभाषाकविः । ख्यातो
वङ्गमहीभजः ¹²

¹ Read पातुं.² Read भूजः.³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Read भवद्वास°. ⁶ उडलीभहरिणः.⁷ Metre: Mālinā.⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹⁰ Read पत्तलिका°.¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁴ Read भुजः; the final *visarga* has been engraved in the beginning of line 29.

29 प्रणयभूः श्रीकुन्दनामा कृती तस्याः सुन्दरवर्षागुम्फरचनारम्यां प्रशस्तिं व्यधात्
 ॥ [२५*] ¹ एषा प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्षा वामनेन तु शिल्पिना । राजावर्त्तस्य
 सापत्न्यन्दधाने प्रस्तरीत्तमे ॥ [२६*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail. Oboisance to the exalted noble Vasudhârâ.

(V. 1.) May Vasudhârâ protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unlimited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *dharma*; who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.²

(V. 2.) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gems and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses; who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by Îsvara, (who had been) smitten (by him).

(V. 3.) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame; which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity; which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of **Vallabharâja**, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad **Piṭhikâ**, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vv. 4-5.) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the **Chhikkôra** family, known on earth as **Śrī-Dēvarakshita**, the lord of **Piṭhî** (who) surpassed even the splendour of **Gajapati** by his splendour; whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (**Vallabharâja**), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) **Vishṇu** (**Vidhu**), to the **Lakshmi** of beauty; a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, *viz.* ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second **Vishṇu** with **Śrī** in the shape of the lustre of his fame); an incomparable treasure of goodness; a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion; a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms;—

(V. 6.) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants; who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, *viz.* his haughty foes; a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings.

(V. 7.) In the **Gauḍa** country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver,³ this incomparable diadem of *kshatriyas*, the **Āṅga** king **Mahāṇa**, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered **Dēvarakshita** in war and maintained the glory of **Rāmapāla**, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8.) The daughter of this **Mahānadēva** was like the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* **Pārvatī**); she was married to the lord of **Piṭhî** as (**Pārvatī**) to **Svayambhu**;

(V. 9.) She was known as **Śaṅkaradēvi**, full of merrcy like **Tārâ**, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts.

(V. 10.) To them, forsooth, was born **Kumaradēvi**, like a *dēvi*, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if **Tārîṇî** herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

¹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

² Mr. Venkayya suggests to read *dainyāt-tyājayanāt*.

³ The meaning of *kāṇḍapāśka* is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen.' But this meaning does not suit the context.

(V. 11.) After having created her, Brahmā was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art; excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air, rises at night, becomes impure and subsequently full of spots; how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us?

(V. 12.) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, *viz.* the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the dense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.* Pārvatī) by her proud grace.

(V. 13.) Her mind was set on religion alone; her desire was bent on virtues; she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit; she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts; her gait was like that of an elephant; her appearance charming to the eye; she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise; she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was the permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtue.

(V. 14.) In the royal Gahadavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandra by name, a moon (*chandra*) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunā forsooth became darker.

(V. 15.) The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory.

(V. 16.) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vārāṇasī from the wicked Tarushka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Gōvindachandra.

(V. 17.) Wonderful, the calfs of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants; but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V. 18.) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

(V. 19.) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes; and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass.

(V. 20.) Kumaradēvi, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrī with Viṣṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V. 21.) This *vihāra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhārā herself in the shape of Tārīpī, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V. 22.) Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to śrī-Dharma-chakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambuki was made (?) the foremost of all *pattalikās* by her (Kumaradēvi).

(V. 23.) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmāsōka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *vihāra* for that *sthavira* was elaborately erected by her, and might he, placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

(V. 24.) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jinās shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lōkapīlas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V. 25.) The poet in eight *bhūshās* known as the trusted friend of the Baṅga-king, Śrī-Kunda by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rôḥaṇa mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V. 26.) This *prastāvi* has been engraved by the *śilpīn Vāmana* on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājāvarta* (i.e. Lapis Lazuli).

No. 52.—KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA.

SAKA SAMVAT 1489.

By T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., MADRAS, AND RAO SAHIB T. RAGHAVIAH, B.A., REVENUE OFFICER, MADRAS CORPORATION.

The temple of Śrī Vēṅkātāchalapati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Krishnāpuram, a village six miles south-east of Tinnevely. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gōpālasvāmi Ayyangār, B.A., B.L., Deputy Collector, Kollēgāl, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

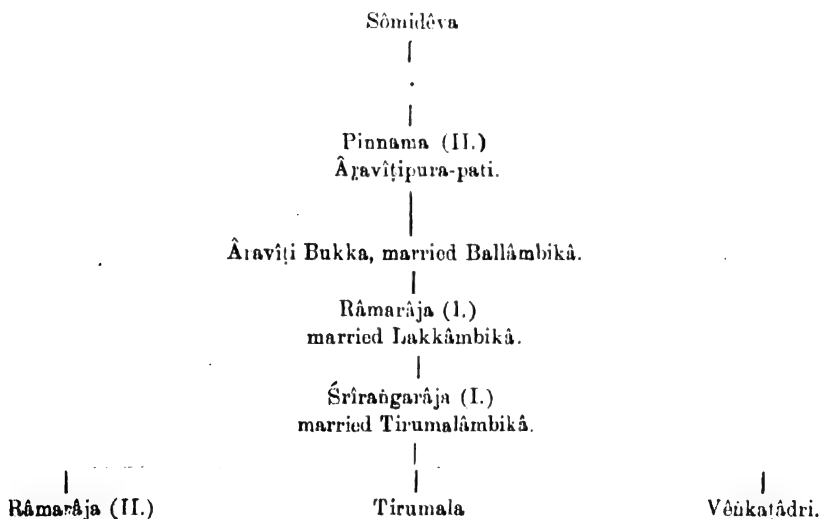
The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring, which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing boar facing the proper right; near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the *Śrivaishṇava nāmam* (of the Tēngalai sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Viṣṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannaḍa-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised; and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandināgarī, and the language, excepting the obeisance to Gaṇapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is, as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, *Śrī Virūpākṣa*, and is written in the Kannaḍa alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel *ē* is represented by the usual sign for *ē* with a secondary *ē*-stroke on the top. This new long *ē*, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel *ai* as written at the present day; but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short *e* with two secondary *e* symbols on it: e.g. *Ailāvalīpura*-occurring in line 114, *Ainikūṣa*-in line 145, *Ebirudarāyura*-in line 191, and *Ekave* in line 210. The Dravidian rough *r* is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandināgarī alphabet, with a secondary *r* on the top of a common *r*; e.g. *Māru*-occurring in line 94, *-Savalakkārām*-in line 141, *-pāra*-in line 146, *Śīrīyā*-in line 150, and *-Āravīṭi*-in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription

such as omissions of letters, and of the *anusvara* and the *visarga*, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc.; these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The *birudas* of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Sadāśivarāya** of **Vidyānagarī**. It records that at the request of **Tirumala**, who was in his turn requested by **Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka** or **Kṛṣṇabhūpati** as he is called in the inscription, **Sadāśivarāya** granted a number of villages to the god **Tiruvēṅkaṭanātha** set up at **Kṛṣṇapuram** by **Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka**. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king **Sadāśiva** which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn¹ and No. 58 of the **Nāgamaṅgala tāluk** of the **Mysore District**, published by Mr. Rice.² Herein also **Sadāśivarāya** is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of **Rāmarāja**, who is here, as in the other plates,³ called his sister's husband. Later on (vv. 84-95) the inscription details the pedigree of the family to which **Tirumala** belonged.

The genealogy begins with **Nanda**, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born **Chalikka** and in the latter's **Bijjalendra**. **Sōmidēva**, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was **Pinnama** "lord of **Āgaviṭipura**." His son was **Āraviṭi-Bukka**, whose wife was **Ballāmbikā**. Their son was **Rāmarāja** who married **Lakkāmbikā**. To them was born **Śrīraṅgarāja** (I.) and his wife was **Tirumalāmbikā**. Their sons were **Rāmarāja** (II.), **Tirumala** (I.) and **Vēṅkaṭādri**. **Tirumala** is styled in the plates a **Bhōja** in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of **Tirumala's** family :—



We learn from the British Museum plates that **Rāmarāja** II., **Tirumala** and **Vāṅkaṭādri** belonged to the same family, from which **Koṇḍarāja** of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol. IV., p. 4). **Tirumala** bears (vv. 98-101) the family *birudas* of *aiteṁbararagaṁḍa*,

¹ Above, Vol. IV., p. 1.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV., p. 219 of the Romanised text portion.

³ Compare the British Museum Plate Inscription, above, Vol. IV., p. 3 f., No. 7 of the **Hassan tāluk**, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V., Part I; and No. 186 of **Chennapaṭṇa**, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX. Compare Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the meaning of "sister" in this connection.

śrīmaṇḍalikagaṇḍa, *birudamañṇiyaribhāṣa*, *dharanīvarāha*, *Kalyāṇapuramātha* and *Vēṅga-tribhuvanimalla*.¹ At the time at which the present grant was made, Rāmarāja, the powerful general and minister of Sadāśiva, and his brother Vēṅkaṭāḍri had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tālikōṭa on the 23rd January A.D. 1565. Tirumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, now became the minister and commander and was the *de facto* king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the *de jure* king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgamā of Viśvanātha Nāyaka.² He has the *birudas*, *Kāñchīpuravarādhiśvara*, *Mōkālīpaṭṭawardhana*, *Samayaḍrōharagaṇḍa*, *Samayakōlāhala*, *Ailāvalipuravarādhiśvara*, *Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanichārya* and *Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati* (vv. 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasa or Narasā Nāyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subjugated Mānabhūsha, the king of Madura.³ We know that Narasā Nāyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century⁴ and that Mānabhūsha or Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D.⁵ and ruled for at least 42 years, i.e. till about 1466 A.D.⁶ It is quite likely that this Pāṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasā Nāyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the Śaka year 1489, computed by the *nīlhis* (9), *vāraṇas* (8), *vēdas* (4), and *indu* (1), in the year Prabhava, on the Makara samkrānti corresponding to the new moon *tithi* of the month Pushya, on a Monday. Sadāśivarāja was then encamped on the island of Śrīraṅgam and made the grant in the presence of the god Raṅganātha. The last known date for Sadāśivarāja is 1567 A.D.,⁷ some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tālikōṭa two years previously, was spending his last years, Śrīvaishṇava as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śrīraṅgam. Of all Śrīvaishṇava places of pilgrimage, Śrīraṅgam is the most sacred, and the Tuluva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Kṛishṇadēvarāja, were very staunch Śrīvaishṇavas.⁸ Achyutadēvarāja, during his expedition against the Tiruvaḍi kingdom, is described, in the *Achyutarājyābhīyudayam* of Rājauṭhākavi, as having halted at Śrīraṅgam and sent the son of one Sagalarāja⁹ to conquer the Tiruvaḍi rājya.¹⁰ Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadāśivarāja ended his days in Śrīraṅgam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

¹ Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koṇḍarāja of this family wears similar *birudas*; above, Vol. IV., p. 21.

² Verses 53-54.

³ Verse 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Profs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn.

⁴ The Dēvulapalli plates give Ś. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immaḍi-Nṛsiṃha; hence Narasa must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII., p. 79. [It should be noted that Immaḍi Nṛsiṃha was a Śāluva, and not a Tuluva like Narasa. — S. K.]

⁵ *Śendamil*, Vol. IV., p. 117, and above, p. 229.

⁶ *Śendamil*, Vol. IV., p. 117.

⁷ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 43-46, p. 70.

⁸ The Śāluva kings were the disciples of Tātāchārya. See *Prapanadmr̥itam*. Kṛishṇadēva wrote *Amuktamālyada*, *Viṣṇuchittigam*, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrīvaishṇava saint Periyālvār and his daughter Āṇḍā.

⁹ This Sagalarāja was the father-in-law of Achyutadēva and father of his wife Varadāmbā. See *Achyutarājyābhīyudayam*. Canto III, verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarāja; see p. 77; but Mr. T. S. Kuppussūmi Sastri reads it as Sag-larāja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Sagalarāja.

¹⁰ See *Achyutarājyābhīyudayam*. Canto V., verse 64.

Krishnappa Nāyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishnapuram and built a *prākāra* round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiruvēṅkatanātha. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily *pūjās*, for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sadāśivarāya the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nāyakas are believed to have usurped the throne of the Pāṇḍyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pāṇḍya dynasty.' In corroboration of the claim of the Nāyakas of Madura to the title of *Pāṇḍyakulaśāhiṇīpāṇḍhāryas*, we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pāṇḍyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nāyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nāyakas. One of the later Pāṇḍyas, named Śrīvallabha, is described, in the Pudukkōttai plates of Ativīrarāma Pāṇḍya,¹ as having established the Pāṇḍya kingdom. This Śrīvallabha must have been a contemporary of Narasā Nāyaka, for he is the brother of Mānabūsha defeated by Narasā.² How he established the Pāṇḍya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pāṇḍyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A.D.; what political relationship existed between them and the Nāyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that **Sabhāpati Svayambhū** was the composer of the *śāstana*, and **Virapachārya**, son of **Virapa**, was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are :—

Klāvēmbu nāḍu in the Pāṇḍya *maṇḍalam*; **Śrīvallamaṅgalachāvaḍi** in the above *nāḍu*; **Ardhatintrīṇi** (Arappuli ?), **Villamarayaṇ Noduṅḡulam**, **Śavajakkāraṇ kuḷam**, **Pūliyaṅḡula-ōḍai**, **Pirayaṅkuḷam**, **Bhūsurataṭāka** (Parpaguḷam, a corruption perhaps of Pāppāṅkuḷam), **Kaḷḷikuḷam**, **Vēlaṅkuḷam** **Sundarapāṇḍyaṇ pudukkāl**, **Ai[ya*]ṇākuḷam**, **Śrīkuḷam**, **Ēryāru Peryālaṅḡulam**, **Kokkantāmpārai** (modern Kongandāmpārai), **Paṇayaṅḡulam**, **Muttūr hill**; **Puttaṇēri**, **Āriyakuḷam**, **Kōḍikuḷam**, **Kuttukkāl**, **Muttūr**, **Rāmaṅḡulam**, **Īttampāṭṭu**, **Śiriyālaṅḡulam**, **Pāṭṭaikuḷam**, **Murappunāḍu**, **Āḷikuḍi** and **Śrī-Krishnapuram**.

Of these Vēmba-nāḍu comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Tinnevely, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vēmba-nāḍu-*kāyal* indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Tinnevely tāluka of the same district and situated near Krishnapuram :—Pirayaṅkuḷam, Pāppāṅkuḷam,³ Vēlaṅkuḷam, Sundarapāṇḍiyaṇ kāl, Kōṅandāmpārai, Paṇayaṅkuḷam, Muttūr, Āriyakuḷam, Murappunāḍu, and Krishnapuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमस्तुंगशिरश्चुविचंद्रचामर-

2 चारवे । बैलौक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ।(॥) [१*] इति श्रीव-

¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for the year 1906, p. 72.

² [The Pudukkōttai grant mentions Mānabharaga as the brother of Śrīvallabha, and, besides, Mānakavacha, whom Mr. Venkayya identifies with Arikēsurin Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The identification of Mānabūsha with any of these two is far from being certain.—S. K.]

³ It now goes popularly by the name Pāppāṅkuḷam. This name means "the Brāhmaṇ's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

From inked impressions prepared by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्य पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्र(स)त्रि-
 4 यं दधी ।(II)[२*] कल्याणायाम् तद्वाम प्रत्युहतिमिरापहं । यद्गजोप्य-
 5 गजोद्धृतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ।(II)[३*] अस्ति क्षीरमयाद्देवैर्मथ्यमाना-
 6 अहांबुधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्धृतमपनीततमो महः ।(II)[४*] तस्यासीत्त-
 7 'तुयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः पुण्यैरस्य पुरुषा भुजब-
 8 [ले]रायर्द्धिषां 'निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नहुषोस्य तस्य पुरुषो युष्ते यथा-
 9 ति[ः*] चित्ती । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वर्धसुनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ।(II)[५*] तदंशे
 10 देवकीजानिर्दिदीपे तिमभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुर्वेदेषु यदोः कृष्ण
 11 इवान्वये ।(II)[६*] ततोभूडुकमाजानिरीश्वरचितिपालकः । अत्रासमगु-
 12 णभ्रंशं मौक्तिकं महोभुजां [॥७*] सरसादुदभूतस्मान्नरसावनिपा-
 13 लकः । देवकीनंदनात्कामो देवकीनंदनादिव ।(II)[८*] विविधसृक्-
 14 तोहामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे 'मुहुर्मदितहृदय स्थाने स्थाने व्यधत्त य-
 15 थाविधि [१*] बुधपरिवृत्तो नानादानानि' यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनज-
 16 नोद्गीतं स्कीतं यशः पुनरुक्तय [॥९*] न्वावेरीमाशु बध्ना(बु) बह्मजल-
 17 रयां तां विलंघ्यैव शत्रुं जीवघ्राहं गृहीत्वा समिति भुजबला-
 18 तंवरार्यं तदीयं [१*] कृत्वा श्रीरंगपूर्वं तदपि निजवशे पटुणं
 19 यो बभासे (I) कीर्त्तिस्तंभं निखाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदा-
 20 नः ।(II)[१०*] चेरं चोक्तं च पांड्यं तमपि च मधुरावल्लभं मानभूषं वीर्यो-
 21 दयं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चापि जित्वा तदान्यान् । आगं-
 22 गातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूत्तटांतं नितांतं ख्यातः क्षोणी-
 23 पतीनां स्रजमिव शिरसां शासनं यो व्यतानीत् ।(II)[११*] तिप्पाजीना-
 24 गलादेव्योः कौसल्याश्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहेंद्रात्तस्मा-
 25 त्पंडिरथादिव^१ ।(II) [१२*] वीरो^२ विनयौ^३ नाम[म]लक्षणाविव नादनौ^४
 26 जातौ वीरनृसिंहेंद्रकृष्णरायमहोपती ।(II) [१३*] रंगक्षितींद्राच्युतदे-
 27 वरायो रक्षाधुरीणाविव नंदसौ^५ । ओषांविकायां नरसत्ति-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 28 तींद्रादुभावभुताम्बरगेन्द्रसारौ^{१०} ।(II)[१४*] वीरश्रीनारसिंहस्य
 29 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्यः कीर्त्या नीत्या निरस्यमृग-

^१ Read 'नय'.

^२ 'नि' is corrected from ति.

^३ Read 'पंक्ति'.

^४ Read with the British Museum plates रामकृष्णौ.

^५ Read 'रायर्द्धिषां'.

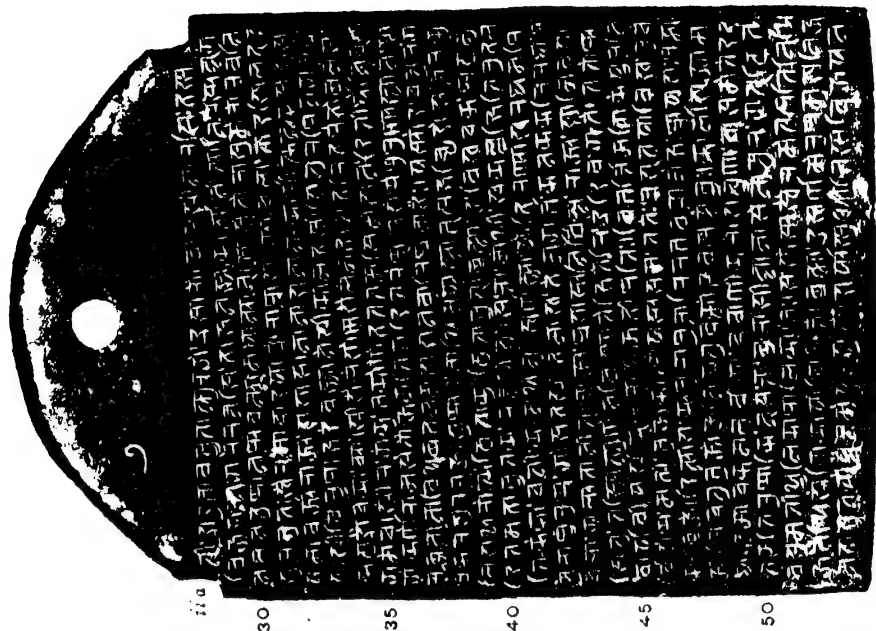
^६ Read न् in the conjunct consonant न्वा, with the previous य.

^७ Read विनयिनी रामलक्षणाविव.

^८ इ looks like तु.

^९ Read नंदनी.

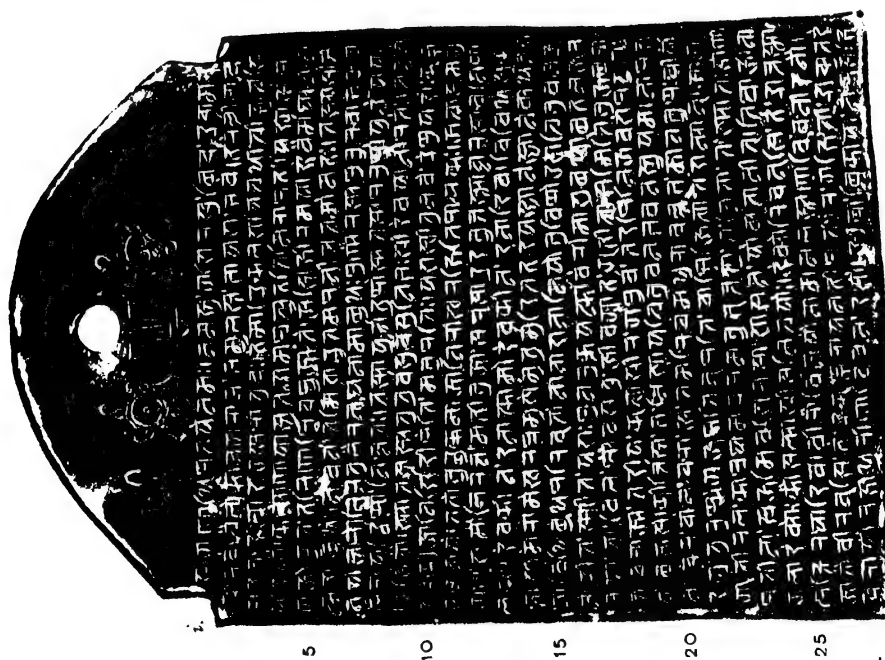
^{१०} The British Museum plates read 'भूताम्बरगेन्द्र', which Prof. Kielhorn proposes to correct into 'भूतां नरकेन्द्र'.
 [I would suggest 'तामुरगेन्द्र'. - S. K.]



W. GRIGGS. PHOTO-LITH

HALF SIZE.

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. J. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.



STEN KONOW.

115.

55

60

56

70

52

(v)
(c)

2110.

85

90

95

00

50

- 30 नऊनहुषानप्यवन्यामयान्यान् । आ सेतीरा सुमेरोरवनि-
 31 सुरनुतः खैरमा चोदयाद्रे (i) रा 'पा'द्यात्वाचलांतादखिलहृद-
 32 यमावर्ज्यं राज्यं शशास ।(ii)[१५*] नानादानान्यकार्षीत्कनकसदसि
 33 यः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकाकूहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वै-
 34 कटाद्री च कांक्षां । श्रीगैले शोणशैले महति हरिहरेहोवके सं-
 35 गमे च (i) श्रीरंगे कुंभकोणे हततमसि महानंदितोर्थं निवृत्तौ [॥१६*]
 36 गोकर्णे रामसेतौ जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्व-
 37 रब्धनानाविधबहुकमहादानवारिप्रवाहैः । यस्योदंचसुरंग-
 38 प्रकरखुररजःशुच्यदंभोधिमग्नस्त्राभृत्यचच्छिदोद्यत्तर(त्कर)कु-
 39 लिशधरोत्कंठिता कुंठिताभूत् ।(ii)[१७*] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटम्-
 40 दितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं (i) सप्तंबोधीं^१ कल्पक्षितिःरुह-
 41 तिके कांचनीं कामधेनुं । स्वर्णक्ष्मां यो हिरण्यश्वरथमपि
 42 तुलापुरुषं गोसहस्रं (i) हेमाश्वं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं पं-
 43 चलांगल्यतानीत् ।(ii) [१८*] प्राज्यं प्रशास्य निर्विघ्ने राज्यं व्यामिव शा-
 44 सितुं [१*] तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याते क्षितेरिद्रे दिवं गते ।(ii)[१९*] ततोप्य-
 45 वार्यवीर्य[१*] श्रीकृष्णरायमहोपतिः । विभर्त्ति मणिकैयूरनि-
 46 र्विशेषं महीं भुजे ।(ii)[२०*] कीर्त्या यस्य समंततः प्रगृह्यतां^२ विश्वं रुचै-
 47 क्यं व्रजे(i)दित्यायंक्य पुरा पुरारिरभवझाकेच[१*] प्रायशः [१*] पद्मा-
 48 चोपि चतुर्भुजो जनि चतुर्वक्त्रोद्भवत्पद्मभू^३ (i) काक्री खड्गम-
 49 'थाद्रमा च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे ।(ii)[२१*] शत्रूणां वासमेते दद-
 50 त इति रुषा किं 'न् 'सप्तंबुरासीन्नानामेनात्तरंगतृटित-¹⁰
 51 वसुमतीवृक्किपापिकाभिः । संशोस्य¹¹ खैरमेतत्पतिनिधि-¹²
 52 जलधिश्रेणिका यो विधत्ते (i) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज-
 53 महादानतोयैरमेये¹³ ।(ii)[२२*] स्तुत्योदार्यस्फुधीभिस्त विजयन-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 54 गरे रत्नमिहासनस्यः क्षमापालाङ्कृष्णरायक्षितिपतिरध-
 55 रीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादोन् । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकदा
 56 च हेमाचलांतादा सेतीरर्थिसार्थश्रियमिह बहुकोज्य कीर्त्या

पा looks like प्रा.

Read प्रसत्^०.

^१ Read 'षादमा.

Read 'सुरंगनुटित'.

'दा' looks like 'च.

^२ य is corrected from ल.

^३ Tho व of वव looks like य.

Read नु instead of न्.

¹¹ Read संशोस्य.

^४ Read 'भोधी'.

^५ Read भ instead of ह.

^६ Read 'श्री' instead of 'से'.

¹³ Read 'रप्रति'.

- 57 बभासे ॥॥[२३*] कृतवति सुरलोकं कृष्णराये निजांशं तदनु तदनुज-
 58 आ पुण्यकर्माच्युतेंद्रः । अखिलमवनिलोकं स्वांशमेत्यारिजेता
 59 वि[ल]सति हरिचेता विहदिष्टप्रदाता ॥॥[२४*] अंभोदेन निपीयमान-
 60 सलिलोगम्येन पीतोर्भितस्तप्तो' राघवसायकान्निशिखया सं-
 61 तप्यमानः सदा । अंतस्थैर्वडवा(वा)मुखानलशिखाजालैर्विशुष्को
 62 [ध्रु]वं (१) यद्गानांबुधनांबुरंबुधिरयं पूर्णः समुद्योतते^३ ॥॥[२५*] समज-
 63 नि नरपालस्त्वधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजयनगरराजद्रवसिंहा-
 64 सनस्थः [१*] नृगनऊनहुवादीन्नीचयन्नाजनीत्या^४ निरुपमभुज-
 65 वीर्यैर्दार्यभूरच्युतेंद्रः ॥॥[२६*] क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्त्तिदेहे प्राप्ते पदं
 66 वैष्णवमच्युतेंद्रे । अध्यास्य भद्रासनमस्य सनुर्वीरो बभौ वेंकट-
 67 देवरायः ॥॥[२७*] प्रशास्य राज्यं प्रशवास्वरूपे^५ विहन्निधौ वेंकटरा-
 68 यभूषे [१*] अभागधेयादचिरात्प्रजानामाखंडलावासमयाधिरू-
 69 ढे ॥॥[२८*] तिमांशावरगर्भमौक्तिकमणी रंगक्षितींद्रात्मजः क्षत्रालं-
 70 करणेन पालितमहाकर्णाटराज्यश्रिया । शौर्यैर्दार्यदयावता
 71 स्वभगिनीभर्त्ता जग[त्ता]यिना^६ (१) रामक्ष्मापतिनाप्यमात्यतिलकैः
 72 क्लृप्ताभिषेकक्रमः ॥॥[२९*] श्रीविद्यानगरीललामनि महासाम्राज्यसिं-
 73 हासने (१) संतानदु[रि]व स्फुरन्मुरगिरी संहृत्य [वि*]वैषिणः^७ । आ से-
 74 तोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाज्ञो निजांज्ञाकारात्मर्षां पालय-
 75 ते सदाशिवमहारायश्चिराय क्षमां ॥॥[३०*] विख्यातविक्रांतिन-
 76 यस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां । आनंदबाणैरभिशि-^८
 77 च्यमाना देवीपदं दर्शयते धरित्री ॥॥[३१*] गोचोद्धारविशारदं कुव-
 78 लयापीडापहारोद्भुरं सत्यायत्तमतिं समस्तमुम[न*]स्सोमावनै-
 79 कायनं । संजातस्मृतिभूरुचिं सविजयं संनंदकञ्चीभरं^९ (१) यं
 80 शंसन्ति यशोदयाचितगुणं कृष्णावतारं बुधाः ॥॥[३२*] विख्यातं बहु-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 81 भोगशृंगविभवेरुहामदानोद्भुरं धर्मेण स्मृतिमाश्रयो-
 82 पि भुवने दत्तं प्रजारक्षणे । प्रोप्तां यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहिधु-
 83 ह्निदंतिर्कूर्मोपमं (१) पातिव्रत्पताकिर्कृति धरणी^{१०} जानेतु स-
 84 र्वं जनाः ॥॥[३३*] यत्सेनाधूकिपाळी शकमशकसमुच्चाटने धूमरेखा

^१ Read °उम्भ° instead of °भम्भ°.

^४ Read प्रस°.

^७ Read °निषिच्य°.

^२ Read समुद्योति°.

^५ Read °क्षुश्रिया°.

^८ Read सुप्र°.

^३ नी is corrected from स.

^६ Read विवैषिणः.

^९ Read वरणी°.

- 85 रोमाङ्को कीर्त्तिवद्धा इव भुवनमिदं सर्वमंतवेहत्याः । [वे]-
 86 णी नाणीयसीव प्रकटितविह्वतेर्वीरलक्ष्या रणाघे (I) शा-
 87 त्ये जीमूतपर्ङ्गः¹ किल "शकलखलस्तोमदाधानलानां [॥३४*] तुंगा-
 88 मेव दयां पदांश्चयुगं शोणं च कृष्णां तनुं रक्ता(क्तां) नीलशितां²
 89 त्रिवेणिमनवां वोक्षां गिरं नर्मदां [१*] तीर्यानीति³ [स]मावहत्या-⁴
 90 वयवैः शेषाद्रिवासी विभुः प्रायो यस्य विशेषभक्तिमुदितः
 91 पट्टाभिषेकश्रिये १(॥)[३५*] 'वोषधिपत्युपमायितगंडस्तोषणरूप-
 92 जितासमकांडः [१*] 'भाषगेतप्यवरायरगंडः पोषणनिर्भरभू-
 93 नवखंडः १(॥)[३६*] राजाधिराजविक्रदो राजराजसमां हतिः । स्वा-
 94 राजराजमानश्रीः[*] श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः १(॥)[३७*] मूर्करायरगंडांको
 95 मेरुलघियशोभरः । शरणागतमंदारः 'पर[र]जभयंकरः १(॥)[३८*]
 96 करदाखिलभूपालः परदारमहोदरः । हिंदुरायसुरक्षान्ति-
 97 धुराजगभीरधिः⁵ १(॥)[३९*] विष्टपचयविख्यातो दुष्टशार्ङ्गलमर्दनः ।
 98 अरोभगंडभेङ्गो हरिभक्तिमुधानिधिः १(॥)[४०*] वर्धमानापदानश्री-
 99 रत्ननारीनटेश्वरः । इत्यादिवरुदेर्वदित्या¹⁰ नित्यमभिष्टुतः १(॥)[४१*]
 100 ¹¹कांभोजभोजकाङ्किंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः¹² । सौविदक्षपदं प्रा-
 101 तैस्संदर्शितदृष्टोपपदः १(॥)[४२*] सोयं नोतिविशारदः सुरतरुस्फूर्त्तल-¹³
 102 विश्राणनस्सर्वोर्वीशनतस्सदाशिवमहारायचमानायकः ।
 103 ब्राह्मवंगदनिर्विशेषमखिलां सर्वसहामुहहन्विद्वज्ज्ञाप-
 104 रायणो विजयते वीरप्रतापोन्नतः ॥ [४३*] निधिवारणवेदेदुग-
 105 णिते शकवत्सरे । प्रभवे वत्स[३*] मामि पौषे मकरसंक्रमे १(॥)[४४*]
 कृष्णपक्षे च पु-

- 106 ण्यायाममायां सोमवासरे । कावेर्याः पावने¹⁴ तीरे रंगनाथस्य
 107 संनिधौ १(॥)[४५*] काश्यपान्वयरत्नेन शश्वतातुलकीर्त्तिना । शश्वदाराध-
 108 नाह्वयविश्वनाथार्पितश्रिया १(॥)[४६*] धर्ममर्मविदा चाणकर्मठेन मनोषि-
 109 णा । दुर्मदारिमहा(ही)पालशर्मदारिभुजौजसा १(॥)[४७*] सत्यादृतांतरं-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 110 गेण सत्कृत्याश्रयशोभिना । संहितेनाधिकं भूत्या सर्व-
 111 जग(गु)णशालिना १(॥)[४८*] श्रीमत्कांचीपुरवराधीश्वरांकोपशो-

¹ Read 'पंक्तिः'.

² Read सकल'.

³ Read 'चित्ति'.

⁴ Read तीर्था'.

⁵ स is corrected from perhaps म.

⁶ Read 'वोषधि'.

⁷ Read भाषगे'.

⁸ 'रा' is corrected from another letter.

⁹ इंदुवंशशिलासिः in the British Museum plates.

¹⁰ Read 'विरुदे'.

¹¹ Read कांभोज'.

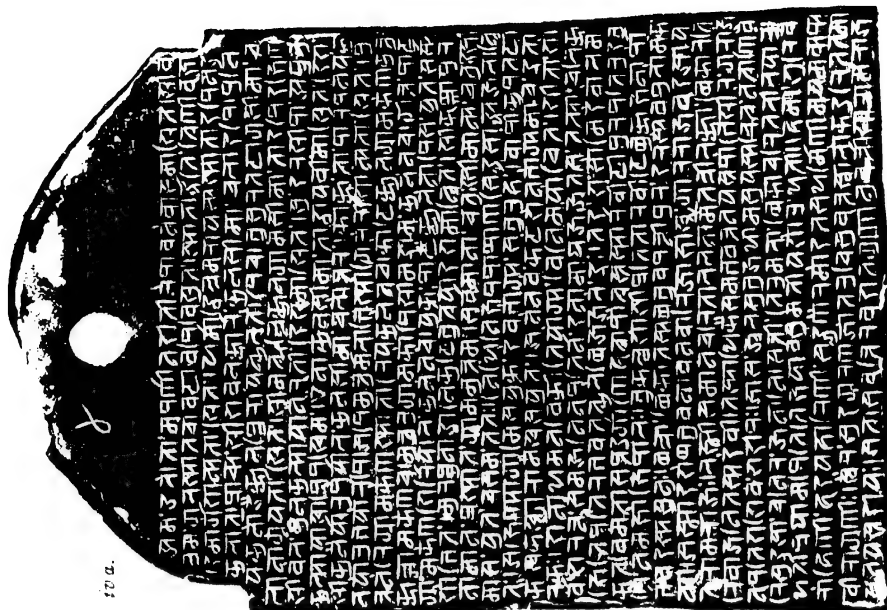
¹² Read 'पार्थि'.

¹³ Read 'स्य'.

¹⁴ Originally पावनी was written.

- 112 भिना । मोकालिपट्टध्वनविख्यातविरुद्विता ॥(॥)[४८*] समयद्रोह-
 113 रगंडव्यातिना मनुनीतिना । प्रख्यातसमयकोलाहलचिह्नेन
 114 भास्वता ॥(॥)[५०*] ऐलावकीपुरवराधीश्वरांकेन धीमता । मा[द्या]ति-
 115 क्वटिच्छापसमांगहरणीजसा ॥(॥)[५१*] यशस्विना^१ पाद्मकुलस्था-^२
 116 पनाचार्यकीर्त्तिना । मानोन(न्येन) दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च ॥(॥)[५२*]
 117 नागमच्छापपीत्रेण नकुनाभागकीर्त्तिना । श्रीविश्वनाथभूपा-
 118 लमिंधुशीतकृमानुना ॥(॥)[५३*] सुशीलनागमागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफलात्म-
 119 ना । कृष्णभूपतिना पुण्यकीर्त्तिना करु[णा*]स्विना ॥(॥)[५४*] परितः प्रण-
 वाकारप्र-
 120 कारवलयंचितं । कमनीयशिलास्तंभकदंभोत्तंजितांवरं^३ ॥(॥)[५५*] विशं-
 121 कटवटंकाकीविराजद्रंगमण्डपं । विधाय विपुलोत्तुंगगोप-
 122 रं देवमंदिरं ॥(॥)[५६*] विशालां रथवतीं^४ च स्यंदनं मंदरोपमं । तच्च प्रति-
 123 टातार्यथीतारकब्रंहरूपिणे^५ ॥(॥) [५७*] करुणारसकमोलवकुणालयचक्षु-
 124 से(षे) । शरणागतगी[र्वा]णभरणाधीनचेतसे ॥(॥) [५८*] कालचक्रघटीयंचक-
 125 ल्पनाशिल्पकारिणे । कैवल्यकल्पलतिकाकंदकोपपन्नकीर्त्तये ॥(॥) [५९*] कौस्तुभा-
 126 रुणपाथोजपा[र्श्व] लीनाक्रमोलया^६ । वनमालिकया चारुवक्षसे हतर-
 127 क्षमे ॥(॥)[६०*] इंदिराया^७ जगन्मातुर्मंदिरायितवक्षसे ।^८ च्छंदसामादिकंदाय
 128 चंपकद्युतिवासरे(से) ॥(॥)[६१*] शरण्याय वतामिंदुतरण्याकारचक्षुसे^९ । हिरण्या-
 129 मुरसंहजे^{१०} धरण्या गृहमेधिने ॥(॥)[६२*] ^{११}कंशादिविबुधारातिहिंसाविधपटी-
 130 यसे । संसारसागरीर्वाय पुंसामानमतां सतां ॥(॥)[६३*] नवनीतमुशे^{१२} नंदर-
 131 मणीशिक्षणीयतां । अभिनीतवते शश्वदपनीतनतार्तये ॥(॥)[६४*] निरलो-
 कवचो-
 132 मूलमुरळीमधुरारवैः । तरळीकुर्वते गोपीश्वरलीलापराचक्षुः^{१३} ॥(॥)[६५*] अ-
 133 ^{१४}श्लिङ्गशृणुपुरि पूर्णसा(सा)निष्ठं समुपेयुषे । तिरुवैकटनाथाय विष्णवे प्रभ-
 134 विष्णवे ॥(॥)[६६*] धूपदीपसुधाहारनानापूपनिवेदने^{१५} । नानापुष्पोपहारैश्च नै-
 135 कदीपप्रदीपनैः ॥(॥)[६७*] नृत्तगीतमहावाद्यच्छत्र(त्र)चामरवैभवीः । नित्यनैमि-
 त्तिका-

^१ Read यशस्वि.^२ Read पाद्म.^३ Read कंदर्पो.^४ Read कौवो.^५ Read श्रित and नक्ष.^६ Read मालया.^७ Read मंदिरा.^८ Read चंदसा.^९ Read चक्षुसे. Could it be that the passage should be read as शरण्याय सतामिंदुतरण्याकारचक्षुसे ?^{१०} Read हजे.^{११} Read कंसादि.^{१२} Read मुषे.^{१३} Read गोपीश्वर.^{१४} Read शशि.^{१५} The second ना looks like न्व.



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W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH.



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यत्र नन्दनैः सहैव कोटिर्नृपाणां ब्रह्म
 उद्युतः सन्निपत्यैव प्रदीप्यमानो विभक्त
 नोन्नतौ प्रलम्बितौ सदा नाम्ना यन्मृत्युं न मृच्छन् रक्त
 मृत्ना ॥

[illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

- 136 मंतपूजां कर्तुं विशेषतः ।(॥)[६८*] प्रतिवर्षं समारम्भयथोत्सवसमृद्धये^१ । श्रीश-
 137 भूवोत्सवायापि रम्ययाचोत्सवाय च ।(॥)[६९*] श्रीकीर्त्तये(पु)नाडी च प्रख्यातं प[१]-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 138 चामंडले । तां(ता)मपणीनदीतीरे पावने वासमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७०*] श्रीव-
 139 क्षमंगलस्थितावावटावपि विश्रुतं । ख्यातार्चतिं चिणीवृक्षा-
 140 दिमार्गेशान्यतां श्रितं ।(॥)[७१*] धर्माद्विष्णुमरायस्य ख्यातादपि नेडु-
 141 कुलात् । प्राच्यं श्रीश्वरकुम्हारकुक्कुसीमांचलादपि ।(॥) [७२*] पुष्कि-
 142 यंकुळोडैकुलपिरायकुलतोपि च । भूसुरतटागसीमांच-
 143 लानाम्नेयतां^२ श्रितं ।(॥)[७३*] श्रीमत्कृष्णकुक्कुषामसीमांतादपि दक्षि[णं] ।[*]
 144 श्रीवेलंकुक्कुल्याया नैरुतीं दिशमाश्रितं ।(॥)[७४*] सुंदरश्रीपांच[पूत]-
 145 कुल्यायाचापि पश्चिमं । ^३ऐनाकुक्कुसीमांताहायवीमाश्रितं दिशं ।(॥) [७५*]
 146 श्रीकुक्कुयीरुपेयालकुक्कुसीमांचलोत्तरं । कोक्कतांपारंपनयंकु-
 147 क्योरुभयोरपि ।(॥)[७६*] अपि 'सुत्तुर्मलाभिख्यागिरेशान्यतां श्रितं । पु-
 148 त्तेनिरियामकेण ख्यातारियकुक्केन च ।(॥)[७७*] कोटिकुक्कुषामकेण कुत्तु-
 149 क्लयामकेण च । सुत्तुरुषामकोपि^४ श्रीमद्रामकुक्केन च ।(॥)[७८] ईत्तेपाडु-
 150 ग्रामकेण शिरियालंकुक्केन च । युक्तां पाटैकुलेनापि संयुतं मस्य-
 151 श्रीभितं ।(॥)[७९*] सुरप्पुनाडाकिकुटिभूषयदशमाश्रितं । श्रीकृष्णापुर-
 152 नामानं प्रख्यातं ग्राममुत्तमं ।(॥)[८०*] सर्वमा(नांचतुःस्त्रीमा)न्यं चतुःस्त्री(सी)-
 153 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनक्षेपपाषाणसिद्धसाहाजलान्वि-
 154 तं ।(॥)[८१*] अक्षिण्यागामिमयुक्तं^५ देवभोग्यं सभूरुहं । वापीकूपतटा-
 155 कैश्च कश्चरामैश्च संयुतं^६ ।(॥)[८२*] अनेन वैकटेशेन भोग्यमाचंद्रता-
 156 रकं । दानाधमनविक्रीतियोग्यं विनिमयोचितं ।(॥)[८३*] श्रीतांशो-
 157 वैश्वरत्नं समजनि नृपतिर्नंदनामाय जप्ते तत्संतत्यां चलिक्क-
 158 क्षितिपतिरभवत्कुलि^७ बिज्जलेंद्रः । तदंशं^८ सोमिदेवोलम-
 159 क्षत विमतासप्तदुर्गाणि हत्वा पौत्रस्तत्स्वरंवीटीपुरपतिरुदभू-
 160 त्पिंनमक्षीचिपालः^९ ।(॥) [८४*] भूकल्पशास्त्री प्रति(थि)तारवीटिबुक्कक्षमापो-
 161 भवदस्य स्रुतः । बज्रांबिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पुरंदरस्यैव पुलोमकं^{११}

^१ Read 'समृद्धये'.

^२ Read 'दागेय'.

^३ The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence we propose to read the name of this village as ऐ[य०]नाकुळ. [I would prefer to scan *Ayind*.—S. K.]

Read 'भय'.

^४ Read 'ग्रामकेणापि' ?

^५ Read 'संयुक्तं'.

^६ Read 'कश्चरामैश्च संयुतं'.

^७ Read 'भवत्तत्कुलि'.

^८ Read 'तदंशं'.

^९ Read 'क्षीचि'.

^{११} Read 'कन्या'.

- 162 न्या ।(॥) [८५*] अस्मादशेषभुवनावनवारिजाचाग्रच्छृं(च्छृं)गारराजवदजाय-
 163 त रामराजः । लक्ष्मीसमानचरिता ललनामतप्ती लक्षांबिका रति-
 164 रिवाजनि तस्य देवी ।(॥)[८६*] ¹तस्याधिकैसमभवत्तनयस्तपोभिः² श्रीरंगराज-
 165 ²नृपतिशशिवंशदीपः । आसंज्वलत्सु भुजधामसु यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वै-
 166 रिसुद्रुमां³ च निरंजनानि ।(॥)[८७*] सतीं तिरुमलांबिका(कां) चरितलीलयाहं-
 167 धतीप्रथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमतीयशो रुंधतीं । हिमांशुरिव
 168 रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सङ्गुणैरमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवाप्य
 169 वीरायणीः ।(॥)[८८*] स्वैरं सुदृग्भरणजातरुचिसुवृत्त⁴ स्वालोकदूरिततमा-
 170 स्तनयस्तदीयः । अत्रासवृत्तिरवदातगुणानुवर्त्ती आ(श्री)रामराज-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 171 नरपालमणिर्विरेजे⁵ ।(॥)[८९*] यस्मिन् प्रशासति महीं जटि[वै].⁶
 172 कवीरे भंगो नदीषु पतंगेषु च पक्षपातः । वल्लीषु पक्षव-
 173 रुचिर्वनितारतेषु नीवीविमोचनमभून्नियतं प्रजानां ।(॥)[९०*] स-
 174 त्यानुरक्तैरिदरावहेस्मिन् संसके⁷ संभृतसर्वलोके । (श्रीरा)
 175 श्रीरामराजे श्रितसत्वसौर्यं⁸ श्रौरेः पदं शाश्वतमभ्युपेते ।(॥)[९१*] त-
 176 दनु भुवमशेषां पालयन्ब्राजनीत्या तपनतनयजेता दा-
 177 नरीत्या महत्या । भरतमहितभूमा भाति तस्यानुजन्मा व-
 178 रतिरुमलराजसाहितीभोजराजः⁹ ।(॥)[९२*] स्वैरं ¹⁰संज्ञत्तकंठकी-
 179 थ मुक्ततोत्कष्टं विधायाखिलं भूकेदारमुदारदानसलिलो-¹¹
 180 सारैस्समापूर्य च । संवञ्जानघ(कीर्त्ति)कीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं
 181 तत्पालिकां विक्रमश्रीकांतां भुजकायमानसिखरे¹² धत्ते
 182 हि यस्तेजसा ।(॥)[९३*] यस्यानुजन्मा विजयैकनर्मा रामाभिराम[ी]-
 183 तुलबाहुधामा । वीरो विरेजे¹³ भुवि वैकटाद्रिराजः श्रि-
 184 या निर्जितराजराजः ।(॥)[९४*] धर्ममर्मविधस्तस्य¹⁴ धरणीक-
 185 ल्यशखिनः । सोमवशावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसंपदः ।(॥)[९५*] श्री-
 186 विश्वनाथभूपालचिरपुण्यफलालम्बना । कृष्णभूपतिनानि-
 187 न कृ[पा]कृपाचक्षुषा¹⁵ । (॥)[९६*] विज्ञापितस्य विनयाद्विमतात-¹

¹ Read 'समभव'.

² Read 'सुवृत्तः'.

³ Read 'अशदक'.

⁴ Read 'साहिती'.

⁵ Read 'शिखरे'.

⁶ पा is corrected from 'या'.

⁷ Read 'नृपतिशशि'.

⁸ The letters 'विरे' are engraved over an erasure.

⁹ A mistake for 'संपन्नके'.

¹⁰ Read 'संज्ञत्'.

¹¹ Read 'विरेजे'.

¹² Read 'धुत'.

¹³ Read 'सुदृशा'.

¹⁴ Read 'सरव शीर्षे'.

¹⁵ Read 'सज्जिता'.

¹⁶ Read 'विदसस्य'.

- 188 भास्वतः । प्राज्यकर्णाठराज्यश्रीस्थापनाचार्यविश्रुतेः ।(॥)[८७*] आ-
 189 चेत्यगोत्रपाथोजमार्त्ताडस्य मनस्विनः । अतैववरगंड-
 190 स्य 'सिधंतच्चित्तिरक्षिणः ।(॥)[८८*] 'वर्णितेयशेसो नानावर्णश्रीमंड-
 191 लीकगंडस्य । ऐ(ए)विरुदरायराहुतवेस्त्रै'कभुजंगविरुदभ-
 192 रितस्य ।(॥)[८९*] 'विख्या[त]विरुदमनियविभाऊलीलस्य विजय-
 193 शीलस्य । विश्वंभराभुतिस्फुटविश्रुतधरणीवराहवि-^५
 194 रुदस्य ।(॥)[१००*] कल्याणपुरनाथस्य शश्वारिममतेजसः । वैगञ्जि-
 195 भुवनीमल्लसिंखिरयशोनिधेः ।(॥)[१०१*] श्रीमत्तिरुमलक्ष्मापशे-
 196 खरस्य दयांजुधेः । विन[यो*]दार्पशीलस्य विजयमिमनुपालयन् ।(॥)[१०२*]

Fifth Plate.

- 197 परोतः प्रयतै[.*] स्त्रिग्वैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधै-
 198 विंजुधेः श्यो(श्री)तपथिकैरथि(धि)कैर्गिरा ।(॥)[१०३*] सदाशिवमहारा-
 199 यो माननीयो मनस्विना । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
 200 न्मुदा ।(॥)[१०४*]
 201 सरससदाशिवरायन्नितिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य [।*] शास-
 202 नमिदं 'सरासनदासरथेरमितहेमदानरते' ।(॥)[१०५*] मृदुपदमिति
 203 ताम्र(ताम्र)शासनार्थं महितसदाशिवरायशासनेन । अभणदनु-
 204 गुणं वचोमहिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिस्वयंभूः ।(॥)[१०६*] सदाशिवमहा-
 205 रायशासनाङ्गीरणात्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखतां-^८
 206 म्रशासनं (॥)[१०७*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]योनुपालनं । दानास्वर्ग-^९
 207 मवाप्नोति पालनादभ्युतं पदं ।(॥)[१०८*] स्वदत्ताद्दिगुणं^{१०} पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा-
 208 लनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं ^{११}निष्फलं भवेत् ।(॥)[१०९*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता
 209 वा यो हरेति^{१२} वसुंधरा । षष्टिर्वर्षमहस्त्राणि^{१३} विष्टायां जायते क्रि(क)-
 210 मिः ।(॥)[११०*] ऐ(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजा । न भोज्या न करघा-
 211 ह्या देवदत्ता वसुंधरा ।(॥)[१११*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसेतुत्पाणां^{१४} काले काले
 212 पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्माविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याच-
 213 ते रामचंद्रः॥ [११२*]
 214 श्रीविरूपाक्ष^{१५}

^१ Read सिन्धु^२.^३ Read वर्णितयशसो.^४ Read विश्वेश^५.^६ त is corrected from the secondary i of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त.^७ Read विस्तृत^८.^९ Read शरासनं.^{१०} Read ददाश्रयैः.^{११} Read लिखिताम्.^{१२} Read दानास्वर्ग^{१३}.^{१४} Read दत्तादि^{१५}.^{१६} Read निष्फलं.^{१७} Read हरेत्.^{१८} Read षष्टि^{१९}.^{२०} Read सेतुत्पाणां.^{२१} In Kannada characters.

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v. 2 the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v. 3 Gaṇeśa.

Vv. 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon.

(Vv. 6-7.) In his (*i.e.* Turvaṣu's) line was born the husband of Dēvakī, king Timma, as famous among the Tuluvas as Kṛishṇa was among the Yādus. To him was born king Śvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkamā.

(V. 8.) To him, the son of Dēvakī, was born king Narasa, as Kāma (was born) from the son of Dēvakī (Kṛishṇa).

Vv. 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of Tamcha (*i.e.* the Chōla country) and Śrīraṅgaṭṭana.

(V. 11.) Conquering the Chēra and the Chōla, Mānabhūsha, the Pāṇḍya king of Madura, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Iaukā, and from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns.

(Vv. 12-14.) Of Tippāji and Nāgalādēvi, like Rāma and Lakshmaṇa of Kausalyā and Sumitrā to Daśaratha, were born to him two sons Vira-Nṛisimha and Kṛishṇarāya who were brave and modest. To him were also born of Ōbāmbikā two (*more*) sons able in protecting (*the subjects*), Raṅgakshitindra and Achyutadēvarāya.

(V. 15.) Vira-Nārasimha, seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛiga, Nala, Nahusha and others of the world, praised by the Brāhmaṇas from Sēta to Mēru, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people.

(Vv. 16-18.) His praises.

(V. 19.) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven.

(V. 20.) After him, king Kṛishṇarāya, of unabated valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛishṇarāya.

(V. 24.) When Kṛishṇarāya had taken for his part the world of the *dēvas* (*i.e.* had died) his younger brother Achyutēndra, doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Viṣṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.

(Vv. 25-26.) Praises of Achyutēndra.

(V. 27.) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Achyutēndra reached Viṣṇu's abode, his brave son Vēṅkaṭarāya ascended the throne.

(Vv. 28-30.) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kāma, and was ruling his kingdom (*well*), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra. The son of Raṅgakshitindra and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Timmāmbā, king Sadāśivarāya, who was like the *santāna* tree on the hill of *dēvas*, was duly installed on the throne that was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrī-Vidyānagari, by king Rāma, his sister's husband, the protector of the goddess Śrī of the great kingdom of Kaṇṇāṭa, who was an ornament to all Kshatriyas, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers.

(Vv. 31-43.) Praises of Sadāśivarāya.

(Vv. 44-45.) On Monday, the new moon *tithi* of the dark half of the month Pausa, during the *Makara-saṅkṛaṇṇa*, in the year Prabhava, (corresponding to) the Śaka year counted by the *nādis* (9), the *vāraṇas* (8), the *rēdas* (4), and *indu* (1) (*i.e.* Śaka 1489) on the banks of the sacred river Kāvēri, in the presence of (*the god*) Raṅganātha, (*this grant is made*).

(Vv. 46-57.) By **Kṛishṇabhūpati**, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy; who was the jewel of the family of **Kāśyapa**; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) **Viśvanātha**, who was pleased with his devotion; who knew the truth about duty; who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness; who shone by his desire to do good actions; who possessed great wealth; who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man; who bore the title 'the lord of **Kāñchīpura**;' who was also the recipient of the famous title '**Mōkālīpattāvardhana**;' who was also known as the '**Samaya-drōbhara-gaṇḍa**;' whose policy was like that of **Manu**; who also shone by the celebrated distinction '**Samayakōlāhala**;' who was also entitled 'the lord of **Ailāvalīpura**;' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the **Tiruvāḍi-rājya** of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the '**Pāṇḍyakulasthāpanāchārya**;' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king **Nāgama**; who was equal to **Nala** and **Nābhāga** in fame; who was the cool moon of the ocean named king **Viśvanātha**; who was the pearl of the oyster, viz. the womb of the virtuous **Nāgamā**,—was built a temple at **Kṛishṇāpura**, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rañja-maṇḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god **Vishṇu** set up there (i.e. in the temple),

[(Vv. 58-66.) Praises of the god set up in the temple of **Kṛishṇāpura**.]

(Vv. 67-69.) (For the worship of the god **Vishṇu**) who shone in this place under the name of **Tiruvēhkaṭanātha**, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, etc., by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the ear festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82.) The excellent village known by the name of **Śrī Kṛishṇāpura**, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as **Pattanēri**, **Āriyakulam**, **Kōṭikkulam**, **Kuttakkal**, **Muttūr Rāmatagaḷam**, **Itampātṭu**, **Śiṇiyālaṅgulam**, **Pātaikkulam** together with thirteen *bhū* in **Muṇappu-nāḍu** (and) **Ālikuḍi**, which is situated in the **Kījavēmba-nāḍu** belonging to the **Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala**, on the banks of the pure river **Tāmraparai**, in the *chāvaḍi* known as **Śrīvallamaṅgulam**, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the **Arddhatinripi** tree, etc.; east of **Villamarāya**'s charity and the famous **Neḷuṅgulam** and of the extreme limits of **Śrī-Śavalakkāṇakulam**; south-east of **Puliyaṅguḷa-ōḷai**, **Kulappirāyankulam** and of the extreme limits of **Bhūsura-taṭāka**; south of the extreme limits of **Kaḷikkulam**; south-west of the **Vēlaṅgula** channel; west of **Śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya**'s new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of **Ainākulam**; north of the extreme limits of **Śrīkulam**, **Eryāru-Peryālaṅgulam** and of **Kokkantāmpāra** and **Panayānkulam**; and north-east of the hill known as **Muttūrmala**—is to be enjoyed by (this god) **Vēhkaṭēśa** as a *sarvamūnya*.

(Vv. 96 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by **Kṛishṇabhūpati**, the fruit of the long penance of **Viśvanātha**, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, **Tirumala Rāja** respectfully requested **SadasiṬvarāya**, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that **Sabhāpati Svayambhu** wrote the *śāsana*.

V. 107 mentions that **Virāpāchārya**, son of **Virāṇa**, engraved the document.

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature '**Śrī Virāpāksha**' in the **Kannāḍa** alphabet.

No. 53.—ARANG COPPER-PLATE OF BHIMASENA II.

GUPTA-SAMVAT 282.

By HIRA LAL, B.A.; NAGPUR.

This copper-plate was found by me with Śrī Kṛṣṇa Mālguzār of Ârang on my visit to that place on the 31st May 1908. Ârang is 22 miles east of Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division in the Central Provinces. It contains several ancient remains¹ and it was there that another plate in box-headed characters belonging to Mahā-Jayadēva² was found. There is also another mutilated inscription at the place on a stone in characters like those in which the inscriptions of Sirpur,³ which is 15 miles from Ârang, are engraved. The details as to the exact find-spot of our inscription are not available, as Śrī Kṛṣṇa told me that it was found long ago by one of his ancestors, and as no Pandits could read it, it was stowed away, so that being out of sight, it got out of mind. He, however, assured me he had heard from his ancestors that it was dug up in Ârang itself and that it was not brought from any other place. There is only one plate with an uncut ring passing through a round hole, its ends being soldered to a round seal. The plate measures $10\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ " and has irregular edges and an uneven surface, partly corroded. In spite of this, the letters are all visible except two or three (ll. 6 and 11) which have been much worn out and are difficult to decipher. The seal is a little brittle and has in bas-relievo a lion in a sitting posture as the family crest, beneath which are inscribed in raised letters *Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasēnasya*.

The inscription contains 13 lines, 9 on the obverse and 4 on the reverse side. The average size of letters is $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets of the type, which, according to Dr. Fleet, "may be called the standard alphabet, with northern characteristics, of Central India from towards the end of the 5th to the middle of the 6th century A. D."⁴ There are also numerical symbols for 200, 80, 2, 10 and 8, the last being doubtful. The language of the record is Sanskrit prose except the imprecatory verse in ll. 11 and 12. In respect of orthography, we have to notice the use of the dental nasal instead of the *anusvāra* before *ś* in *vanśyaiḥ* (l. 10) and instead of the class nasal before a guttural in *pīḍān-kuryāt* (in the same line). Letters with a *repha* have been mostly doubled. The vowel sign for *i* occurs in *śrī* (l. 2) and *ī* is sometimes denoted by a short vertical stroke after the consonant to which it is joined, at other times by a top curve, especially when combined with *sa* or *pa* (ll. 2, 3, 5, 10 and 12). Final forms of *m* occur in ll. 6, 7 and 11.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named *Vaṭapallikā* in the district of *Dōṇḍā* by the *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna* II. to two Brāhmanas *Harisvāmin* and *Bappasvāmin*, both of the *Bharadvāja-gotra* and students of the *Rigvāda*. The charter was issued from the *Suvarṇanadi* (river), where apparently the donor had gone to bathe on some festival. The genealogy of *Bhīmasēna* is given for six generations, thus:—*Bhīmasēna* (II.), son of *Dayitavarmman* (II.), son of *Bhīmasēna* (I.), son of *Vibhishana*, son of *Dayita* (I.), son of *Śūra*; but it is not clear to which particular dynasty they belonged. They are stated to have been born of a family celebrated for its dignity like that of royal ascetics (*rājashītulyakula*).⁵ From this it

¹ Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 20 *et seq.*² *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 191.³ Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 23 *et seq.*⁴ *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 117.

⁵ This probably refers to the Gupta family. In the Udayagiri cave inscription (vide *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 35) *Chandragupta* II. is called "*rājādhirājarsht*," which implies that he combined in him both regal and religious qualifications, an ideal to which the feudatory chiefs would be prone to liken their own families. In reference to his sovereign lord, *Bhīmasēna* could not arrogate the title of *rājarsht* to his family and that seems to be the reason why he inserts the word *tulya* (like). For similar reasons it appears their northern feudatories called themselves *Parivardjaka*, which means 'a religious mendicant.'

may be inferred that they were something like the Parivrājaka Mahārājas of Dabhāḷā (Jubbulpore country) and were like them vassals of the Early (or Imperial) Guptas in whose era our inscription is dated.¹ The Parivrājaka inscriptions range from 475 to 528 A.D., and ours belongs to the Gupta year 282 or A.D. 601. Our inscription introduces us to another similar family under the overlordship of the Guptas, which apparently continued to be acknowledged, at least in Chhattisgarh, up to so late a date as the commencement of the 7th century A.D. It was in the middle of the 4th century that Samudra-Gupta conquered the Mahākōṣala (Chhattisgarh) country, by defeating the then ruling king Mahēndra, of whom we know nothing beyond his name and so have no materials to establish any connection between him and the dynasty of our inscription. We know that Mahēndra was not ousted. He was liberated,² and his dynasty must have continued to rule for about 100 years, if Bhīmasēna's family was a different one. The first king Śāra of the latter line must have flourished in the middle of the 5th century, to judge from the number of generations which intervened between the two. In Chhattisgarh several dynasties have ruled and many inscriptions have been found, but ours is the only one among them which is dated in the Gupta era. In other parts of India, too, inscriptions referring to the Guptas have been discovered, and their era remained in use even after their imperial power had come to an end. That is, in the words of Dr. Fleet, though the direct line of the Early Gupta dynasty itself may have become extinct, Gupta dominion still continued, and the name of the Gupta kings was still recognised as a power down to A.D. 601. Prior to the discovery of our inscription, the latest date expressly given in the Gupta era was only 528 A.D.³ It is true that the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings shew that the Gupta era continued in use in Kāthiāwād and some neighbouring parts of Gujarāt, at least as late as A.D. 700,⁴ but the era has not been specifically named after the Guptas in them.

The exact date of our inscription appears to be the 18th of the Bhādra month of the Gupta year 282. It does not admit of verification, as the week day is not mentioned. Its English equivalent, as calculated by Mr. Gokul Prasad, Tahsildār of Dhamtari, is Tuesday, the 22nd August 601, on the assumption that the Gupta era began on 26th February 320 A.D. which is taken as the coronation day of Chandragupta I.⁵ The accuracy of the above calculation cannot, however, be relied on, owing to the uncertainty as to whether the date is really the 18th, the figure for 8 being doubtful. Again, there is the question of intercalation⁶ and the alteration of the commencement of the year by the Valabhi kings who put it back 7 months, which may also interfere with the reckoning. So much, however, is certain that our inscription was recorded in the year 601 A.D. With regard to geographical names, Suvarṇanadī is apparently the Sōn, which rises from the Amarkantak hills and after a course of about 40 miles in Chhattisgarh finally joins the Ganges. It has been identified with the Sonos of Arrian as also with his Erannobos, the other Sanskrit name of the Sōn being Hiranyavāha or Hiranyavāhin. The Sōn is frequently mentioned in Hindū literature, in the *Rāmāyaṇas* of Vālmiki and Tulsidās,

¹ [Cunningham describes (*Reports*, Vol. IX. p. 26) two silver coins of a certain Bhīmasēna, who must have belonged to a dynasty which succeeded the Guptas. The peacock device of the Guptas is continued on these coins, but the faces of the obverse are turned to the left as if to denote a change of dynasty.—Ed.]

² *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 12.

³ *Ibid.* Introduction, p. 8. [The Tezpur inscription dated Gupta 510 is of a different kind. See Kielhorn, *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1906, pp. 465 and ff.—S. K.] [The Gaujām District plates of Śaśāṅkarāja are dated in the Gupta year 300 corresponding to A.D. 619-20 (above, Vol. VI. p. 143)—V. Venkayya.]

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 18. The Verāwal inscription is dated in Valabhi-Samvat 945 or 1264 A.D., thus extending its use to a period 500 years still later (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1891, p. 385).

⁵ Smith's *Early History of India*, 2nd Edition, p. 266.

⁶ For a discussion on this subject, see Dr. Kielhorn's postscript to my article on the Betāl plates (above, Vol. VIII. p. 288).

⁷ See *Indian Antiquary*, 1902, p. 257.

the *Bhāgavata* and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sōn and Narmadā to two tears dropped by Brahmā, one on either side of the Amarkantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyā* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhman.¹ This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence Bhīmasēna issued his charter, and not another Sōn flowing in the south of the Bilāspur district, falling into the Borai which joins the Mahānadi. As for Dōṇḍā and Vaṭapallikā, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Baḍapālī or Barapālī, there are so many places in Chhattisgarh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dōṇḍā or Dupḍā, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Āraṅg, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapālī is 30 miles east of Āraṅg and about 50 miles east of Dupḍā. It is included in the present Kaudīā Zamindārī on the other side of the Mahānadi. It would then appear that Āraṅg also was in those days included in the Dōṇḍā district, and the donces, if they were residents of Āraṅg, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.²

Seal.

Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasēnasya.

First Side.

- 1 Ōm³ svasti [||*] **Suvarṇṇanadyāḥ** [sa]ivva⁴-sadrājārshi-tulya-kula-prabhāva-kirttāḥ
śrī-mahārāja-**Śūrasya** prapautraḥ prajā-
- 2 dayitasya śrī-[ma]hārāja-**Dayitasya** putraḥ prapata-sāmantasy-ārāti-vibhīṣaṇasya
śrī-mahārāja-**Vibhīṣa-**
- 3 **nasya** putraḥ śakti-siddhi-sāmpannō dharmma-vijayī nyāy-ōpārjīti-ānēka-ratna-
gō-bhūmi-suvarṇṇa-hiraṇy-ādi-pradaḥ śrī-
- 4 mahārāja-**Bhīmasēnaḥ** tasya putraḥ ta[ch-ehari]t-ānukārī sadbhir-mmahadbhīś=ch=
ādhyushitasadaḥ⁵ śrī-mahārāja-**Dayitavarmma**
- 5 tasya pu[tra]ḥ tat-pād-ānuddhyātō-tya[nta]-dēva-guru-brāhmaṇa-bhaktāḥ śrī-mahārāja-
Bhīmasēnaḥ kuśalī **Dōṇḍā-**
- 6 vaishayika-**Vaṭapallikāyām** [brāhmaṇādīn=pra]tīvāsinaḥ [ku]śalam=uktivā samājñā-
payaty-ēsha grāmō mayā
- 7 bhādra-bhōgēn-aiṇa mātāpitrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇyā-bhivṛddhayē **Bharadvāja-**
sagotrābhyaṇ Bahvṛicha-Harivāmi-Bappasvāmibhyaṇ
- 8 sarvapratyāyavān-mahāpralaya-kā[l-ā]vasthā[py-ā]grahārō dattas=tad=bbavadbhir-
anayōr-ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhōyair-bhūtvā samuchita-
- 9 m=āya⁶ suvarṇṇa-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ karttavyaḥ [||*] yaś=ch-ātra [ka]śchid-
ubbaya-lōka-nirapēkshaḥ san=daśa-

¹ See article on Sōn in the new Imperial Gazetteer

² From the original plate.

³ [I read *pāreva*.—S. K.]

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read =ch=ādhyushita⁶.

⁶ Read *-mēva* [or *-māya*- as in l. 15 of the Broach copper-plate of Saṅgamasiṃha (J. Bo. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX. p. 214, text-line 3).—S. K.]

2 4 6 8

1. ...
 2. ...
 3. ...
 4. ...
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 7. ...
 8. ...
 9. ...
 10. ...
 11. ...
 12. ...

10 12

1. ...
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 7. ...
 8. ...
 9. ...
 10. ...
 11. ...
 12. ...

Second Side.

- 10 bhir-atitair=āgāmibhiḥ=ch=aitāvadbhiḥ svavanśy[ai]h¹ sah=ādho [y]iyāsuh svalpām=api
pīdān=ku[ryyā]t²=kārayād-anumanyēta vā sa pañcha-
11 bhir=mmahāpātakair=upapātakais=cha sa[in]yuktah [syāt punaḥ=ch=ā]sminn=arthō
bhagavatā Vyāsēn=ābhihitam shashṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi
12 svarggō mōdati bhūmidah [I*] āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakā
vasōd=ity=ōvamādi-slōkāḥ Guptānam samvatsa-
13 ra-satē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8³ dūtakaḥ=cha rājaputra-Subhadrah
utkirṇpain cha Lakshmapēn=ēti || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1 to 4.) Om ! Hail ! From *Suvarṇanadi* ; the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc. (*was*) the great grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja Śūra*, (*who was*) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja Dayita*, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Vibhishana* to whom feudatory kings bowed (*and who was*) terrific to his enemies.

(Ll. 4 to 6.) His son (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Dayitavarman*, the follower of his (father's) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (*personages*). His son (*is*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*, who meditates on his (father's) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brāhmanas. (*If*) being in good health (*and*) wishing good luck to Brāhmanas and other (*inhabitants*) of *Vaṭapallikā* in the district of *Dōṇḍā*, orders (*as follows*):—

(Ll. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) mother, father and myself, to *Harivāmin* and *Bappa-svāmin* (*both*) of the *Bharadvāja gōtra*, (*students*) of the *Rigvēda*, as an *agrahāra*,⁴ with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe.

(Ll. 8 to 13.) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (*to them*) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc. If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds⁵ and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (*a similar number of*) future (*generations*) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (*charity*), he would become joined with five great⁶ sins and also minor sins. Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa : “the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell,” and so forth (in other) verses. In the year of the *Guptas* in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) *Bhādra* on the day 10 8(?). Prince *Subhadra* was the *dūtaka* (officer carrying the king's orders). Engraved by *Lakshmana*.

¹ Read °ramīyāḥ.² Read pīdām kuryyāt.³ I am indebted to Dr. Konow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures.⁴ A grant made in favour of a god or a Brāhmana.⁵ I.e. regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world.⁶ For these see *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, verse 227 of the *Prāyaścittādhyaḥya*. They are : killing a Brāhmana, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor's wife, and association with any of these offences. The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242.

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¹ The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add.' to the Additions and Corrections on pp. vii and viii. The following other abbreviations are used:—ch. = chief; co. = country; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king; m. = male; mo. = mountain; vi. = river; s. a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; vi. = village or town; W. = Western.

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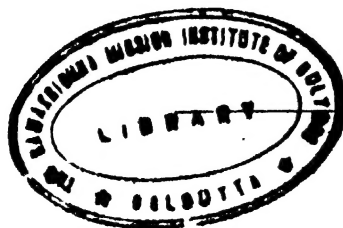
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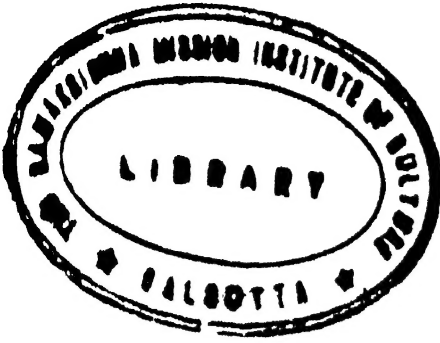
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 4, para. 1, line 7,—for *Mahēndrapaladēva* read *Mahēndrapāladēva*.
- ” ” ” ” 10,—for *Haḍḍāla* read *Haḍḍālā*.
- ” 7, footnote 17, line 1,—for *nistrīṃsa* read *nistrīmśa*.
- ” 9, text-line 46,—for *-bhūpālāmś=* read *-bhūpālāmś=*.
- ” 16, line 3 from bottom,—for *Sāntaras* read *Śāntaras*.
- ” 17, ” 9,—for *Aḷuva* read *Āḷuva*.
- ” 48, line 2 from bottom,—for *Chēdi* read *Chēdi*.
- ” 56, line 1,—for *Thursday* read *Friday*.
- ” 58, para. 2, line 2,—for *Godavari* read *Kistna*.
- ” 60, line 13 from the top,—for *Jhālrapātan* read *Jhālrapāṭan*.
- ” 65, footnote 6, line 1,—for *actua* read *actual*.
- ” 71, line 4 from the top,—[I think the word *tīmbūliya* should mean “betel chewed with areca-nut and chunam” which the women spat out of grief. This is red and may be compared to rubies (*padmarāga*).—H. K. S.]
- ” 72, last line,—for *Jāvalipura* read *Jāvālipura*.
- ” 75, verse 12.—[There is no allusion to any legend here. The poet wants to say that Brahman out of arrogance (*dambhatah*) weighed the king’s prowess (i.e. the sun) on one side and his fame (i.e. the moon) on the other and found the two balanced so well on the scale of which the rod was the (heavenly) Gaṅgā, that the pin (*kaṇṭaka*) in the middle was *dhruva* (i.e. stable). The other meaning intended is the Pole star (*Dhruva*) which occupies the middle of the heavenly orbit and is almost fixed in space.—H. K. S.]
- ” 99, last but one para., line 3,—for *Polikeśin* read *Polikōśin*.
- ” 100, text-line 2,—for *वन* read *वन*.
- ” ” ” 17,—for *लक्ष्मी* read *लक्ष्मी*.
- ” 119, footnote 3, line 2,—for *Sūdra-* read *Śūdra-*.
- ” 120, text-line 3,—for *Maṃdōdarivashpa-* read *Maṃdōdarivāshpa-*.
- ” 125, line 10,—for *Kaṇḍika-bandha* read *Kauḍika-bandha*.
- ” 143, translation of B.,—for *Rāūlja* read *Rājūla*.
- ” 156, footnote 5, last line,—for *Kushmāṇḍinī* read *Kūshmāṇḍinī*.
- ” 160, para. 3, line 5,—for *Tirathgarh* read *Tirathgarh*.
- ” 165, footnote, line 6,—for *Dattakamimānsā* read *Dattakamimānsā*.
- ” ” ” line 8,—for *Rudrāmba* read *Rudrāmbā*.
- ” 166, para. 3, line 2,—for 1783 read 1779.
- ” 168, line 9 from the top,—for *Pāḍi* read *Pāḍi*.
- ” 169, line 2,—for *Lākshmīdhara* read *Lakshmīdhara*.
- ” 170, text-line 6,—for *-prasūta sama[sta*]-* read *-prasūta-sama[sta*]-*.
- ” 170, text-line 8,—for *ravidinē* read *ravidinē*.
- ” 171, para. 5, last line,—for *°chchhrēshṭa* read *°chchhrōshṭa*.
- ” 172, line 8,—insert a hyphen at the end of the line.
- ” ” footnote 7, line 2,—for *Śāmbilaka* read *Śāmbilaka*.
- ” 175, line 4,—insert (Nāgarī) after Sanskrit.
- ” 176, line 16,—for *Mēdipōta* read *Mēdipōta*.
- ” ” footnote 2,—for *Yājñavalkya* read *Yājñavalkya*.
- ” 178, line 13 from bottom,—for *Mālavā* read *Mālava*.

- Page 179, footnote 1, line 3,—for *Sakkara-kôṭṭam* read *Śakkara-kôṭṭam*.
 „ 180, footnote 5,—for *Siyadoni* read *Siyaḍḍṇi*.
 „ 181, para. 5, line 4,—[*Mudhasēli* perhaps stands for the Telugu *mudusali* which means 'old, ancient;' i.e. a headman respected on account of *old* age; compare *nāḍṭu-mudumai*; above, p. 21, footnote 3.—H. K. S.]
 „ 185, text-line 4,—for *तपःपयोषि* read *तपःपयोषि*.
 „ „ footnote 1, line 2,—for *Devakūṭa* read *Dēvakūṭa*.
 „ 205, para. 3, line 4, for *Kārtikēya* read *Kārttikēya*.
 „ „ footnote 7,—for *Conjeeverum* read *Conjeeveram*.
 „ 223, No. 63, translation, line 2,—for *Uttara=Phalguni* read *Uttara-Phalguni*.
 „ 235, para. 3, line 2,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ 236, lines 15 and 17,—for *Ayirūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ „ text-line 9,—for *=kkīl-* read *kīl-*.
 „ 237, text-line 17 and translation, line 7,—for *Ayurūr* read *Ayurur*.
 „ 238, lines 3 and 11 and footnote 10,— Ditto.
 „ 257, footnote 4,—[From the *Palnāḍu* inscriptions we learn that the *Kākatīya* king *Gaṇapati* was ruling from his capital *Oruṅgalla*, already in *Śaka-Saṁvat* 1173 and that his daughter and successor *Rudramahādēvi* was also ruling from the same city in *Śaka* 1191.—H. K. S.]
 „ 261, footnote 6, line 7 from bottom,—for *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.* read *Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I.*
 „ 266, line 4,—for *Kākatī* read *Kākatī*.
 „ 282, para. 5, line 4,—for *Khariar* read *Khariār*.
 „ 283, line 7,—for *Tūṇḍrā* read *Tūṇḍrā*.
 „ 284, translation, line 1,—for *Sarabhapura* read *Śarabhapura*.
 „ „ footnote 6, line 3,—for *Jējabhukti* read *Jējābhukti*.
 „ 300, line 9,—[Comparing the symbol for *i* in '*pīlupati*' with the *i*-symbol in '*parihīnam*' (line 19) and in '*ndirgha*' (line 24) it appears as if the form *Mahāpīlupati* was also meant here as in the *Sāṅkhēḍā* plate of *Śāntilla* (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 23).—H. K. S.]
 „ 307, table, 1st column,—for *Gaznī* read *Ghaznī*.
 „ „ „ 3rd „ for *Ādil Shah Aynā* read *Ādil Shāh Aynā*.
 „ 313, line 2,—for *Halavur* read *Halavūr* and for *Banvāsi* read *Banavāsi*.
 „ 316, para. 3, line 3,—for *bhaṇḍāri* read *bhaṇḍārī*.
 „ „ line 8 from bottom,—for *Brahmaujhāka* read *Brahmaujhāka*.
 „ 321, last para., line 6,—for 493 read 793.
 „ 330, footnote 8,—for *Amuktamālyada* read *Āmuktamālyada* and for *Vishṇuchittiyam* read *Vishṇuchittiyam*.
 „ 331, para. 4, line 7,—for *Kuttukkāl* read *Kuttukkal*.
 „ „ „ „ 8,—for *Pāṭṭaikulam* read *Pāṭaikulam*.





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